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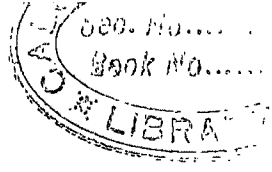
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THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL FACTORS UPON THE SEX-RATIO AT BIRTH

SANFORD WINSTON
North Carolina State College

ABSTRACT

The ratio of the sexes at birth is remarkably constant for various countries over long periods of time for populations as a whole. Data are presented to show that the sex-ratio at conception is significantly higher than the sex-ratio at birth. The lesser percentage of males at birth than at conception is accounted for by a differential prenatal mortality bearing more heavily upon the male fetus than upon the female fetus. Thus the sex-ratio at birth is a function of the sex-ratio at conception and the sex-ratio of intrauterine mortality. Various lines of approach are utilized to prove that social factors affect the amount of prenatal mortality and finally the sex-ratio at birth. A group of 5,466 completed families, forming a "higher" social class, are utilized to test the general hypothesis. They show a significantly higher sex-ratio at birth than does the general population. The conclusion is reached that more desirable social environments are important factors tending to raise the sex-ratio at birth. As such environments become more general, they will operate in the direction of a higher proportion of male births.

An important demographical factor affecting the organization of society is the ratio of males to females within a given population. It is true, for example, that monogamic or partially monogamic marriage relationships receive a mathematical basis in the comparative numerical equality of the sexes. It is also true that the sex proportions within a given society affect social problems such as delinquency, mental disease, divorce, suicide, and prostitution, for example, in a way not fully appreciated by many social scientists.

The ratio of the sexes at birth is remarkably constant for various countries over long periods of time and for populations as a

whole. Table I, showing various European countries under differing conditions for a period of fifty years, would seem to bear out this statement. For still earlier periods the data collected by European scholars such as Bodio, Gini, Lenhossék, and numerous others

TABLE I*
SEX-RATIOS AT BIRTH FOR VARIOUS EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 1876-1925

Period	England and Wales	Scotland	Belgium	Bulgaria	Finland	France
1876-1905.....	103.5	105.0	104.5	107.5	105.3	104.4
1906-14.....	103.9	104.2	104.2	105.4	106.1	104.5
1915-20.....	104.8	105.3	105.4	107.2	106.1	105.4
1921-25.....	104.7	105.1	104.9	106.2	106.3	104.9

Period	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Norway	Sweden	Switzerland
1876-1905.....	105.3	105.9	105.3	106.0	105.5	104.8
1906-14.....	105.5	105.6	105.1	106.0	106.1	103.6
1915-20.....	106.8	105.6†	105.9	105.9	105.8	104.9
1921-25.....	106.8	105.3	105.6	105.5	105.9	104.8

* S. de Jastrzebski, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed., 1929), XX, 419, 420.

† 1916-19.

TABLE II*
SEX-RATIOS AT BIRTH FOR THE BIRTH-REGISTRATION
AREA IN THE UNITED STATES, 1915-27

Year	Sex-Ratio	Year	Sex-Ratio
1915.....	105.5	1922.....	105.6
1916.....	105.7	1923.....	105.7
1917.....	105.8	1924.....	105.8
1918.....	105.8	1925.....	106.0
1919.....	105.7	1926.....	105.7
1920.....	105.7	1927.....	105.8
1921.....	105.9		

* Bureau of the Census, *Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics*, Part II (1927), p. 6.

show a remarkable degree of sameness, varying around a norm of slightly over 105 males to 100 females at birth.

For the birth-registration area of the United States the sex-ratio of live births is shown in Table II, beginning with 1915, the year of the establishment of the registration area. The mean sex-ratio for

the entire period of thirteen years, based on over twenty million live births, is 105.8.

Thus it may be seen that the American data agree with European data. The first proposition in the present paper, therefore, is that *for populations as a whole* the sex-ratio at birth is a stable one, ranging from about 105 to 106 male births per 100 female births.

So far as the actual physical determination of sex is concerned, physiologists have rather well established the fact that sex is determined at the moment of fertilization.¹ Therefore, once conception has taken place, the only change which can come about in the sex-ratio at birth must be brought about by a prenatal mortality which, moreover, must operate more heavily against one sex than the other.²

The second proposition set forth is that there is a sex differential in prenatal mortality, males dying in greater number than females. Evidence regarding this is to be found in the statistics on stillbirths and abortions. E. Bugnion presents a ratio of stillbirths of 131.9 males to 100 females. This was the average for the data on eleven European nations from 1887 to 1891, obtained from L. Bodio's study of the stillbirth data of these countries.³ Based on Quetélet, Bugnion gives a sex-ratio of 133.5 for stillbirths.⁴ Bodio presents an important list of sex-ratios of stillbirths for various European countries, ranging from 124.6 for Norway to 142.2 for France.⁵ One gathers from T. H. Morgan's study⁶ that a sex-ratio of stillbirths of approximately 130 is a roughly correct one. Daw-

¹ For a recent physiological description of the facts in the case consult A. S. Parkes, "The Physiological Factors Governing the Proportions of the Sexes in Man," *Eugenics Review*, XVII, 275-93.

² Sex reversal in man takes place, if at all, with sufficient infrequency to be disregarded for all practical purposes.

³ "Les cellules sexuelles et la détermination du sexe," *Bulletin de la société vaudoise des sciences naturelles*, XLVI (1910), 301-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ "Movimento della popolazione," *Cofronti internazionali* (1895). The various sex-ratios for stillbirths were as follows: Austria, 132.1; Belgium, 132.0; Denmark, 132.0; France, 142.2; Germany, 128.3; Holland, 127.1; Hungary, 130.0; Italy, 131.1; Norway, 124.6; Sweden, 135.0; Switzerland, 135.0.

⁶ *Heredity and Sex* (New York, 1913), p. 230.

son estimates a still higher sex-ratio for stillbirths, 138 males per 100 females.⁷ C. Düsing arrived at a sex-ratio of over 128.⁸ Elias Auerbach's important study⁹ shows a sex-ratio of 123.6. Charles Darwin, after Faye, states that there is a sex-ratio of stillbirths in several countries varying from 134.6 to 144.9.¹⁰ Walter Heape's extended study of Cuban data¹¹ for the years 1904, 1905, and 1906 resulted in obtaining for white stillbirths a ratio of 158.9, and for colored stillbirths a ratio of 144.5. (In the Cuban census stillbirths include those who die within twenty-four hours after birth.) Max Hirsch's analysis of German data gave a stillbirth sex-ratio of 128 for the year 1908, and a sex-ratio of 127 for the year 1909. He added that the preceding years gave similar results.¹² He also noted that according to Bocura's study of the clinic at Chrobak the sex-ratio of stillbirths was 132.1.¹³ C. J. and J. N. Lewis, after an examination of available data, assert that the sex-ratio for stillbirths is at least 120, rising as high as 170.¹⁴ Simon Newcomb in his exhaustive study¹⁵ arrives at the same general conclusions as the foregoing writers. John B. Nichols in his study, based largely on French statistics, also arrives at the same general results.¹⁶ A. S. Parkes's analysis of British data¹⁷ reveals a sex-ratio of 133 still-born males per 100 females. Pitt-Rivers in a recent article¹⁸ states

⁷ *The Causation of Sex* (various edd.). The citation above is from the second edition (1917), p. 106.

⁸ *Das Geschlechtverhältnis der Geburten in Preussen* (Jena, 1890).

⁹ "Das wahre Geschlechtverhältnis des Menschen," *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie*, IX (1912), 10-17.

¹⁰ *The Descent of Man* (2d ed., rev., 1874), p. 238.

¹¹ "The Proportions of the Sexes Produced by Whites and Coloured Peoples in Cuba," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (ser. B, 1909), CC, opp. 330.

¹² "Über das Verhältnis der Geschlechter," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* (Jahrgang 37, 1913), No. 12, p. 420.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

¹⁴ *Nativity and Fecundity* (London, 1906).

¹⁵ "A Statistical Inquiry into the Probability of Causes of the Production of Sex in Human Offspring," *Carnegie Institute of Washington Publications*, No. 11 (1904).

¹⁶ "The Numerical Proportions of the Sexes at Birth," *American Anthropological Association Memoirs*, I (1907), 247-300.

¹⁷ "Some Aspects of Reproduction Considered in Relation to Eugenics," *op. cit.*, XVI (1925), 571-94.

¹⁸ "Sex-Ratios and Marriage," *ibid.*, XXXI (1929), 21-28.

that the sex-ratio of stillbirths in European countries lies between 124 and 142. A study of Austrian data for 1895 and 1896 by Siegfried Rosenfeld¹⁹ revealed a stillbirth ratio of 130.1. Such are the conditions in various countries in regard to the sex-ratio of stillbirths.

In 1918, and regularly since 1922, the United States Bureau of the Census has collected stillbirth data for the registration area in the United States. Table III presents the stillbirth sex-ratios for this period. For the more than 480,000 stillbirths whose sex was

TABLE III*
STILLBIRTH SEX-RATIOS IN THE
UNITED STATES

Year	Sex-Ratio
1918.....	137.2
1922.....	136.0
1923.....	135.3
1924.....	137.5
1925.....	134.6
1926.....	133.8
1927.....	136.8

* Bureau of the Census, *Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics*, Part II (1927), p. 7.

determinable, recorded during the foregoing years, the mean ratio is 135.9. The essential agreement of American data with non-American data is apparent. There are no reasons for believing that possible inaccuracies in examining cases or in reporting cases, which probably existed, particularly in the early data, weighed more heavily upon one sex than upon the other. Hence it would appear quite conclusive that there is a differential sex mortality before birth, and that this operates more heavily upon the males in a ratio of approximately 135 males per 100 females for stillbirths.

There is another line of evidence in this regard, moreover. A second type of prenatal mortality is abortion. M. E. Carvallo, from a study of Paris data, claims a sex-ratio of abortions up to the fourth month of 250.²⁰ This suspiciously high ratio is possibly due

¹⁹ "Die Sexualproportion in Oesterreich in den Jahren 1895 und 1896," *Wiener medizinische Blätter*, Jahrgang, XXIII (1900), No. 40, p. 635.

²⁰ "La masculinité dans les naissances humaines," *Association française pour l'avancement des sciences, Compte rendu de la 41^{me} session* (Nîmes, 1912), p. 145.

in part to mistakes in determining sex in early embryos, as Adolf Schultz²¹ properly points out. Schultz's own study of the embryological collection of the Carnegie Institution at Washington,²² added to A. Rauber's study of 57 fetuses,²³ gives the rather low sex-ratio of 105.4. The low result may be attributed to the fact that only 647 fetuses were available, with no material determinable for the earliest months. Rauber's sex-ratio, for only 57 cases, was 159.²⁴ Auerbach's study of abortions, based on the excellent Budapest data,²⁵ resulted in a sex-ratio of 156.4. This ratio is not only close to Rauber's result but is similar to the figure arrived at by J. von Körösy,²⁶ who found a sex-ratio of 152.4 for 3,781 abortions.

The evidence appears rather conclusive that there is a high sex-ratio for abortions, a higher rate even than that for stillbirths, in spite of the fact that stillbirth data in the past probably included a certain percentage of abortions.

The third proposition set forth, therefore, is that the nearer the point of actual conception is approached, the higher is the sex-ratio of mortality. In the European records abortions are for the earlier months of pregnancy; stillbirths, where correctly given as such, are for the last months. Auerbach's study, previously referred to, gave the following sex-ratio of abortions, according to month of pregnancy:

Fourth month, 229 males per 100 females, for 157 cases

Fifth month, 163 males per 100 females, for 808 cases

Sixth month, 116 males per 100 females, for 622 cases

Seventh month, 116 males per 100 females, for 518 cases²⁷

Proceeding to calculations on the basis of these results, he arrived at the probably too-high sex-ratios of 322 for the abortions of the

²¹ "Studies in the Sex Ratio of Man," *Biological Bulletin*, XXXIV (1918), 264. Data for the United States analyzed below corroborate Auerbach, however.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 263.

²³ *Der Überschuss an Knabengeburten und seine biologische Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1900).

²⁴ Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. 263. See Rauber's statements in the conclusions to his book cited above.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

²⁶ *Die Sterblichkeit der Hauptstadt Budapest* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 8-18.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*

third month and of 452 for the second month. Schultz's material by months gave the following results:

- Third month, 123.7 males per 100 females
- Fourth month, 110.5 males per 100 females
- Fifth month, 108.1 males per 100 females²⁸

This is a much lower ratio, based on a relatively small sample. The higher trend, as the earlier months are approached, is apparent, however.

Data are available from the registration area of the United States which throw light upon the general subject. Table IV records the stillbirths, by sex, according to the period of uterogestation,²⁹ for the years 1922-27, inclusive.

In Table IV the earliest category is "under four months." The data are too few to separate by months. For this period the sex-ratio, large as it is, is probably conservative. The data point to the fact that the earliest months have the largest sex-ratio of mortality. Since comparatively few of these cases are reported for the first month or two, this operates to reduce the resultant sex-ratio. United States data, when analyzed as in Table IV, reveal two interesting facts. The sex-ratio of mortality of fetuses declines steadily to the seventh month of intrauterine existence then rises as the period of labor approaches.

European data show that the sex-ratio of prenatal mortality rises as the actual period of conception is approached. The present comparative study, based on the reliable data secured from selected areas of the United States, leads to the same conclusion, except for the fact that as the actual period of labor is approached the lowering of the sex-ratio of prenatal mortality ceases, being replaced conversely with a higher sex-ratio in the last months before birth.

The following conclusion, based on the preceding analyses of various data, presents itself. Instead of a sex-ratio of 105+ males per 100 females, as at birth, there is actually conceived a significantly higher percentage of males than females.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

²⁹ In the United States registration area the term "stillbirth" includes all deaths prior to or at birth. It is comparable to European data for abortions plus stillbirths.

Various European investigators have made scientific estimates of the sex-ratio at conception, based on their own studies or on comparative studies. Bernouli³⁰ estimated a sex-ratio at conception of 108.2, which appears quite conservative. Schultz³¹ calculated a

TABLE IV*
SEX-RATIOS OF STILLBIRTHS ACCORDING TO PERIOD OF UTERO-
GESTATION, SELECTED AREAS IN UNITED STATES
REGISTRATION AREA, 1922-27

Period of Uterogestation	Number of Male Stillbirths	Number of Female Stillbirths	Sex-Ratio of Stillbirths†
Under 4 months	1,220	329	370.8
4 months	2,247	1,098	204.6
5 months	3,976	2,793	147.1
6 months	5,548	4,403	126.0
7 months	6,811	5,748	118.5
8 months	7,218	5,924	121.8
9 months and over	26,797	19,396	138.2

* Computed from data obtained from Bureau of the Census, *Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics* (1922), p. 40; *ibid.* (1923), p. 26; *ibid.* (1924), p. 31; *ibid.*, Part II (1925), p. 42; *ibid.* (1926), p. 44; *ibid.* (1927), p. 45.

† Computation of the probable error cannot be reliably made on the basis of the sex-ratio. To obtain the errors it is necessary to throw the data into percentages, a method which is less valuable for presentation purposes than the sex-ratio. Probable errors have been computed, however, according to the formula $PE = .6745 \sqrt{mf/N}$, where m and f are percentages and N the number of cases, though they are not included in the tabular presentation of data. In Table IV the difference between each pair of items ranges from 3.4 to 13.0 times the probable error of the difference, indicating that a significant difference actually occurs in the sex-ratio. Only in the case of the stillbirth sex-ratios for the seventh and eighth months is the difference insignificant, it being only 1.6 times the probable error of the difference. When the probable error is twice the difference, it is probably significant; while if it is more than 3 times the probable error, it is almost certainly significant. The percentages for Table IV together with the computed errors follow:

No.	Period of Stillbirths	Percentage Males	Probable Error	Difference	Probable Error of Difference
1	Under 4 months	78.76	± .70	(1 and 2) 11.59	± .89
2	4 months	67.17	.55	(2 and 3) 7.64	.68
3	5 months	59.53	.41	(3 and 4) 3.78	.53
4	6 months	55.75	.34	(4 and 5) 1.52	.45
5	7 months	54.23	.30	(5 and 6) .69	.42
6	8 months	54.92	.29	(6 and 7) 3.09	± .33
7	9 months and over	58.01	± .16		

For further discussion of the calculation of the probable error of the sex-ratio consult G. Udny Yule, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* (8th ed.; London, 1927), p. 262; Raymond Pearl, *Introduction to Medical Biometry and Statistics* (Philadelphia, 1923), p. 214; A. S. Parkes, "The Frequencies of Sex Combinations in Human Families," *Eugenics Review*, XVI (1924), 213.

sex-ratio of 108.47. Ernst Jendrassik arrived at a sex-ratio of "at least 108.7,"³² on the basis of statistics collected by Bodio. M. von

³⁰ Quoted by Rauber, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-12.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 264, 265.

³² "Über die Frage des Knabengeburten—Überschusses und über andere Hereditätsprobleme," *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift* (Jahrgang, XXVII), No. 38, pp. 1729-32.

Lenhossék³³ computed a ratio of 111 at conception. Carvallo³⁴ concluded that for France the sex-ratio at conception must be raised from 104 (at birth) to 113. Parkes, projecting a curve backward, comes to the conclusion that the sex-ratio of mortality for the first three months of gestation ranges from 166 to 168 per cent.³⁵ His projection of the curve is faulty, owing to the fact that he infers a constantly reduced sex-ratio from conception to the end of the first year of life. As may be seen from American data presented above, the months immediately previous to birth are more hazardous for males than intermediate months. This probably holds true for English data. Nevertheless, his general result is valid. Auerbach³⁶ computed a primary sex-ratio of 116.4 on the basis of his extensive data, but adds that if corrections were made, the truer result would be somewhat more than 125 males produced per 100 females. The analysis of American data leads to the conclusion that a primary sex-ratio of 110-20 males produced per 100 females is the range wherein human production probably lies. In the nature of the case, a more precise statement would not be warranted.³⁷ However, the various studies in diverse places corroborate one another so that it is believed that a significantly higher sex-ratio exists at conception than is prevalent at birth.

It is considered, therefore, that the following conclusions are thus far warranted:

1. The sex-ratio at birth, for large groups, averages somewhat over 105 males per 100 females.

³³ *Das Problem der geschlechtsbestimmenden Ursachen* (Jena, 1903). See especially pp. 62, 63. Jendrassik's discussion of this may be found in the preceding reference.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

³⁵ "The Physiological Factors Governing the Proportions of the Sexes in Man," *op. cit.*, XVII (1925), 283, 284.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*

³⁷ It is safe to assume that stillbirths and abortions are incompletely reported. Since the stillbirth and abortion sex-ratio is not only significantly higher than the sex-ratio at birth but also rises as the point of conception is approached, inadequacies in reports, particularly in the early months, will materially lower any primary sex-ratio based on actual returns. Hence, the true primary sex-ratios are undoubtedly higher than would appear from a survey of the existing data.

2. The sex-ratio at conception would appear to be at least 110 males per 100 females, with a probability of a higher ratio.

3. The difference between the sex-ratio at conception and at birth is due to a differential prenatal mortality rate, bearing more heavily upon the male fetus than upon the female fetus.

On the basis of these conclusions it may be stated that the sex-ratio at birth is a function of the sex-ratio at conception, and the sex-ratio of intrauterine mortality. *Hence any factors which operate to diminish prenatal mortality tend to raise the sex-ratio at birth.*

To test this hypothesis, data may now be examined in order to determine whether there are existing differences in either prenatal sex-ratios or sex-ratios at birth for various social groups. Significant differences among such social classes would tend to substantiate the tentative conclusion stated above.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHITE AND COLORED GROUPS

Heape's comparative study of white and colored peoples in Cuba³⁸ resulted in a sex-ratio at birth of 108.42 for the whites, as compared with a ratio of 101.12 for colored. Jastrzebski³⁹ states that the sex-ratio for whites is 105.4 while for colored it is 101.6 in the Cape Colony. J. B. Nichols⁴⁰ finds a sex-ratio of 106.2 for whites and 103.0 for colored peoples, based on data from Colombia.

Comparable data for the registration area in the United States are available. From the years 1918-27, inclusive, the sex-ratio at birth for Negroes is significantly lower than that of whites. Since the Negro group is still largely a rural one, comparisons between these groups are made for rural environment and urban environment separately. It is possible to refine the white group into native white of native parentage, with a resulting gain in homogeneity. The results are as shown in Table V. There are, in every case, significantly higher sex-ratios for native whites of native parentage than for the Negro groups. This is true in both urban and rural

³⁸ *Op. cit.* (esp. pp. 288, 290, and opp. p. 330).

³⁹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed., 1929), XX, 419.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*

divisions.⁴¹ The racial theorist would claim that these data show inherent racial differences. On the basis of social conditions of the Negro group, affected by comparative poverty and social and cultural maladjustments, it is more reasonable to ascribe the lower sex-ratio at birth of Negroes to the greater physical handicap of the less socially favored Negro mother. It is noteworthy that for

TABLE V*

SEX-RATIO AT BIRTH FOR NEGRO AND NATIVE WHITE OF NATIVE PARENTAGE
GROUPS ACCORDING TO URBAN AND RURAL DIVISIONS, UNITED
STATES REGISTRATION AREA, 1918-27

YEAR	URBAN		RURAL	
	Negro	Native White of Native Parentage	Negro	Native White of Native Parentage
1927.....	102.0	106.7	103.8	106.2
1926.....	102.4	106.6	104.9	105.6
1925.....	104.4	106.5	103.7	106.5
1924.....	102.8	106.0	104.7	106.4
1923.....	101.9	105.5	105.2	106.1
1922.....	101.8	106.3	103.6	106.1
1921.....	101.0	106.0	103.9	106.3
1920.....	102.7	106.1	102.7	106.2
1919.....	101.0	105.3	103.0	106.4
1918.....	101.9	105.5	104.0	106.7

* Computed from data given in Bureau of the Census, *Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics*, Part I (1927), p. 72; *ibid.* (1926), p. 86; *ibid.* (1925), p. 83; *ibid.* (1924), p. 128; *ibid.* (1923), p. 114; *ibid.* (1922), p. 153; *ibid.* (1921), p. 127; *ibid.* (1920), p. 121; *ibid.* (1919), p. 119; *ibid.* (1918), p. 123.

For the entire ten-year period, the total percentages of males were as follows:

Urban:	
Negro.....	50.60±.05
Native white of native parentage	51.49±.02
Rural:	
Negro.....	50.98±.04
Native white of native parentage.....	51.51±.01

For urban areas the difference is .89±.05; for rural areas .53±.04. These differences are highly significant.

these ten years, the crude birth-rate figures for Negroes are significantly higher than for whites, a condition making for an environment favoring a higher intrauterine mortality for Negroes. The crude rates for stillbirths (computed as the number of still-

⁴¹ Unfortunately, the census classification follows the original classification for these data, cities of over 10,000 being classed as urban, with all population aggregates below 10,000 classed as rural. This classification, however, may be regarded in the light of a working classification, not completely satisfactory, but desirable where it seems advisable to divide the total data into urban and non-urban categories for more adequate comparison.

births per hundred births) is more than twice as high for Negroes as for whites.⁴² The crude data for illegitimacy ratios (computed as the ratio of illegitimate to total births) show on the surface a rate eight times higher for Negroes than for whites.⁴³ This is hardly fair to the Negro group, owing to a greater probability that social pressure may lead to a greater falsification in returning illegitimate births among the whites. This would not, however, operate to bridge the gap between the two groups. The effect of higher birth-rates and stillbirths, together with illegitimate births, are symptomatic of a social environment which would tend to produce an environment more unfavorable to the expectant mother, and hence to the unborn child. Since, as the study has shown, prenatal mortality is heavier for the male, the various factors would help to produce a lower sex-ratio for Negroes at birth, as compared with whites.

COMPARISON OF THE SEX-RATIOS OF BIRTHS OF NATIVE-BORN

WHITES: (a) WHEN BOTH PARENTS ARE FOREIGN-BORN;

(b) WHEN BOTH PARENTS ARE NATIVE-BORN

For the country as a whole, the native-born white has a higher socio-economic and educational status than the foreign-born white. The high infant mortality rates of children of foreign-born mothers has been noted in the various investigations made by the United States Children's Bureau.⁴⁴ These latter studies have noted the relationship between lower social status and higher infant mortality rates for both these groups. Since additional data are available, the general hypothesis may again be tested. When the sex-ratios are computed for native whites of foreign-born parentage, the comparative data shown in Table VI result. The general result is apparent. The sex-ratio at birth rises with the socially, economically, and educationally higher groups. It would seem more valid to ascribe the difference to differentials in environing factors than to innate differences.

⁴² See census volumes cited above, Part II (1927), p. 38; Part II (1925), p. 36.

⁴³ Volumes cited above, Part II (1927), p. 25; Part II (1925), p. 25.

⁴⁴ For an excellent summary article of the various studies see Robert M. Woodbury, "Infant Mortality Studies of the Children's Bureau," *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, XVI (1918), 30-53.

THE SEX-RATIO AT BIRTH AMONG THE JEWS

The high sex-ratio at birth among the Jews has been noted by many investigators. Charles Darwin, for example, states:

It is a singular fact that with Jews the proportion of male births is decidedly larger than with Christians: thus in Prussia the proportion is as 113, in Breslau as 114, and in Livonia as 120 to 100; the Christian births in these countries being the same as usual, for instance, in Livonia as 104 to 100.⁴⁵

Other investigators arrive at the same general results. Carlberg and Lenhossék obtained a rate of 139.8 for Livonia,⁴⁶ while von Fircks

TABLE VI*
SEX-RATIOS AT BIRTH OF WHITES ACCORDING TO NATIVITY
OF PARENTS, UNITED STATES REGISTRATION
AREA, 1918-27

YEAR	SEX-RATIO AT BIRTH	
	Native Whites of Native Parentage	Native Whites of Foreign Parentage
1927.....	106.7	105.0
1926.....	106.1	105.0
1925.....	106.5	105.4
1924.....	106.2	105.0
1923.....	105.8	105.9
1922.....	106.2	104.8
1921.....	106.2	105.7
1920.....	106.2	105.2
1919.....	106.0	105.5
1918.....	106.2	105.4

* Bureau of the Census, *Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics*, Part I (1927), p. 72; *ibid.*, Part I (1925), p. 86; *ibid.*, Part I (1925), p. 83; *ibid.* (1924), p. 128; *ibid.* (1923), p. 114; *ibid.* (1922), p. 153; *ibid.* (1921), p. 127; *ibid.* (1920), p. 121; *ibid.* (1929), p. 119; *ibid.* (1918), p. 123.

For the entire ten years the percentages of native white males of native parentage is $51.50 \pm .01$. The percentage of native white males of foreign parentage is $51.29 \pm .02$. The difference between these percentages is $.21 \pm .02$, or 10 times its probable error.

with a ratio of 107.2 in Prussia, von Bergmann with a ratio of 108.4 in Posen, and Jacobs with a ratio of 138 in Austria show the high ratio for Jewish births.⁴⁷ Various other writers come to the same

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 237, 238.

⁴⁶ Lenhossék, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ I am indebted to A. S. Parkes for these latter data. See his article, "The Physiological Factors Governing the Proportion of the Sexes in Man," *op. cit.*, XVIII, esp. p. 286.

conclusion. Siegfried Rosenfeld's analysis of the leading religious sects of Austria is of importance. Of the five leading religious groups⁴⁸ in Austria the Jewish sex-ratio of births was the highest, 112.4, while the next in order, the Greek Oriental group, had a ratio of 106.9.⁴⁹

All investigators and other commentators agree that the folkways of the Jewish people prescribe great care of pregnant women. Moreover, the low degree of sexual promiscuity and, as a partial resultant, small percentage of illegitimacy must be accounted important factors. The prenatal mortality is lessened, therefore, and the resultant sex-ratio at birth is higher among Jews than among non-Jewish peoples in the same general localities.

TABLE VII*
BIRTHS BY SEX—URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

COUNTRY	PERIOD	MALES PER 100 FEMALES	
		Urban	Rural
England and Wales.....	1911-15	103.8	104.3
Ireland.....	1906-14	104.8	105.2
Austria.....	1904-7-10	105.7	106.2
Netherlands.....	1911-15	104.5	105.5
Uruguay.....	1912-16	104.4	106.8
South Africa (white).....	1912-16	103.7	107.5
Cape Colony (Negro).....	1906-8	102.3	103.3

* Jastrzebski, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

URBAN AND RURAL COMPARISONS

Some variation in the sex-ratio according to urban and rural environments may be expected. For non-American data Table VII is to the point. The differences are not particularly startling, but owing to the large number of cases involved they are statistically significant. Owing to the fact that the United States Census Bureau classifies under rural environment all cities up to ten thousand population, direct comparisons between these divisions for American data are not valid and therefore are not presented. The results

⁴⁸ Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Evangelical, Greek Oriental, Jewish.

⁴⁹ "Die Sexualproportion in Oesterreich in den Jahren 1895 und 1896," *Wiener medizinische Blätter* (Jahrgang, XXIII, 1909), No. 40, p. 635.

of the European data appear warranted and hence are included. In the less favorable urban areas the sex-ratios at birth are lower than those in the corresponding rural areas.

ABORTIONS

In the earlier part of the study the tremendously high proportion of male fetuses as compared with female fetuses was pointed out. Undoubtedly an important percentage of these abortions is either purposely induced or accidentally caused by some environmental factor. A certain proportion is in all probability due to conceptions taking place outside or previous to the marriage relationship. The desire to prevent such births, a phenomenon well known to social agencies, is also a factor of some importance in causing abortion which operates more heavily on the male than on the female fetus. Among married women abortion is also utilized as an available means of birth control. As has been shown, the sex-ratio is much higher for abortions than for live births. It is maintained that the social factors operating to increase the number of abortions are determining factors in producing the lowered sex-ratio of births.

ILLEGITIMACY

In illegitimate births there is once more an undoubted social factor. Where mores such as exist in the United States in regard to illegitimate birth operate, the unwed expectant mother is in a social environment hardly conducive to as favorable a chance for survival of the child as is the pregnant married woman. There are several lines of evidence here. Heape's study of Cuban data⁵⁰ gave a sex-ratio for whites of 107.78 for legitimate births as compared with a sex-ratio of 104.4 for illegitimate births. For colored, the sex-ratio for legitimate births was 107.67, for illegitimate births 100.4. Jastrzebski's careful analysis of European data⁵¹ leads him to the conclusion that, with some exceptions, there are on the average higher masculine ratios for legitimate than for illegitimate births in Europe.

Data are available once more in regard to the United States.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 288, 290, 330.

⁵¹ "Sex Ratio at Birth," *Eugenics Review*, XI (1919), 11, 16.

The sex-ratios for illegitimate births for the years 1923-27 are shown in Table VIII. Except for 1926, the sex-ratios of illegitimates are considerably lower than the sex-ratios of legitimate births.⁵² While the illegitimacy data are not complete, and while illegitimacy may not necessarily be a factor operating adversely to the survival of the unborn child, nevertheless it is believed by competent investigators that such is the case. The foregoing results roughly attest to this conclusion. In other words, the social situation operates indirectly to reduce the sex-ratio of illegitimate births.

TABLE VIII*
SEX-RATIO, ILLEGITIMATE AND LEGITIMATE BIRTHS,
UNITED STATES REGISTRATION AREA,
1923-27

YEAR	SEX-RATIO	
	Illegitimate Births	Legitimate Births
1927.....	103.9	105.9
1926.....	105.9	105.7
1925.....	105.6	106.1
1924.....	105.3	105.8
1923.....	104.1	107.1

* Computed from data obtained from Bureau of the Census, *Birth, Stillbirth, and Infant Mortality Statistics*, Part II (1927), p. 25; *ibid.* (1925), p. 25.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES

R. C. Punnett, in a study of London, analyzed the sex-ratio at birth according to economic classes.⁵³ Dividing the population into three groups according to economic status, he found that the proportion of males to females born was lowest in the poorest portion, highest in the wealthiest portion, and intermediate in the middle division. Moreover, the proportion of males was highest in an analysis of births taken from Burke's peerage, a group which may

⁵² The percentage of illegitimate males for the five year period is $51.20 \pm .07$, for legitimate males $51.48 \pm .01$. The difference is $.22 \pm .08$. In the year 1926 the apparently higher ratio of illegitimate males is insignificant when measured in terms of the probable error.

⁵³ "On Nutrition and Sex-Determination in Man," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, XII (1902-4), 262-76. See particularly p. 276.

be assumed to be above the average in the ability to provide an adequate socio-economic environment for the mother, and directly affecting her ability more frequently to bring the fetus to "birth." Conrad in Halle found a stillbirth ratio of 5 per cent among laborers, as compared with a stillbirth ratio of 2.1 per cent among upper classes.⁵⁴ V. Stuart in Holland found a stillbirth ratio of 3.16 per cent among the poor, as compared with a stillbirth ratio of 2.50 per cent among the rich.⁵⁵ The connection between greater proportions of stillbirths and lower percentages of males born has been previously shown in the present paper. These results bear out the position that there is a relationship between advantageous social factors and a higher sex-ratio at birth.

Viewing the results secured, one is led to the conclusion that social factors affect such a biological phenomenon as the proportion of sexes produced at birth. The caution should be inserted that these social factors do not play a sex-determining rôle, but rather a *sex-eliminating* rôle. The study is drawn from diverse sources. The data have been attacked from various angles. The results achieved corroborate one another. The general hypothesis is that inferior social conditions affect the unborn fetus, operating by directly affecting the mother's ability to provide the necessary conditions of life. This appears to be substantiated by the data presented.

The conclusion is therefore set forth that there is a definite relationship between the sex-ratio at birth and the type of social class. It is maintained that a "higher" social group would have a higher percentage of males born than would a "lower" social group, both groups being of course within the same general culture. A group of families who are educationally, economically, and socially above the average could be utilized to test the hypothesis.

Data pertinent to the hypothesis are available, being secured from genealogical records published in the three volumes on descendants of early American families.⁵⁶ The families are not only

⁵⁴ Quoted in A. Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁵⁶ F. A. Virkus (ed.), *The Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy* (Chicago, 1925, 1926, 1928), Vols. I, II, and III.

relatively homogeneous, but they are, more importantly still, the type of select group needed for a testing of the general hypothesis. As evinced by the data, the families listed form a group economically, socially, and educationally superior to the general average of the population. Moreover, since on the whole the best-known families have been culled from the still larger group of descendants of early Americans, greater selectivity of the group probably results. The present generation only was utilized with a resultant greater accuracy of the data.⁵⁷ There are over 8,600 families of the present generation listed in the first three volumes. Of these, 5,466 families were selected as being completed families. The criteria for completed families were, in addition to death of either parent, or divorce, such objective factors as forty-five years for age of mother, or nine or ten years' childlessness (depending on age of mother). Certain duplications of genealogies were eliminated. Probably a few duplications occur, but amounting to an insignificant fraction of 1 per cent, they are statistically unimportant.

In the 5,466 completed families, 15,763 children were recorded as being born alive. Of these 8,329 were males; 7,434 were females. The sex-ratio is 112.0. Obviously, the difference between the sex-ratio arrived at here and the usual sex-ratio of 105-6 males per 100 females is important.

It is believed that a large part of the explanation has already been pointed out and that, in a group of this sort, a high sex-ratio of births is to be expected if the previous arguments hold.

The data were tabulated according to number of children born in each completed family, with the results shown in Table IX. The number of families having five, six, or more children were too few to be utilized separately, and were combined into the one category.

The very high sex-ratio for the one- and two-child families is apparent. The three- and four-child families form a middle grouping. The sex-ratio of these families is not so high as that of the smaller families, yet it is in each case significantly higher than the

⁵⁷ Since the great bulk of the names listed are for men, the preceding generation would furnish a spuriously high proportion of males. When their children only are taken, this source of error is eliminated.

sex-ratio for the average American family. For the largest group-ing, the sex-ratio drops to 106.2, a ratio somewhat higher than that of the general American population over a period of years. *In general, then, as the size of the family increases, the "normal" sex-ratio is approached by the socially selected group under consideration.*

In a previous study the correlations for size of family and various social factors were analyzed.⁵⁸ One result secured was that,

TABLE IX*

SEX-RATIO AT BIRTH ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN PER FAMILY

Number of Children	Number of Families	Number of Males	Number of Females	Sex-Ratio
1	1,166	629	537	117.1
2	1,463	1,604	1,322	121.3
3	1,223	1,945	1,724	112.8
4	820	1,720	1,560	110.3
5 or more	794	2,431	2,291	106.2
Total	5,466	8,329	7,434	112.0

* The real significance of the variations in the percentages of males is seen best when the one- and two-child families are combined and when the three- and four-child families are combined. For the former the percentage of male births is $54.57 \pm .53$, and for the latter $52.74 \pm .40$. The percentage of males for five or more children is $51.48 \pm .49$. The difference between one- and two-child families and three- and four-child families is $1.83 \pm .66$. The difference between three- and four-child families and families of five or more is $1.26 \pm .64$. The difference between one- and two-child families and families of five or more is $3.09 \pm .72$.

with objectively better social, economic, and educational surroundings, the size of family decreased. This conclusion, plus the general hypothesis underlying the present study, leads one to expect a higher masculinity at birth for smaller families than for larger families. The data confirm this general hypothesis. It is maintained that the significantly high average sex-ratio at birth for the group studied, and particularly of the smaller families, is bound up with more desirable social conditions favoring the mother.⁵⁹

The preconceptual stage and particularly the prenatal stages form opportunities for affecting the capacity of the mother to pro-

⁵⁸ Sanford Winston, "The Relation of Certain Social Factors to Fertility," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV (1930), 753-64.

⁵⁹ A possibly important factor unmentioned specifically in this paper is that of birth control. This factor is being investigated statistically at present by the writer, the results to be published in a forthcoming article.

vide properly for the fetus. Aside from various infections, unfavorable toxic conditions due to such factors as undernutrition, overstrain, excessive fatigue, and nerve depletion,⁶⁰ to mention merely the less debatable factors, definitely offer environmental hazards. The great danger period immediately preceding and during birth operates as a stage as well as the preconceptual and intrauterine stage. The resulting heavy loss of male fetuses was brought out in the registration-area data analyzed previously. The exact relationship here is not entirely determinable, although the action of the environmental stresses undoubtedly affects the ability of both the mother and the unborn organism to pass the test of birth. In the life-process before birth, the males succumb more quickly. Whether because of the greater fragility of the male fetus, or because of the greater demands upon the mother, or both combined, the better the conditions surrounding the unborn child, the greater the chances of survival until birth, and hence the greater the proportion of males at birth. On the whole, it is true that the families forming a group such as the one selected for study should have, on the average, conditions decidedly more free from unfavorable factors than do families forming the content of the general population.

One last point remains. The reader may justly query as to whether there might be some inheritance factor tending to raise the percentage of masculinity in the selected group studied. S. Newcomb,⁶¹ F. A. Woods,⁶² and D. Heron⁶³ have made investigations into the probability of the inheritance of the sex-ratio. These investigators, using statistical techniques, following three different methods, confirm one another in the conclusion that there is no sensible inheritance of sex.

In summary, it is believed that the results of the present investigation allow the following conclusion. The sex-ratio of man at

⁶⁰ An enormous amount of experimental material is rapidly accumulating in this field, and is so generally accepted that specific quotation seems unnecessary. See L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (New York, 1926), pp. 99-101, for general statements along this line.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*

⁶² "The Non-inheritance of Sex in Man," *Biometrika*, V (1906), 73-78.

⁶³ "On the Inheritance of the Sex-Ratio," *ibid.*, pp. 78-85.

birth is a resultant of the sex-ratio at conception, such sex-ratio constantly being reduced by a prenatal mortality which bears more heavily upon the male than upon the female fetus. This mortality is importantly affected by social factors which operate indirectly through affecting the mother's ability to provide the necessary optimum conditions for survival.

If the conclusions are true, it would appear justified to posit the statement that when and if human culture reaches a plane which provides an optimum environment for the expectant mother, not only will a much higher percentage of conceived fetuses achieve birth, but also it would appear correct to state that the sex-ratio at birth would be altered in the direction of a greater percentage of masculinity. Certainly it is conservative to state that the social factors discussed in the present paper are factors operating toward this end.

DIFFERENTIAL AGE AT MARRIAGE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS¹

FRANK W. NOTESTEIN

New York City

ABSTRACT

This study is based on records obtained from the 1910 census schedules concerning age, duration of marriage, and occupation of husband, for urban and rural women of native white parentage. The women are grouped into six urban and three rural classes on the basis of the husband's occupation. Because of certain limitations of the data the study is confined to the 17,876 women who married between 1900 and 1905. Analysis of the age at marriage distributions for these women leads to the following conclusions: (1) the women of the urban population married later than those of the rural, but the women of the three "lowest" urban classes married earlier than those of the "highest" rural class; (2) for both the urban and the rural classes age at marriage increases with "rising" social status, and the increase is largest between the classes differing most in social status; (3) the age at marriage for certain classes is lower than that of the most nearly comparable English classes; (4) the direct relation of age at marriage and social status accounts in part for the inverse relation between the fertility and social status of the classes.

The age at which the women of the various social classes marry plays an important part in determining the rate of reproduction of those classes and is therefore a factor in determining the social and biological heritage of our future population. An advanced age at marriage not only shortens the "exposure to risk" of child-bearing, but limits that exposure to the less fertile years of the reproductive period. It may also influence the rate of reproduction by affecting the infant mortality, for, as the English report on "Fertility of Marriage"² found, ". . . when the effects of varying social status and size of family have been as far as possible eliminated the relation of child mortality to mother's marriage age is broadly one of simple increase of mortality with increase of age." Quite apart from its influence on the size of the individual family, postponement

¹ From the Research Division of the Milbank Memorial Fund. This is the second paper which deals with the factors affecting the fertility of the urban and rural social classes in 1910. The first, "Differential Fertility according to Social Class," by Sydenstricker and Notestein, appeared in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* for March, 1930.

² *Census of England and Wales (1911)*, XIII, Part II, lix.

of marriage may lower the rate of reproduction of the class by lengthening the span between generations.

Age at marriage is important from many other points of view. Do the social classes differ in the proportion of marriages which take place on the verge of maturity, or years later after the habits of single life are well established; before an adequate preparation has been made for the economic maintenance of the family, or after the material necessities of life seem assured? Whatever the influence of these factors may be—and they doubtless affect the health, education, and character of the members of the family—it is obviously important that the facts concerning the age at marriage of the social classes should be known as precisely as possible.

In this country studies of age at marriage based on official data have, of necessity, been limited to a consideration of various nativity and racial groups and to studies of various areas.³ The lack of official data which are applicable to a study of age at marriage of the social classes has been overcome to some extent by private investigations of selected groups, such as the families of college students and graduates, clergymen, and men of science.⁴ Since such studies furnish the only information we have, their value cannot be overestimated; but either they fall short of giving information concerning the difference between the social classes because they are limited to selected groups of relatively "high" social status, or their results are somewhat open to question because of the small number of marriages for which data were obtained.

In England, as in the United States, there are no registration statistics of marriage which separate the social classes; however, the ages at marriage of the entire population were obtained at the census of 1911 by subtracting the duration of the "present marriage" from

³ E.g., E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships; Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-1920*, Census Mono. I; *Immigrants and Their Children, 1920*, Census Mono. VII.

⁴ E.g., Mary Roberts Smith, "Statistics of College and Non-college Women," *American Statistical Association Publications*, Vol. VII, Nos. 49, 50 (1900); R. E. Baber and E. A. Ross, *Changes in the Size of the American Family*; "The Birth Rate of Methodist Clergymen," by the editor, *Journal of Heredity*, Vol. VIII; and J. M. Cattell, "Families of American Men of Science," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. IV.

age at the census. These distributions are given for each social class in the report on "Fertility of Marriage."⁵

Data similar to those on which the English study was based were collected in this country at the census of 1910, but were never tabulated by the Bureau of the Census. In the course of its population studies the Research Division of the Milbank Memorial Fund has tabulated samples of these returns for each of the broad social classes in urban and rural districts of the northern part of the United States. Altogether data have been collected for about a hundred thousand married women of native white parentage. The first report⁶ based on this tabulation dealt with the fertility of the broad social classes. In the present article these data are used in a study of age at marriage within different social classes by way of providing the background for a later study of the birth-rates of various age-at-marriage groups in each social class.

DATA EMPLOYED

As the data and the methods by which they were obtained have been completely described elsewhere,⁷ no more than a summary statement is presented here. The women of this study are of native white parentage, and at the time of the census of 1910 they were living with their husbands, who were of like parentage. Neither the women nor their husbands had been married more than once. Two samples were taken, one for an urban and the other for a rural population of the northern part of the United States. The urban sample, comprising data for 59,149 married women, was drawn from the thirty-three cities which had, in 1910, populations of between one and five hundred thousand; and that for the rural territory, composed of data for 43,352 married women, was taken from the unincorporated parts of seventy-four neighboring counties. All occupational classes are represented in the urban data, but those for the rural sample include only the wives of farm owners, farm renters, and farm laborers. The age at the census, the years married, and the occupation of the husband were among the items tabulated for each of the women in these samples.

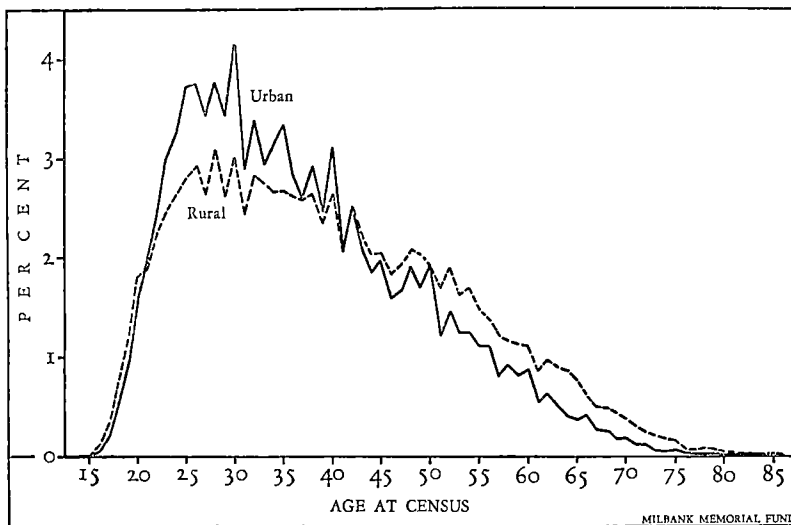
⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ "Differential Fertility according to Social Class," *op. cit.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

Although age at marriage is not given directly in the census returns, it can be obtained by subtracting the number of years married from the census age. Since the census enumerators were instructed to report both of these items in terms of completed years, the age at marriage obtained as a remainder is the central age of a two-year span. For example, the women who appear as married at

CHART I
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY SINGLE YEARS OF AGE FOR THE MARRIED
WOMEN IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS



twenty years of age include, on the one hand, those who were precisely thirty years of age and who had been married almost eleven years, and, on the other hand, those who were almost thirty-one and who had been married exactly ten years. It seems unlikely that the use of this central age has any significant influence on the distributions.

LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA

The limitations of age-at-marriage data thus derived are best seen from an examination of the manner in which the basic data for age and years married were reported. The relative importance of concentrations on certain ages may be seen in Chart I, which gives the

percentage age distributions of women in the urban and rural samples. The concentrations on ages which are multiples of 10 are roughly measured in Table I by the per cent excess of these frequencies over the average of the two adjacent frequencies. There is a marked concentration at each multiple of 10 which, with one exception, is larger in the urban than in the rural data. Substantial though smaller concentrations also occur at most of the odd multiples of 5, and these, like those at the even multiples, are generally

TABLE I

PER CENT EXCESS OVER THE AVERAGE OF THE TWO ADJACENT FREQUENCIES FOR EACH AGE AND YEARS MARRIED WHICH IS A MULTIPLE OF 10
(Urban and Rural Areas)

AGE AT CENSUS			DURATION OF MARRIAGE		
Years	Per Cent Excess over Average of the Two Adjacent Frequencies		Years	Per Cent Excess over Average of the Two Adjacent Frequencies	
	Urban	Rural		Urban	Rural
20.....	12	17	10.....	42	35
30.....	30	19	20.....	46	21
40.....	38	18	30.....	60	49
50.....	33	4	40.....	50	38
60.....	29	12	50.....	38	28
70.....	26	8			

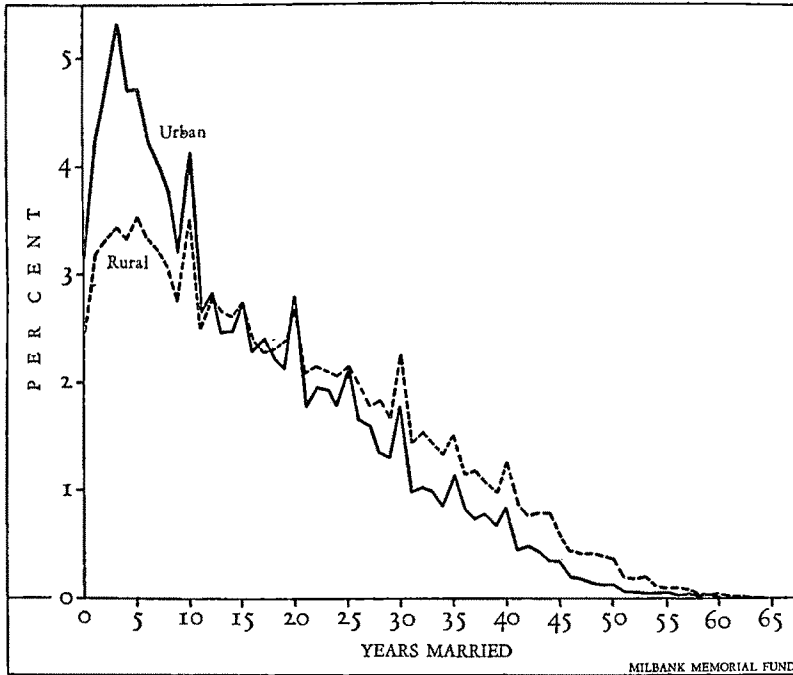
larger for the urban than for the rural population. The remaining concentrations are smaller and occur most frequently at ages ending in 2 and 8, that is, at the even ages farthest removed from a multiple of 5. The existence of these concentrations indicates a lack of precision in the calculated ages at marriage.

It is possible that the accuracy with which ages were reported was also influenced by a tendency on the part of women to understate their ages. No direct evidence of this appears in the data, although perhaps it may be inferred from the fact that a number of cases had to be thrown out because the calculated age at marriage was impossibly young. Undoubtedly many of these cases arose because of the carelessness or ignorance of the persons giving information to the enumerator. It seems probable, however, that some women inten-

tionally understated their ages only to find an obstacle to a similar understatement of the length of their marriage in the necessity of reporting the number and ages of their children. While it is not thought that such cases form a large proportion of the total, there is no way of determining their importance, or variations in their importance, at different ages.

CHART II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY SINGLE YEARS OF MARRIAGE DURATION FOR
THE WOMEN IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS



It appears from Table I and Chart II that there is much the same system of concentrations in the years married as in the age distributions. There is a recurrence of peaks at the multiples of 5, and, with less regularity, at the even numbers farthest removed from these multiples. In this case also the urban concentrations are generally larger than the rural, but in both the urban and the rural popula-

tions there is more haphazard reporting of popular numbers in the returns for the duration of marriage than in those for age.

The marriages of less than five years' duration require special consideration. From Chart II it appears that the marriages reported as of less than a year's and of one year's duration are fewer than those of any remaining duration under five. Fluctuations in the marriage rates can scarcely account for these differences. Doubtless many durations were reported in terms of the nearest anniversary in spite of the instructions to report only completed years of married life. Such reporting, although it would influence the calculated age at marriage, would not have much effect on the total frequencies of most durations since the number lost by one duration would be approximately equaled by that gained from another. However, there could be no such compensation in the case of marriages of less than one year's duration. It also seems probable that there was a special tendency to exaggerate the duration of marriages very recently contracted. In addition to the question concerning the length of marriage, each woman was asked the number of children she had borne. Doubtless many women and enumerators were hesitant about returning a larger number of births than years married lest it appear that conception took place before marriage. Naturally those who did conceive before marrying would have an even greater incentive to exaggerate the length of their marriage.⁸ All of these factors, by lowering the number of marriages reported as having lasted less than a year and one year, and increasing those in the two-, three-, and four-year durations, would lower the calculated age at marriage for women who have been married less than five years.

Except for marriages of less than five years' duration the trend of this distribution is downward, at first slowly, but with increasing rapidity as the marriages lengthen. This is to be expected. In order to be included in this study both the women and their husbands must have survived from the time of their marriage to the date of the

⁸ On this subject the English report (*op. cit.*, p. x) concludes that the under-reporting of durations of less than one year is in large part due to ante-nuptial conception. The argument is not conclusive to the writer, since the evidence adduced could be accounted for by fear of the appearance of, as well as by actual, ante-nuptial conception. Probably both factors are involved, but neither these nor the English data furnish means for evaluating their respective importance.

census, and at that date they must have been living together. Since mortality increases with age the annual selection becomes more severe as the date of marriage becomes more remote.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

In view of these limitations, how may the data best be applied to the study of age at marriage? It would obviously be unfair to compare the average ages at marriage of various populations as found at the time of the census. Differences in their age distributions would seriously affect these averages, since it is impossible for young persons to have married at an advanced age. Nor would it be advisable to separate the groups according to the date of marriage with a view to studying the trends in their ages at marriage. Each group thus obtained might have a different bias in the reporting of age, and certainly would have been subjected to different mortality and separation selections. To avoid these selections it is desirable that the groups studied should be taken as near as possible to the date of their marriage. Each age at marriage should also be drawn from a sufficient variety of durations of marriages to overcome as much as possible the effect of concentrations on popular numbers.

Since the returns for persons who had been married less than five years at the time of the census are subject to peculiar inaccuracies, these requirements are best fulfilled by the group which had been married five to nine years, that is, the group which reported marriages as having taken place between April 16, 1900, and April 15, 1905. This grouping of five single-year durations of marriage eliminates a large part of the inaccuracy due to concentration on popular numbers.⁹ All of the persons of the group have been exposed to

⁹ The manner in which this grouping eliminates the inaccuracy due to concentrations in the reporting of ages and years married may be seen from the example given below, which shows for each age and duration entering into marriage at age twenty the percentage deviation from the average of the two adjacent frequencies.

Age at Census	Urban	Rural	Years Married	Urban	Rural
25	+ 7	+ 1	5	+ 6	+ 7
26	+ 5	+ 8	6	- 3	- 1
27	- 9	- 13	7	0	+ 1
28	+ 10	+ 18	8	+ 5	+ 3
29	- 13	- 14	9	- 19	- 17
Average . . .	0	0	..	- 2	- 1

the risk of death approximately the same number of years (i.e., five to nine), but those who married early passed these years in a lower

TABLE II

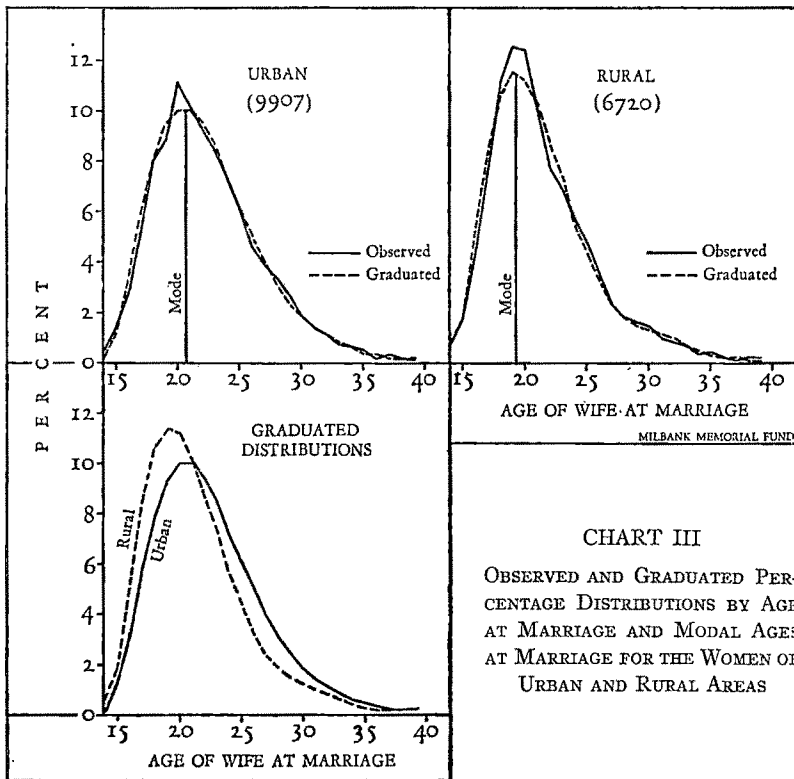
OBSERVED, GRADUATED, AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR WOMEN OF NATIVE WHITE PARENTAGE WHO WERE UNDER FORTY YEARS OF AGE AT THEIR MARRIAGE, MARRIED BETWEEN APRIL 16, 1900, AND APRIL 15, 1905, AND LIVING WITH THEIR HUSBANDS AT THE CENSUS OF 1910
(Urban and Rural Areas)

AGE AT MARRIAGE	URBAN (ADJUSTED)*			RURAL		
	Observed	Graduated	Per Cent of Total under 40 (Graduated)	Observed	Graduated	Per Cent of Total under 40 (Graduated)
Total under 40	9,907	.....	100.0	6,720	.....	100.0
Total for range—graduated:	9,402	9,401	94.8	6,095	6,095	90.5
14.....	33	10	0.1	42	.....	.....
15.....	127	116	1.2	114	123	1.8
16.....	274	315	3.2	309	346	5.1
17.....	524	554	5.6	511	566	8.4
18.....	788	770	7.8	745	714	10.6
19.....	873	922	9.3	838	774	11.5
20.....	1,098	993	10.0	833	755	11.2
21.....	1,001	992	10.0	663	685	10.2
22.....	912	933	9.4	520	587	8.7
23.....	831	838	8.5	459	482	7.2
24.....	727	724	7.3	388	382	5.7
25.....	602	607	6.1	315	295	4.4
26.....	454	496	5.0	236	222	3.3
27.....	386	397	4.0	164	164	2.4
28.....	329	311	3.1	122	.....	.....
29.....	261	240	2.4	108	.....	.....
30.....	182	183	1.8	95	.....	.....
31.....	135	.....	.....	60	.....	.....
32.....	105	.....	.....	56	.....	.....
33.....	67	.....	.....	45	.....	.....
34.....	62	.....	.....	26	.....	.....
35.....	51	.....	.....	26	.....	.....
36.....	22	.....	.....	15	.....	.....
37.....	28	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
38.....	19	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
39.....	16	.....	.....	12	.....	.....
Mean.....	22.4	.....	.....	21.4	.....	.....
Mode.....	20.5	.....	.....	19.2	.....	.....

* Since the data for the Professional class were obtained from three times as many schedule pages as those for the other urban classes, they are given one-third of their actual weight.

mortality period than those who married later in life. The major part of this distorting influence is avoided by confining the analysis

to data for persons who married under forty years of age, but even when the data are thus limited, there can be no claim of absolute precision for the results. Probably some inaccuracies due to concentration on popular numbers, mortality selection, and biased age-reporting remain; but since there is no reason for believing that these biases operate differently in the various groups considered, it



is assumed that the distributions obtained indicate with some reliability the relative ages at marriage.

Table II and Chart III present these age-at-marriage distributions for the urban and rural samples. The adjustment in the urban total was made necessary by the additional search required to obtain an adequate sample of the Professional class.¹⁰ The graduated frequencies which accompany the observed values in this table and

¹⁰ See note under Table II.

chart have been calculated by the method for graduating the stump of a distribution developed by Professor Carver in his article, "On the Graduation of Frequency Distributions."¹¹ In order to secure more satisfactory results for the central part of the distributions, the graduations have been carried to approximately equal distances on each side of the modes. In the charts the ungraduated remainders have been smoothed by hand. Since the sole purpose of introducing the graduated frequencies for these and the following groups is to facilitate the graphic comparison of the distributions, all that is required of them is that they show the same relationship between the groups as the ungraduated frequencies. For this purpose the approximate fits obtained seem adequate.

The distributions in Table II and those to be discussed later are suggestively described by two averages, the mean and the mode. Perhaps the mode is better adapted to this material. It is not affected by the exclusion of persons who married at forty or more years of age, it is probably uninfluenced by any remaining bias due to mortality selection, and it corresponds to the usual conception of the average age at marriage. It is, however, difficult to obtain with precision. Those presented here were calculated from the formula.

$$\text{Mode} = \frac{C_2 - C_4}{C_3 - C_1} + \frac{1}{2},$$

where C_1 , C_2 , C_3 , and C_4 are constants of the difference equation employed in securing the graduated frequencies. The means, on the other hand, are simple to calculate, and since they give weight to marriages which took place well after the most popular ages (i.e., the least fertile marriages), they may furnish a sounder basis for predicting the influence of age at marriage on fertility.

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

It appears that the rural population married at a substantially lower age than that of the urban districts. The mean of the rural group (21.4) is 1.0 years lower than that of the urban population

¹¹ *Proceedings of the Casualty Actuarial and Statistical Society of America*, VI, Part I, No. 13, 52-72. For a summary account of this method see *The Handbook of Mathematical Statistics*, ed. H. L. Reitz, p. 113.

(22.4). The modes are 19.2 and 20.5, respectively, or 1.3 years apart. The slightly larger difference of the modes is accounted for by the greater skewness of the rural than of the urban distribution. It seems probable that the higher birth-rates of the rural group found in the study of fertility¹² may be due at least in part to the earlier marriage of that population.

DIFFERENTIATION OF URBAN DATA BY SOCIAL CLASS

When the tabulations on which this study is based were employed in a study of fertility, the urban population was divided, on the basis of the husbands' occupations, into the following four broad social classes: (1) Professional, (2) Business, (3) Skilled Workers, and (4) Unskilled Laborers. Since the list of occupations included in each of these classes was given in the first paper, a repetition is unnecessary here. It should only be observed that, while no claim of precision was made for the details of the classification, it was felt that each of these classes taken as a whole differed from the others with respect to its social background, standards of education and achievement, and economic status. By way of testing the homogeneity of these classes, certain major occupational groups were selected from each. A study of rates for these groups leads to the suggestion that the inverse relation found between the fertility and the social status of the broad social classes might not exist within any one class. In this study an attempt is made to pursue this matter of intra-class relationships further by subdividing the Business class of the previous study into (1) Proprietors and (2) Clerks; and the former Skilled-Worker class into (1) Skilled Workers and (2) Semiskilled Workers. The titles of these classes are more suggestive than precise, as will be seen from their occupational composition shown in Table III.

One other difference in the composition of the social classes should be noted. In the study of fertility all women under forty-five years of age were considered. It is probable that the older ages of each class included some persons who earlier in life would have been found in another class. Since this study deals only with women who

¹² Sydenstricker and Notestein, *op. cit.*

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF 42,446 MARRIED WOMEN OF NATIVE WHITE PARENTAGE WHOSE HUSBANDS WERE IN THE BUSINESS OR SKILLED-WORKER CLASSES ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AND SUBDIVISIONS OF THE SOCIAL CLASS OF THE HUSBANDS

Business class:	No. of Women
Proprietors and supervisors.....	11,740
Retail dealers.....	3,216
Real estate agents and officials.....	1,498
Builders and building contractors.....	1,147
Manufacturers and officials of manufacturing.....	1,268
Managers and superintendents of manufacturing.....	774
Insurance agents and officials of insurance companies...	830
Brokers, commission men, and promoters.....	597
Wholesale dealers, importers and exporters.....	430
Conductors (steam railroad).....	399
Bankers and bank officials.....	322
Other owners, proprietors, and managers*.....	1,259
Clerks.....	12,252
Salesmen and clerks in stores.....	3,514
Other clerks (except in stores)†.....	2,630
Commercial travelers.....	1,730
Bookkeepers and cashiers.....	1,487
Agents, canvassers, and collectors.....	741
Draftsmen.....	411
Other clerical and kindred workers‡.....	1,739
Skilled-worker class:	
Skilled workers.....	13,295
Carpenters.....	2,641
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers (building).....	838
Electricians.....	581
Plumbers, and gas- and steam-fitters.....	413
Other skilled workers in building trades.....	748
Machinists, millwrights, and toolmakers.....	1,846
Foremen and overseers.....	763
Locomotive engineers and firemen.....	713
Engineers (stationary), cranemen, hoistmen, etc.....	683

* Includes managers and operators engaged in transportation and extraction of minerals; proprietors of employment offices, elevators, and warehouses; undertakers; owners, managers, and officials of places of amusement; hotel keepers and managers; owners and managers of laundries; restaurant keepers; and saloon-keepers.

† Census title.

‡ Includes baggagemen and freight agents; ticket, station, and express agents; express messengers and railway-mail clerks; mail-carriers; telegraph and telephone operators; floorwalkers, decorators, inspectors, gaugers, and samplers; musicians and teachers of music; semiprofessional pursuits; actors and showmen; housekeepers and stewards; and stenographers and typists.

TABLE III—*Continued*

	No. of Women
Compositors, linotypers, and typesetters	521
Barbers and hairdressers	454
Blacksmiths, forgemen, and hammermen	324
Other skilled workers§	2,770
Semiskilled workers	5,159
Semiskilled operatives (n.o.s.)|| in manufacturing in-	
dustries	2,060
Conductors and motormen (street railroads)	1,094
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers (factory)	188
Brakemen, switchmen, flagmen, and yardmen	586
Other semiskilled workers¶	1,231

§ Includes bakers; boilermakers; electrotipers, stereotypers, and lithographers; engravers; jewelers, watchmakers, goldsmiths, and silversmiths; mechanics; molders, founders, and casters (of metal); pattern- and model-makers; pressmen and plate printers (printing); tailors; tinsmiths and coppersmiths; other skilled workers in non-precious metal; proprietors and managers of garages, transfer companies, and livery stables; inspectors (transportation); firemen (fire department); policemen; photographers; detectives, sheriffs, and keepers of institutions; and cooks.

|| Not otherwise specified.

¶ Includes mine, quarry, and oil- and gas-well operatives; filers, grinders, buffers, and polishers (metal); chauffeurs; telegraph and telephone linemen; other semiskilled operatives engaged in transportation industries; boarding- and lodging-house keepers; launderers and laundry operatives; waiters; and bartenders.

have been married five to nine years, it seems likely that there has been less opportunity for such shifting to take place, and that the social classes are correspondingly more homogeneous.

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN IN THE URBAN SOCIAL CLASSES

Table IV presents the observed and graduated frequency distributions by age at marriage, and Table V the mean and modal ages at marriage for each urban social class. Chart IV permits the graphic comparison of the observed and graduated distributions for each class, and Chart V the comparison of the graduated distributions for all the classes.

It appears from Table V that the Professional class, which is customarily ranked highest in the social scale, also has the highest mean and modal age at marriage, and that the Unskilled-Laborer class, usually ranked lowest in social status, has the lowest modal age and the next to lowest mean age at marriage. The mean and mode of the Unskilled class are respectively 3.4 and 5.0 years lower than those of the Professional class. The intermediate classes have the same rank in order of average age at marriage as that usually given

to their social status. However, from class to class the decline in the average age at marriage is far from uniform. Differences of a year

TABLE IV

OBSERVED, GRADUATED, AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR WOMEN OF NATIVE WHITE PARENTAGE WHO WERE UNDER FORTY YEARS OF AGE AT THEIR MARRIAGE, MARRIED BETWEEN APRIL 16, 1900, AND APRIL 15, 1905, AND LIVING WITH THEIR HUSBANDS AT THE CENSUS OF 1910

(Each Urban Social Class)

AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE	SOCIAL CLASS OF HUSBAND								
	Professional			Proprietors			Clerks		
	Observed	Graduated	Per Cent of Total under 40 (Graduated)	Observed	Graduated	Per Cent of Total under 40 (Graduated)	Observed	Graduated	Per Cent of Total under 40 (Graduated)
Total under 40	1,873	.....	100.0	1,848	.....	100.0	2,617	.....	100.0
Total for range—graduated	1,873	1,872	100.0	1,737	1,738	94.0	2,487	2,488	95.1
14.....	0	0	0.0	4	3	0.2	3	7	0.3
15.....	2	2	.1	14	12	0.6	21	18	0.7
16.....	7	8	0.4	35	33	1.8	38	42	1.6
17.....	16	20	1.1	48	64	3.5	110	85	3.2
18.....	42	43	2.3	109	102	5.5	156	148	5.7
19.....	89	75	4.0	127	137	7.4	209	217	8.3
20.....	114	114	6.1	176	163	8.8	295	270	10.3
21.....	165	150	8.0	199	178	9.6	260	204	11.2
22.....	147	178	9.5	168	180	9.7	255	288	11.0
23.....	180	193	10.3	159	172	9.3	255	259	9.9
24.....	201	193	10.3	164	157	8.5	225	221	8.4
25.....	156	180	9.6	140	137	7.4	194	180	6.9
26.....	180	160	8.5	103	116	6.3	140	143	5.5
27.....	133	136	7.3	95	96	5.2	116	112	4.3
28.....	124	110	5.9	90	78	4.2	84	86	3.3
29.....	95	87	4.6	58	62	3.4	75	67	2.6
30.....	64	63	3.4	48	48	2.6	51	51	1.9
31.....	42	47	2.5	36	.....	.....	33	.....	.....
32.....	32	35	1.9	20	.....	.....	30	.....	.....
33.....	31	25	1.3	10	.....	.....	22	.....	.....
34.....	11	18	1.0	13	.....	.....	18	.....	.....
35.....	10	13	0.7	13	.....	.....	7	.....	.....
36.....	11	9	.5	5	.....	.....	3	.....	.....
37.....	9	6	.3	7	.....	.....	7	.....	.....
38.....	9	4	.2	3	.....	.....	4	.....	.....
39.....	3	3	0.2	4	.....	.....	6	.....	.....
Mean.....	24.8	.....	.....	23.3	.....	.....	22.9	.....	.....
Mode.....	23.5	.....	.....	21.7	.....	.....	21.3	.....	.....

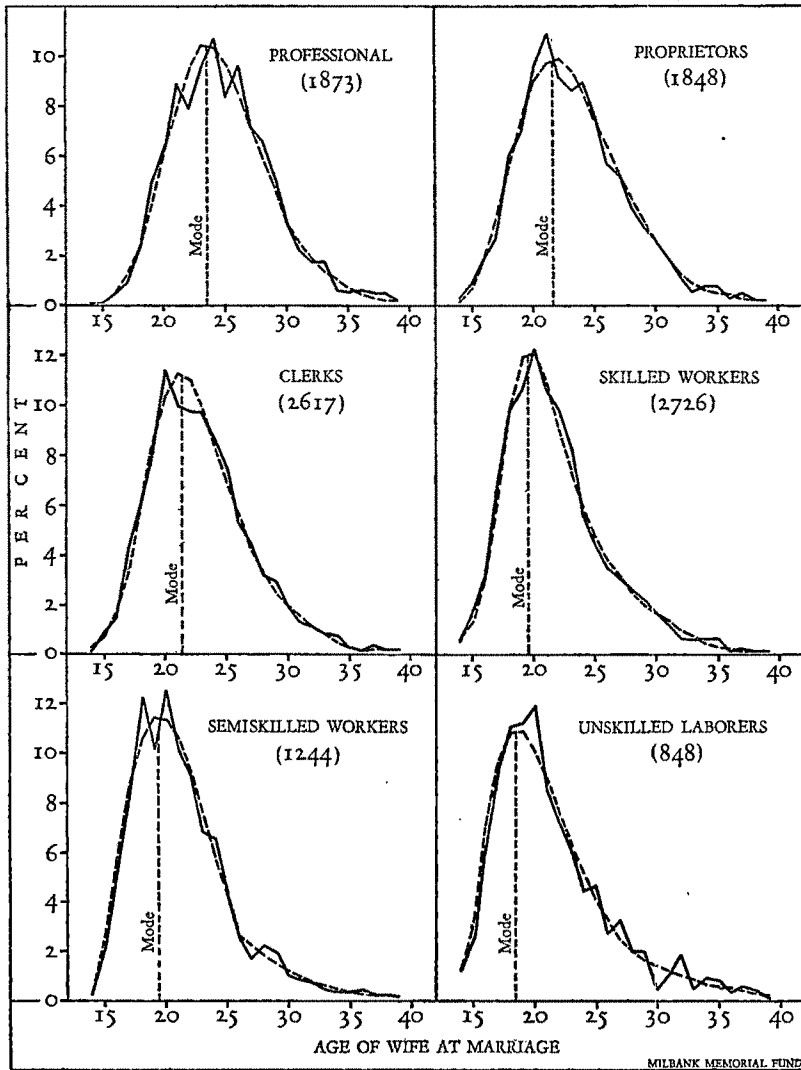
TABLE IV—*Continued*

AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE	SOCIAL CLASS OF HUSBAND								
	Skilled Workers			Semiskilled Workers			Unskilled Laborers		
	Ob- served	Gradu- ated	PerCent of Total under 40 (Gradu- ated)	Ob- served	Gradu- ated	PerCent of Total under 40 (Gradu- ated)	Ob- served	Gradu- ated	PerCent of Total under 40 (Gradu- ated)
Total under 40	2,726	.....	100.0	1,244	.....	100.0	848	.....	100.0
Total for range —graduated	2,610	2,612	95.9	1,115	1,114	89.6	766	765	90.1
14.....	14	16	0.6	2	.....	.....	10	.....	.....
15.....	43	36	1.3	26	28	2.3	22	25	2.9
16.....	85	83	3.0	64	71	5.7	50	58	6.8
17.....	180	166	6.1	102	107	8.6	79	81	9.6
18.....	264	264	9.7	152	130	10.5	93	91	10.7
19.....	287	326	12.0	125	141	11.3	95	91	10.7
20.....	332	331	12.1	156	141	11.3	101	85	10.0
21.....	289	296	10.9	126	131	10.5	72	75	8.8
22.....	266	248	9.1	113	115	9.2	61	63	7.4
23.....	223	201	7.4	84	94	7.6	50	53	6.3
24.....	153	161	5.9	81	72	5.8	37	43	5.1
25.....	123	128	4.7	54	51	4.1	39	34	4.0
26.....	96	103	3.8	32	33	2.7	23	27	3.2
27.....	83	83	3.0	21	.....	.....	27	22	2.6
28.....	70	68	2.5	27	.....	.....	17	17	2.0
29.....	56	56	2.1	24	.....	.....	16	.....	.....
30.....	46	46	1.7	13	.....	.....	3	.....	.....
31.....	33	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
32.....	20	.....	.....	9	.....	.....	15	.....	.....
33.....	17	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	3	.....	.....
34.....	15	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	8	.....	.....
35.....	17	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	7	.....	.....
36.....	3	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	3	.....	.....
37.....	5	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	4	.....	.....
38.....	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	3	.....	.....
39.....	3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Mean.....	21.8	.....	.....	21.2	.....	.....	21.4	.....	.....
Mode.....	19.6	.....	.....	19.5	.....	.....	18.5	.....	.....

or more between the modal values occur in three cases, and of less than half a year in two. These three largest differences lie between the four major classes distinguished in the study of fertility, namely: (1) the Professional; (2) the Business, represented here by the Proprietary and Clerical classes; (3) the Skilled, here subdivided into Skilled and Semiskilled; and (4) the Unskilled. Except for the

CHART IV

OBSERVED AND GRADUATED PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE
AND MODAL AGES AT MARRIAGE FOR THE WOMEN OF
EACH URBAN SOCIAL CLASS

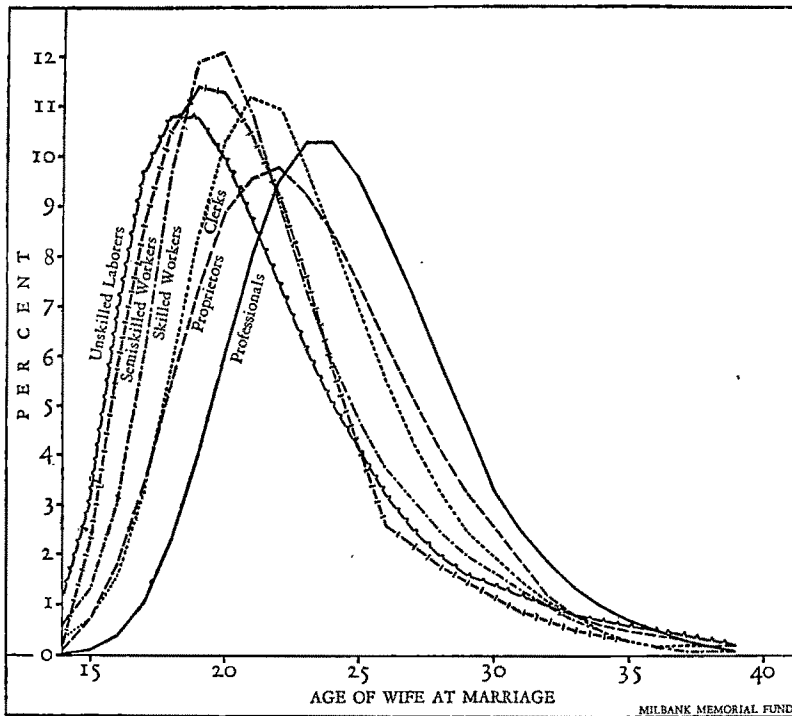


Unskilled-Laborer class, the differences of the means are also largest between these classes which presumably differ most in social status.

The Unskilled-Laborer class is an exception to this association of decreasing average age at marriage with declining social status, in that its mean is .2 of a year higher than that of the Semiskilled class.

CHART V

GRADUATED PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR
THE WOMEN OF EACH URBAN SOCIAL CLASS



A larger proportion of the Unskilled (judged from the graduated distributions) married at ages under nineteen, a smaller proportion from nineteen to twenty-five, and a larger proportion at ages above twenty-five. The higher mean age for the Unskilled is attributable therefore to the larger proportion of persons who married at the relatively late ages over twenty-five. Indeed, if the means for the

classes are calculated for women who married before twenty-five (who comprise approximately 80 per cent of each class), that for the Unskilled is not only lower than that for the Semiskilled, but the difference between these classes is larger than that between the Skilled and Semiskilled. Lest the differences in these distributions be due to the relatively small numbers involved, the distributions for women who had been married both shorter and longer periods than

TABLE V

MEAN AND MODAL AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN OF NATIVE WHITE PARENTAGE WHO WERE UNDER FORTY YEARS OF AGE AT THEIR MARRIAGE, MARRIED BETWEEN APRIL 16, 1900, AND APRIL 15, 1905, AND LIVING WITH THEIR HUSBANDS AT THE CENSUS OF 1910

SOCIAL CLASS OF HUSBAND	AVERAGE AGE OF WOMEN AT MARRIAGE	
	Mean	Mode
Total urban	22.4	20.5
Professional	24.8	23.5
Proprietary	23.3	21.7
Clerks	22.9	21.3
Skilled Workers	21.8	19.6
Semiskilled Workers	21.2	19.5
Unskilled Laborers	21.4	18.5
Total rural	21.4	19.2
Farm Owners	22.3	20.0
Farm Renters	20.9	19.0
Farm Laborers	20.1	18.1

that dealt with in the tables were examined. While these distributions are subject to the inaccuracies already mentioned, they may prove fairly satisfactory when the comparison is limited to similar durations, and nothing but the relative positions are considered. It was found that in general the means of the two classes were little different. A larger proportion of the Unskilled than the Semiskilled married in the youngest and oldest ages, and a smaller proportion in the middle ages. In short, the distributions presented here seemed to be characteristic. The most popular age at marriage of the Unskilled is lower than that of the Semiskilled, but a larger proportion of the former than the latter married at ages over twenty-five.

No attempt is made here to account for this difference in the distributions of the Unskilled and Semiskilled. Any or all of several factors may be involved. Possibly further information may be obtained when the data for different parts of the country are separated, or when more specific occupational groups are studied. It is perhaps worth suggesting that the relatively large proportion of the Unskilled class which married after age twenty-five may be due to a tendency for certain elements of that class to drift about for a number of years before settling down to establish a home.

This association of progressive postponement of marriage with the rising social status of the major social classes probably accounts in part for the corresponding decline in the birth-rates found in the study of fertility. In the case of the Unskilled and Semiskilled, however, it is not so clear that the higher birth-rate of the former is in any part due to differences in the age-at-marriage distributions. It seems probable that the excess of early marriages in the Unskilled class would more than overbalance that of the few very late marriages; but, pending a study of the birth-rates classified by age at marriage, it is impossible to forecast accurately the net effect of these differences.

The differences in the modal ages at marriage of groups which belong to the same broad social class but differ somewhat in social status are by no means as marked as those between the social classes. Still the differences exist, and indicate a direct relation between age at marriage and social status. In the case of the Business class the Proprietors have a modal age at marriage .4 of a year higher than the Clerks. A larger proportion of the Proprietary than of the Clerical group married at sixteen and seventeen and at ages over twenty-three. The relatively large spread of the former distribution may well be due to heterogeneity of the group. It is made up at the one extreme of contractors, manufacturers, and merchants whose business is small and whose social status may in some cases be little better than that of the manual worker, and at the other extreme of the owners and managerial staff of large manufacturing, trade, transportation, and financial organizations. However, there can be little

doubt that the group taken as a whole has a "higher" social status than the Clerical group.

Much the same relation exists between the two groups of the Skilled-Worker class. The Skilled group, presumably of "higher" social status than the Semiskilled, also married a trifle later in life. In this case the modal ages differ only by one-tenth of a year, though the means are somewhat farther apart. A smaller proportion of the Skilled than of the Semiskilled married at fifteen to eighteen and at twenty-two and twenty-three years of age, and a larger proportion between nineteen and twenty-one and at ages from twenty-four on.

In the study of fertility it was suggested that, contrary to the relation between the broad social classes, within any one class fertility might vary directly with social status. If on further investigation this proves to be the case, it may not be attributed entirely to differences in the age at marriage, since these differences, though small, indicate a later rather than an earlier age at marriage for the "higher-status" groups.

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN IN THE RURAL SOCIAL CLASSES

The classes of the rural population are exactly described by their titles and are the same as those used in the study of fertility, except that they include only women who had been married from five to nine years at the date of the census. Table VI presents the observed and graduated distributions by age at marriage, and Table V the mean and modal ages at marriage for each of these classes. Chart VI permits the comparison of the observed and graduated distributions for each class, and Chart VII the comparison of the graduated distributions for all classes.

The order of the rural classes by age at marriage is the same whether judged by the means or the modes. The modal age at marriage of the "highest" class, the Farm Owners, is 20.0 and that of the "lowest," the Farm Laborers, is 18.1. The Farm-Renter class is very nearly centered between these extremes with a modal age of 19.0. This order of the classes appears throughout the distributions. A larger proportion of the Farm-Renter than of the Farm-Owner

class married at ages up to twenty-one, and a smaller proportion thereafter. The Farm-Laborer class, in turn, has a larger proportion

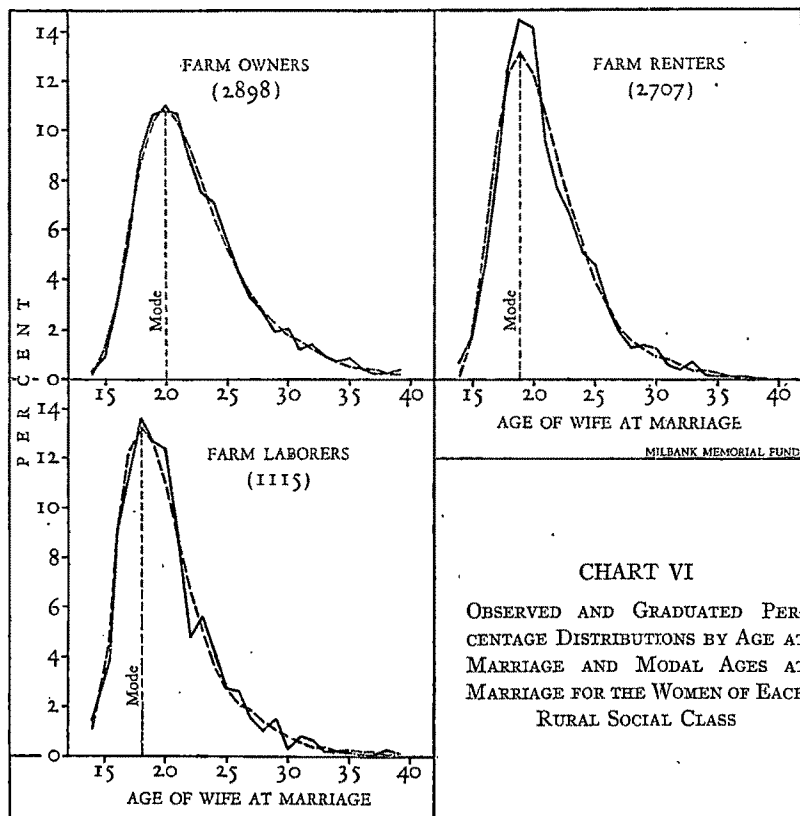
TABLE VI

OBSERVED, GRADUATED, AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR WOMEN OF NATIVE WHITE PARENTAGE WHO WERE UNDER FORTY YEARS OF AGE AT THEIR MARRIAGE, MARRIED BETWEEN APRIL 16, 1900, AND APRIL 15, 1905, AND LIVING WITH THEIR HUSBANDS AT THE CENSUS OF 1910

(Each Rural Social Class)

AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE	SOCIAL CLASS OF HUSBAND								
	Farm Owners			Farm Renters			Farm Laborers		
	Observed	Graduated	Per Cent of Total under 40 (Graduated)	Observed	Graduated	Per Cent of Total under 40 (Graduated)	Observed	Graduated	Per Cent of Total under 40 (Graduated)
Total under 40	2,898	.....	100.0	2,707	.....	100.0	1,115	.....	100.0
Total for range—graduated	2,610	2,611	90.1	2,496	2,495	92.1	1,011	1,012	90.8
14.....	9	6	0.2	17	3	0.1	16	12	1.1
15.....	27	31	1.1	44	44	1.6	43	49	4.4
16.....	85	88	3.0	122	140	5.2	102	98	8.8
17.....	165	170	5.9	220	252	9.3	126	135	12.1
18.....	257	249	8.6	336	330	12.2	152	149	13.4
19.....	306	300	10.4	390	353	13.0	142	142	12.7
20.....	313	316	10.9	382	333	12.3	138	123	11.0
21.....	308	302	10.4	256	288	10.6	99	99	8.0
22.....	261	270	9.3	205	235	8.7	54	76	6.8
23.....	216	231	8.0	180	185	6.8	63	57	5.1
24.....	203	192	6.6	139	143	5.3	46	42	3.8
25.....	161	155	5.3	124	108	4.0	30	30	2.7
26.....	126	124	4.3	81	81	3.0	29	.....	.....
27.....	95	99	3.4	51	.....	.....	18	.....	.....
28.....	78	78	2.7	33	.....	.....	11	.....	.....
29.....	56	.....	.....	35	.....	.....	17	.....	.....
30.....	59	.....	.....	32	.....	.....	4	.....	.....
31.....	35	.....	.....	16	.....	.....	9	.....	.....
32.....	37	.....	.....	12	.....	.....	7	.....	.....
33.....	25	.....	.....	18	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
34.....	19	.....	.....	5	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
35.....	22	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
36.....	12	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
37.....	6	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
38.....	7	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
39.....	10	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Mean.....	22.3	.....	.....	20.9	.....	.....	20.1	.....	.....
Mode.....	20.0	.....	.....	19.0	.....	.....	18.1	.....	.....

of women who married at all ages up to eighteen than the Farm-Renter class, and a smaller proportion at each of the remaining ages. Here again, the age at marriage advances with the social status of the class, and the advance no doubt accounts in part for the corresponding decline in fertility observed in the previous study.

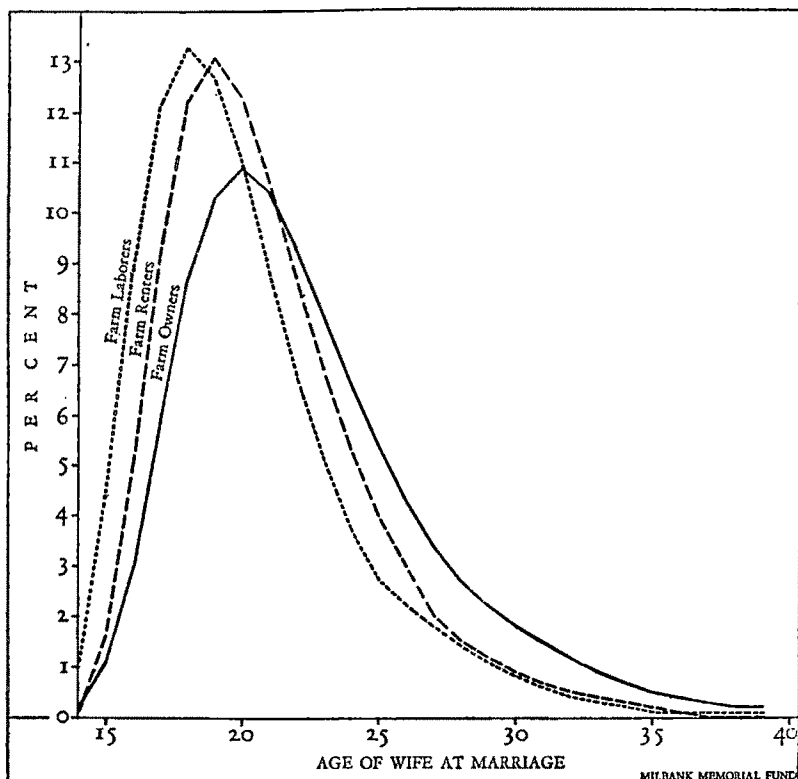


Although the women of the rural population, taken as a whole, married earlier than those of the urban areas, it appears from Table V that this relation does not hold for each urban and rural class. The mean and modal ages at marriage for the Farm-Owner class are higher than those of the three "lowest" urban classes. Since the women of this class had a higher birth-rate in spite of this longer postponement of marriage (at least among those who had been mar-

ried five to nine years), it is apparent that the greater fertility of the rural women as a group cannot be explained entirely by a more favorable age at marriage.

CHART VII

GRADUATED PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR
THE WOMEN OF EACH RURAL SOCIAL CLASS



AGE AT MARRIAGE OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN SOCIAL CLASSES

Table VII offers an interesting comparison of the ages at marriage of certain social classes of this study with those most nearly comparable of the English classes. The English data were taken from Tables 23 and 38 of the report on "Fertility of Marriage" of the 1911 census of England and Wales. In that study, as in this, the women who had been married from five to nine years at the date of

the census were grouped into social classes on the basis of the occupations of their husbands, and the ages at marriage computed by deducting the years married from the census age. Unfortunately, differences in the method of classifying age at marriage make it necessary to limit the comparison to marriages which took place under thirty-five years of age.

The comparability of the distributions is somewhat weakened by differences in the populations dealt with, and in the basic data obtained from them. The data for the English social classes were drawn from the entire country, whereas the urban classes of the present study were taken exclusively from large cities. This difference would presumably tend to lower the age at marriage of the English classes. The ages at marriage given in the present study are for persons who have not been married more than once. The English material included all married women, and the ages are those of the "present marriage." The exclusion of marriages which took place at thirty-five or more years of age should eliminate most of the influence of this difference, but such influence as does remain would tend toward a higher age at marriage in the English material. Fortunately these two biases work in opposite directions.

The English social classification and that used in this study differ in many respects. The English Class Ia is compared with our Professional class although only three-fourths of the women of the former were the wives of professional persons. The remainder were persons of relatively high social status who would have been included in the Proprietary class. The English Class I is compared with our Proprietary class although it includes persons who would have been found in each of our first three classes. Classes III, IV, and V of the English system are roughly comparable to our Skilled, Semi-skilled, and Unskilled classes, respectively. Although the English Class VIII is identical so far as its title is concerned to our Farm-Laborer class, there was doubtless a considerable difference in the social and economic status of the two groups.

It will be seen from a glance at Table VII that the differences in age at marriage of the English classes and those studied here are too large to be explained by the lack of comparability of the data. In each case the English classes married later. These differences are

especially marked at the two extreme age groups. The proportion of persons who married under twenty years of age in our classes is from 2.7 to 4.9 times as large as that for the similar English classes. It is nearly as large for our Professional class as for the English Class III (Skilled Workers), and larger for our Proprietors than for any English class except the miners (Class VII, not shown in Table

TABLE VII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY FIVE-YEAR AGE-AT-MARRIAGE GROUPS, OF WOMEN WHO MARRIED UNDER THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE, FOR CERTAIN SOCIAL CLASSES OF THIS STUDY AND FOR THE ENGLISH SOCIAL CLASSES MOST NEARLY COMPARABLE TO THEM

SOCIAL CLASS OF HUSBAND	PER CENT OF TOTAL MARRIED IN EACH FIVE-YEAR GROUP				
	Total under 35	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34
Professional (U.S.)	100.0	8.5	44.1	37.6	9.8
Class Ia (English)*	99.9	3.0	31.7	41.7	23.5
Proprietors (U.S.)	100.1	18.6	47.7	26.8	7.0
Class I (English)†	100.0	3.8	38.8	42.3	15.1
Skilled workers (U.S.)	100.1	32.4	46.9	15.9	4.9
Class III (English)†	100.0	9.6	51.3	30.2	8.9
Semiskilled workers (U.S.)	99.9	38.3	45.5	12.8	3.3
Class IV (English)†	100.0	10.3	49.5	29.9	10.3
Unskilled laborers (U.S.)	100.0	42.0	38.7	14.7	4.6
Class V (English)†	99.9	15.3	51.6	23.8	9.2
Farm laborers (U.S.)	100.0	52.3	36.0	9.5	2.2
Class VIII (English)†	100.0	12.5	51.7	25.5	10.3

* Computed from "Fertility of Marriage," *Census of England and Wales* (1911), Vol. XIII, Part II, Table 38.

† Computed from *ibid.*, Table 23.

VII). At the other extreme, the proportion of persons in our classes who married between thirty and thirty-four years of age varies from less than one-quarter to a little more than a half of that in the comparable English class. It is only slightly larger for our Professional class than for the English Class III (Skilled Workers), and is smaller for our Proprietors than for any English class except miners (Class VII). No lack of comparability in the social classes can account for such differences. The English classes simply married at a substantially higher age.

SUMMARY

The results of this study of the age at marriage of 17,876 women of native white parentage who married between April 16, 1900, and April 15, 1905, may be summarized as follows:

1. The women of the urban population married later in life than those of the rural population.

2. The women of the Farm-Owner class married later than those of the three "lowest" urban classes.

3. In both the urban and the rural populations the modal ages at marriage of the women increase with the rising status of the social class. Except for the Unskilled-Laborer class, the same relationship holds for the mean ages at marriage. In the case of the wives of Unskilled Laborers, the mean age is raised by a relatively large proportion of late marriages.

4. This direct relation between average age at marriage and social status as conventionally ranked is more pronounced between the broad social classes than between different status groups of the same broad social class.

5. The fact that age at marriage varies directly with social status accounts in part for the inverse relation between social status and the fertility of the broad social classes.

6. Marriage took place at an earlier age among the women of this study than among English women in the most nearly comparable social classes.

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CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY

LOUIS WIRTH
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

Sociology and clinical procedure.—Sociologists are increasingly participating in child guidance clinics. Clinical procedure is characterized by the case method, co-operative work, and a therapeutic aim. The emerging field of clinical sociology can be of value to practice as well as science. *Clinical sociology and social psychiatry.*—In the organization of clinics psychiatrists have played the leading rôle. Until recently, in the absence of sociologists, the social workers have been the only representatives of the social sciences. Social psychiatry, distinguished by the situational approach, is in the course of development. The division of labor between social psychiatry and clinical sociology is in need of clarification. *The cultural approach.*—While a sociological clinic is as unthinkable as a psychiatric clinic, each specialist has a distinctive point of view, and the sociologists have made a contribution through the cultural approach, which is based upon the conception that behavior becomes a problem when it represents a deviation from the definitions prevailing in a cultural milieu, and can be understood and controlled only in terms of this cultural background. Through the sociological conception of personality which emphasizes social status and the playing of rôles in social groups many forms of conduct become intelligible. *The scope of clinical sociology.*—Research, consultation with and training of other specialists, and direct participation in study and treatment of cases are possible tasks of sociologists in clinics. The work with problems of personality and community life which the sociologist undertakes is not at present carried on except incidentally and indirectly. The manipulation of the social world and the modification of attitudes are the chief therapeutic problems of the sociologist. Social workers, in addition to their present training, need training in clinical sociology. Freedom from dogma and cultism, an experimental attitude, and awareness of their own limitations on the part of sociologists are necessary in clinical work.

SOCIOLOGY AND CLINICAL PROCEDURE

The recent development of child guidance clinics and behavior research centers presents students of human nature and social relations with new opportunities and new problems. The history of science seems to demonstrate that whenever a body of theoretical knowledge becomes oriented and useful with reference to a concrete human problem a period of rapid development ensues. The evidence for such an accelerated development in the sciences that focus their attention on problems of personality is not wanting. This is particularly true of sociology, as is indicated by the growth of the literature and the research activities dealing with problems of personality and behavior, and by the increasing participation of sociologists in the work of child guidance clinics. So pronounced has this interest on the part of sociologists become that it may not be an exaggera-

tion of the facts to speak of the genesis of a new division of sociology in the form of clinical sociology.

The notion of a "clinic" is derived from the Greek "reclining" and has come in medicine to be applied to bedside treatment. To some the term "clinical" may appear to be synonymous with "abnormal," since the need for treatment, in the older conception of medicine, seems to imply the existence of a disease or a pathology. Modern clinical medicine, however, seems to be characterized chiefly by the "case method" of study of the individual, rather than by its emphasis of the pathological. In the same sense clinical sociology is not necessarily—and in many respects not at all—synonymous with social pathology. It is, rather, a convenient label for those insights, methods of approach, and techniques which the science of sociology can contribute to the understanding and treatment of persons whose behavior or personality problems bring them under the care of clinics for study and treatment.

An analysis of clinical procedure indicates that it has three main characteristics:

1. The attention of the investigator is focused on a "case," i.e., on a person presenting concrete problems.
2. It is a co-operative enterprise and enlists the aid of a number of specialists.
3. Whatever may be the theoretical interests of the participants, clinical procedure has an immediate, therapeutic aim, and includes, therefore, not merely a study of the "case," but the formulation of a program of adjustment or treatment.

Until relatively recently, the sociologists have been so content with arm-chair speculation that they scarcely sought the opportunity nor felt the need for the fruitful first-hand contact with the human beings concerning whom they formulated their theories. It is therefore not surprising that those following a well-established tradition of scientific method which usually styles itself *pure science* should regard the occupation with cases on the part of the sociologist as distinctly unorthodox if not unscientific. On the other hand, there have always been a certain number of sociologists whose interests were so immediately practical that they identified sociology with social work. While clinics are, from the

point of view of the community at least, primarily expected to produce practical results, the more successful and reputable ones have seen the necessity of combining the theoretical with the practical interests. The procedure that has developed seems generally to conform to the following type: (*a*) the case comes to the clinic with a statement of the problems presented as seen by the referring agency or person; (*b*) which is followed by the collection of data by the various investigators of the clinic; (*c*) there follows discussion among the specialists for the purpose of arriving at the facts; (*d*) which are then analyzed with a view of agreeing on a diagnosis; (*e*) to be followed by the formulation of a program of treatment; (*f*) whereupon attempts are made to carry out the program; (*g*) accompanied by periodic re-examinations and evaluations of the program adopted, and the diagnosis upon which it was based; (*h*) with the further effort of arriving at valid generalizations of principles and an improvement of techniques. Whether the theoretical scientific interest is actually in the mind of the various specialists that make up the clinic staff is not as important as the fact that out of the materials accumulated by these organizations may come facts of the greatest significance for the sciences that deal with human behavior.

To those who as a result of their academic traditions are somewhat shy about concerning themselves with practical problems, and who are inclined to stop short in their investigation at a point when it is likely to lead to practical consequences, it may be necessary to point out that sociology, like any other science, gains rather than loses by contact with real human problems. But this is not equivalent to saying that sociology is identical with social work, any more than physics is identical with engineering or physiology with medicine. All sciences are essentially theoretical, but they need not for that reason be divorced from problems of everyday life. On the contrary, the social sciences have no better way of testing their hypotheses and establishing their theories than by the patient accumulation and assimilation of the cases that actual human experience offers. If observing and working under something resembling laboratory conditions is a prerequisite of a science, as some seem to think, it may be remarked that a clinic comes as close to affording the setting for carefully controlled observation as the sociologist is

likely to find. The interconnection between theory and practice has been stated by Cooley in terms that are worth quoting:

The method of social improvement is likely to remain experimental, but sociology is one of the means by which the experimentation becomes more intelligent. . . .

By observation and thought we work out generalizations which help us to understand where we are and what is going on. These are "principles of sociology." They are similar in nature to principles of economics, and aid our social insight just as these aid our insight into business or finance. They supply no ready-made solutions but give illumination and perspective. A good sociologist might have poor judgment in philanthropy or social legislation, just as a good political economist might have poor judgment in investing his money. Yet, other things being equal, the mind trained in the theory of its subject will surpass in practical wisdom one that is not.

At bottom any science is simply a more penetrating perception of facts, gained largely by selecting those that are more universal and devoting intensive study to them—as biologists are now studying the great fact of hereditary transmission. In so far as we know these more general facts we are the better prepared to work understandingly in the actual complexities of life. Our study should enable us to discern underneath the apparent confusion of things the working of enduring principles of human nature and social process, simplifying the movement for us by revealing its main currents, something as a general can follow the course of a battle better by the aid of a map upon which the chief operations are indicated and the distracting details left out. This will not assure our control of life, but should enable us to devise measures having a good chance of success. And in so far as they fail we should be in a position to see what is wrong and do better next time.

I think, then, that the supreme aim of social science is to perceive the drama of life more adequately than can be done by ordinary observation. If it be objected that this is the task of an artist—a Shakespeare, a Goethe, or a Balzac—rather than of a scientist, I may answer that an undertaking so vast requires the co-operation of various sorts of synthetic minds: artists, scientists, philosophers, and men of action. Or I may say that the constructive part of science is, in truth, a form of art.¹

CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY

As is usual in the development of new community activities, the technicians who are on the ground floor at the time of organization tend to assume the control and formulate the policies of the enterprise. In the case of child guidance clinics this has been both desir-

¹ Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Process*, pp. 402-4.

able and regrettable. It was fortunate that the physicians who were called to the direction of these clinics were for the most part specialists in mental disease, i.e., psychiatrists, but it was unfortunate that their training and experience in behavior and personality problems was relatively meager when compared with their training in medicine. It was fortunate that the direction of the child guidance clinics was from the beginning entrusted to scientifically trained men, but it was quite unfortunate that the psychiatrists who directed the clinics felt that with the inclusion of psychologists and social workers they had adequately taken account of the non-medical aspects of clinical work. The inclusion of social workers and psychologists in the staffs of the clinics seems to have been due to the close dependence of the clinics upon social agencies and the popularity of psychometric tests at the time of the organization of the earlier clinics, respectively.

The form of organization, which these clinics have taken, generally provides for a number of specialists:

Such a clinic requires psychiatrists, physicians who deal with physical disease, psychologists, social workers, and a clerical staff. The director of such a clinic is a physician with special training in psychiatry, particularly that phase which deals with childhood problems. The psychiatrist is a physician trained in nervous and mental diseases, who views the problems presented from the standpoint of physical health. The psychologist, who is trained in determining mental abilities and disabilities, views them from the standpoint of the individual's abilities and disabilities and educational requirements. The social worker, who is trained in the application of social methods of investigation and treatment, considers them from the standpoint of the social factors involved.²

While one clinic differs from another in some respects, the general plan of organization conforms to this set-up. Where there is the problem of management there must, of course, be some authority, and where there are clients who come with their problems to an impersonal agency there must be some centralization of responsibility in a person who is professionally competent to assume it. The psychiatrist or the physician is the logical person, at least at the present stage of development, to be the director of such a clinic, although local circumstances and variations in set-up may, at times, justify

² Lawson G. Lowrey, M.D., *A Child Guidance Clinic, Its Purposes and Methods of Service*" (New York: National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1924), p. 4.

a different practice. But there is no good reason for speaking of such a clinic as a "psychiatric clinic," for, if it is a clinic at all, it is a co-operative enterprise in which all the specialists concerned pool their knowledge, their insight, and techniques.

Most of the existing clinics have proceeded on the assumption that the psychiatrist, besides making and interpreting his own findings, also exercises the function of interpreting the findings of the psychologist and the social worker. But it cannot always be assumed that by virtue of his training and experience the psychiatrist is in a position to do full justice to these tasks. It is difficult to see why it should be tacitly assumed, as is so often done, that physicians have more psychological knowledge and sociological knowledge than psychologists and sociologists have medical knowledge. There is no reason for supposing that the one is less technical than the other and that the one can be acquired with less training than the other. If a psychiatrist happens to show a penetrating understanding of a critical family situation, or if he happens to be able to isolate the factors that lie back of the break-down of community control in a given case, it is no more due to his training as a psychiatrist than if a sociologist happened to be correct in his guess that the behavior of a child was in part due to a fractured skull or to hyperthyroidism. In both instances we have nothing more than the opinions of laymen. Unless the psychiatrist, besides his training in medicine, neurology, and psychiatry—which, it seems, is enough to keep one man occupied for a good share of his lifetime—can also equip himself as a specialist in psychology and sociology, there is no reason to expect from him more than a layman's judgment in these fields.

It is not strange to find that most child guidance clinics have not thought of including a sociologist in their staff, when one considers that until recently there were only a few professional sociologists who interested themselves in the concrete and very practical problems of human behavior presented by child guidance clinics. Meanwhile the social workers have become not merely the interpreters of the social sciences but have also translated the theoretical knowledge of these sciences into practical working techniques. Partly as a result of this they have become the backbone of the clinic staffs. It is largely through the influence of the social worker that the social

factors in behavior problems have been called to the attention of the psychiatrist. The social workers in many instances have assimilated the psychiatric viewpoint, with the apparent result that a new type of psychiatry seems to be emerging, distinguished from the older by its emphasis on the situational factors in personality development and behavior problems.³ In one modern child guidance clinic the interest in physical treatment has been almost completely displaced by "social-psychiatric" treatment. The director of this clinic says:

In general, treatment proceeds (as is common in child guidance clinics) through the joint efforts of psychiatrist and social worker and frequently the psychologist. The Institute does practically nothing in the way of physical treatment, referring cases needing such to the family physician (or family specialist) or to the clinics to which the patients would ordinarily go. So far as the major efforts are concerned, the most important phases of the treatment are contributed by the psychiatric social worker in her attempt to remold attitudes in the home, the school and elsewhere, and by the psychiatrist in his work with the individual patient, or, in many instances, with parents, where the psychotherapeutic problem is at a level beyond that to which the social worker is prepared to go. *There is here the application of psychiatric principles and techniques to the influencing of the social situation; and the shifting of various elements in the social setting to influence the psychiatric situation.*

This emphasis on social-psychiatric treatment is the keynote of practically all mental hygiene effort at the present time. Its evolution has brought such work to the point where diagnosis for diagnosis' sake is not regarded as particularly valuable. Instead, *diagnostic formulation* of all the issues in the situation is regarded as of value *only* as a means for the development of the treatment process. To the social worker, teacher, or parent the application of a diagnostic label to a child who is in difficulty may have some value, but increasingly these groups are demanding more than labels. What is wanted is some understanding of the situation (including all the individuals important in it) and how it evolved, in terms of what may be done about it. This emphasis on treatment or, as it is commonly called, adjustment, in schools, social agencies, and the community at large, has necessarily led to a reformulation of diagnostic concepts. In practice, this has meant the interpretation and formulation of all the elements of the entire situation, instead of the application of a single diagnostic formula. Some of the leading psychiatrists of the country, notably Adolf Meyer, have long insisted that this is the necessary thing in psychiatric work namely

³ The organization of the "Committee on Relations with the Social Sciences" by the American Psychiatric Association, and the emphasis on the social factors in the programs of the American Orthopsychiatric Association are indicative of this change (see *Program of Seventh Annual Meeting*, New York, February 21-22, 1930).

to see all the elements in the total picture which the patient shows, and particularly those upon which a reintegration of personality or social relationships may be built. This evolution in psychiatric practice accordingly is not so novel as it might seem: instead it is a logical development in the application of psychiatry to the problems of behavior and personality.⁴

That the discovery of social relations on the part of psychiatrists should have been so long delayed is not surprising in view of the academic and clinical training which medical men have been accustomed to receive. The opinion has sometimes been expressed by social workers that, after collecting the social histories on patients that are to be examined by psychiatrists, they often received nothing more from the psychiatrists in return than excerpts from their own social histories to which the psychiatrist added a diagnostic label, which, except in cases of institutionalization, was of little practical value in treatment. While this is undoubtedly an exaggeration, it is a point which demands consideration. It appears that the division of labor between psychiatrist and social worker has been based upon a traditional and authoritative arrangement rather than upon actual differences in technique, although there can be no question about the fundamentally different backgrounds in the training for the two professions. It is difficult, for instance, for social workers who have an acquaintance with sociology and social psychology to understand why the treatment of the patient has to be administered by the psychiatrist while the treatment of the members of the patient's family and the members of his social groups can safely be entrusted to the social worker. The question which they sometimes raised was: Why is the process of changing the patient's attitude psychiatric treatment or "psychotherapy," while changing the attitude of the patient's wife or mother is social treatment? The fact that psychotherapy is generally carried on behind the closed doors of the psychiatrist's office and is scarcely ever described in objective terms may account for the confused opinions about it and the scepticism with which it has been received in some quarters. In substituting the medical for the moral point of view in matters of human behavior psychotherapy undoubtedly constitutes a great advance upon previous approaches, but it is regrettable that one can find no

⁴ Lawson G. Lowrey, Director, Institute for Child Guidance, New York, *Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1928*, pp. 23-25.

clear description of this approach in the literature. In most of the textbooks on psychiatry one searches in vain for as objective and concrete a description of the psychiatrist's technique as the psychoanalysts have given of their method of procedure. Until this technique is more than the secret of the individual practitioner it is hazardous to attempt to pass any scientific judgment upon it.

THE CULTURAL APPROACH

A number of clinics have developed in various parts of the United States in which, in addition to the usual psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers, the staff includes sociologists as well. Some of these clinics in order to differentiate themselves from the so-called psychiatric clinics have labeled themselves "sociological clinics." But just as the psychiatrists are retreating from the extreme and unwarranted claims of some of the members of their profession, so the sociologists will probably give up the anachronism of a sociological clinic, for the very nature of a science renders it incapable of solving any problem by itself. While one may legitimately speak of the psychiatric approach or the sociological approach to behavior problems it is impossible to conceive of either a psychiatrist or sociologist constituting a clinic by himself. The factual and practical knowledge that the representatives of the various scientific disciplines may have to contribute toward the understanding and treatment of a given problem or case is much less clearly differentiated one from the other than the theoretical dividing lines between the respective sciences and techniques seem to indicate. In actual practice the function played by each depends perhaps more upon the personal knowledge and background of the scientist and technician than upon the theoretical claims of the science he represents. This does not obviate the necessity, however, of formulating, as clearly as it can be done, the distinctive points of view and techniques of each.

An attempt to state the sociological approach to those behavior problems that are generally dealt with by child guidance clinics has recently been made by Thomas⁵ on the basis of what is taking place

⁵ William I. Thomas and Dorothy Thomas, *The Child in America* (New York, 1929), chaps. xii and xiii.

in practice rather than what is desirable in theory and defensible as a program. It is difficult to gather from this statement the precise characteristics which differentiate the sociological from other approaches to personality and behavior problems. The emphasis upon "conditioning" in the formulation of the sociological approach, as represented by Thomas, would be regarded by many as distinctive of the physiological and the psychological point of view. In fact, the sociologist and social psychologist would be inclined to be critical of the notion of conditioning as it has been taken over by the psychologists from experiments on animal behavior to the realm of human conduct on the ground that physical stimulations must always be seen in the light of the meaning which they have for a particular person, and are significant for the explanation of conduct only when seen in terms of the interpretation which the individual puts upon them. Similarly, the claim that the "total situation approach" is distinctly a contribution of the sociologists would be difficult to defend in view of the fact that the social psychiatrists from Adolf Meyer and William Healy to the most recent representatives of this point of view have been emphasizing the need of viewing the child from the standpoint of the total situation. Whether these men have profited from the sociological literature in arriving at this point of view is not a matter of importance unless one is interested in merely establishing priority of claims between the various sciences. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the sociologists thus far has been the attempt to correct the shortcomings and especially the particularistic fallacies of those who have traditionally been concerned with these problems.

The positive contributions of the sociologist, the results of which in practical terms have thus far been only partially realized, seem to consist in what may broadly be characterized as the cultural approach to behavior problems. If the sociological approach has any significance then the notion that behavior, whatever else it may be from other points of view, is a cultural product, is a crucial starting-point. The sociological approach to behavior rests upon the recognition that a person is an individual with status,⁶ and that personal-

⁶ "The person is an individual who has status. We come into the world as individuals. We acquire status, and become persons. Status means position in society. The

ity is "the sum and organization of those traits which determine the rôle of the individual in the group."⁷ It is not merely a verbal difference but a fundamental question of orientation, as Burgess has shown,⁸ whether the child is studied as an individual or whether he is studied as a person. The cultural approach to personality does not rule out as insignificant the biological, the psychological, and the psychiatric approach, but illuminates phases of behavior which cannot be adequately understood in terms of the latter. Furthermore, if the behavior of the child is seen as a constellation of a number of rôles, each oriented with reference to a social group in which he has a place, his organic and psychological traits are thereby not excluded as unimportant, but become capable of interpretation with reference to their social significance. For example, a boy, whose parents have had the bad judgment to name him Percival or Oswald, may, in a given cultural milieu of his associates, be suffering from as significant a stigma as if he had one leg or a hair lip. It is not desirable that the sociologist should displace the physician, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, or the social worker, but he should bring to them the insights which his approach furnishes not merely in order to modify their viewpoint but to understand the child's behavior more completely as a social phenomenon.

individual inevitably has some status in every social group of which he is a member. In a given group the status of every member is determined by his relation to every other member of that group. Every smaller group, likewise, has a status in some larger group of which it is a part and this is determined by its relation to all the other members of the larger group. The individual's self consciousness—his conception of his rôle in society, his 'self,' in short—while not identical with his personality is an essential element in it. The individual's conception of himself, however, is based on his status in the social group or groups of which he is a member. The individual whose conception of himself does not conform to his status is an isolated individual. The completely isolated individual, whose conception of himself is in no sense an adequate reflection of his status, is probably insane. It follows from what is said that an individual may have many 'selves' according to the group to which he belongs and the extent to which each of these groups is isolated from the others. It is true, also, that the individual is influenced in differing degrees and in a specific manner, by the different types of groups of which he is a member. This indicates the manner in which the personality of the individual may be studied sociologically" (Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 55).

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 70.

⁸ E. W. Burgess, "The Study of the Delinquent as a Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXVIII (May, 1923), 657-80.

A fact that is often overlooked is that the behavior problems of children are problems only because the child lives in a family, goes to a school, or is a member of a community which regards this behavior as a problem. His behavior is recognized as a problem only because it takes place in a culture which has given to the action of the individuals the imprint of its definitions of conduct. Being lazy is not a great problem in a child if that child is a member of a family that expects no work of it; being "finnick" about food is seldom a problem in children that come from families in which food is scarce. Even stealing is not a problem in a child that lives in a family of thieves, although the community may regard it as such. One might even go as far as to say, as practical experience seems to demonstrate, that being unintelligent is not an irreparable disaster in a child that is born into a family of wealth. Behavior problems turn out to be those forms of conduct which the person himself or others with whom he comes in contact regard as problems.⁹ There are, of course, many parents and psychiatrists who recognize this fact, but there are many more who do not. Similarly, there are still some who speak of reality as if it were a definite something that is the same for all classes and places, and who, therefore, fail to realize that a person is not necessarily pathological because his attitudes toward others and his conceptions of reality differ materially from those of others. In such instances the sociologist is in a position to point out that a child's world is real if he can get the people who are significant in his life to accept it as real.

The sociologist, in so far as he has a point of view and method of approach to problems of personality and behavior, proceeds on the hypothesis that human beings everywhere live in social groups and that the conduct of the individuals, however it may differ from others, is always expressive of the culture of the group. But a child, for instance, in our type of civilization is seldom just a member of one group, except during the earliest period of life, but of many intersecting and conflicting groups and may at times show behavior traits which are at variance with the standards of the group of which we are accustomed to regard him as a member. These differences in

⁹ For differences in evaluation of behavior problems by teachers and mental hygienists see E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York, 1928), p. 188.

group standards may be gross or they may be very subtle. A child's loyalty to the dictates of his gang may account for his disobedience of the rules of family life. Or the subtle influences of the personality of a teacher may change the honesty curve of children passing from one school room to another.¹⁰ Even the "intelligence" of children as measured by tests may change as the child is transferred from one foster home to another.¹¹ What is sometimes regarded as the one element in the life of the individual capable of exact and objective description, namely, the so-called environment, can be shown to be different for every person, so that different children living in the same family do not have the "same environment."¹² A recent study of the Molokan colony in Los Angeles, a sectarian Russian immigrant group,¹³ offers a striking demonstration of the value of the cultural approach to delinquency. There were age groups in this community in which the delinquency rate was almost negligible and others in which it was astoundingly high. The data of the psychologist, the psychiatrist, and the social worker apparently did not furnish any plausible explanations for the delinquent careers that occurred in the group and failed to reveal any significant differences between the delinquents and non-delinquents. But when the cultural history of the community was analyzed the explanation became apparent. These and similar insights are indicative of the significance of the sociological approach to behavior problems.

However firmly convinced the sociologist may be that he has a contribution of value to make to clinical procedure, it is often difficult to convince others, especially orthodox psychiatrists, that this is so. That the sociologist has, perhaps, an understanding about the

¹⁰ See M. A. May and H. Hartshorne, *Character Education Inquiry, Studies in Deceit*, New York, 1928. For a discussion of this question in which psychiatrists and social scientists participated see *Proceedings of the First Colloquium on Personality Investigation*, American Psychiatric Association, New York, December 1-2, 1928, especially pp. 49-54.

¹¹ Frank N. Freeman and Others, "The Influence of Environment on the Intelligence, School Achievement, and Conduct of Foster Children," *Twenty-seventh Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Bloomington, Illinois, 1928.

¹² Blanche C. Weill, *The Behavior of Young Children in the Same Family*, "Harvard Studies in Education," No. 10.

¹³ Pauline V. Young, *The Holy Jumpers of Russian Town*, Manuscript, chap. x, p. 19, and "Urbanization as a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV (1930), 162-66.

family, boys' gangs, community life, social institutions, and other phases of group life, is quite generally admitted. What some psychiatrists are not so ready to grant is that the sociologist may have a contribution to make to the study of personality and individual behavior problems which is not already represented by other members of the clinic staff.

For example, in the organization of a child guidance clinic, recently, the psychiatrist representing a foundation interested in the project insisted that if a sociologist were included in the staff his function would have to be restricted to the "investigation of the social groups of the patient," while the social worker investigated the "environment." That such a restriction, which prevents the social worker and sociologist from having contact with the patient, if literally followed, would prevent effective work in the clinic is quite obvious. At least, in so far as the social worker is concerned, the established practice in clinics is to the contrary.

The question has been raised, what additional material the psychiatrist would gather, outside data bearing on the physical, the neurological, and the emotional conflict aspects of the patient, if he did not have the social worker's social history before him. The experiment now being tried in one clinic in New York City of not giving the psychiatrist any social history when he examines the patient will be worth watching for its outcome. It is, of course, necessary in any clinic to conserve the energy, the patience, and the good will of the patient by preventing unnecessary duplication of questioning, but there is no good reason for assuming that sociologists and social workers will be less successful as interviewers than are psychiatrists, or that the findings of the sociologists and social workers will be less valuable and substantial. If the sociologist is to work successfully in a clinic it is essential that he have access to the patient as freely as everyone else concerned with the problem, for to investigate groups in the abstract without contact with the persons that compose them is not likely to be very useful in clinical procedure.

THE SCOPE OF CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY

The scope of the sociologists' activities remains to be more precisely defined as their experiences in these clinics accumulate. While

it is not practicable to set down a priori the functions that the sociologist is to serve, at least three avenues of possible usefulness in a child guidance clinic suggest themselves:

1. He might devote himself exclusively to research. The materials which these clinics usually collect offer opportunity for this.

2. He might act as consultant to the other members of the staff and might be of use in training social workers and psychiatrists in those phases of their work of which the sociologist has special knowledge. This might serve to introduce the cultural approach to behavior problems to other specialists.

3. He might directly participate in the study of cases and in their treatment. This would involve interviewing and other contact with patients, study of their social world, the collection and analysis of life-histories, contacts with the community, the school and social agencies, participation in staff conferences and the participation in programs of adjustment. Out of the experiences with sociologists in such co-operative work will undoubtedly grow a division of labor between the members of the clinic staff through which duplication of effort will be reduced to a minimum. In the existing clinics in which sociologists participate all three varieties of functions are represented. In some clinics the sociologists, in addition, serve as directors, which, however, does not materially affect their technical function.

The question might be raised whether the sociologist has anything to contribute to clinical work which is not already adequately supplied by the social worker whose training, it may be supposed, is at least partly sociological. The answer will, of course, depend upon the resourcefulness, the imagination, the insight, the interests, and the specific training of the social workers and the sociologists in question. The cultural approach, represented by the sociologist, has thus far not been in evidence, except incidentally and fragmentarily, in clinics in which sociologists have not taken part. The heavy burdens and the wide range of activities of the social workers at present make it difficult to devote the necessary attention to the specialized and technical phases of personality and behavior problems which the sociologist is in a position to deal with. In addition to his present training and training in psychiatry the social worker in a child guidance clinic needs to be trained in clinical sociology. Nothing indi-

cates more clearly that the sociological approach has been largely neglected by psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers in the past than the outlines for history-taking that are still in use in most clinics.¹⁴ These outlines are oriented largely with reference to the psychiatric and psychological factors and the physical resources for the treatment of the patient. In most of them, for instance, there is a great deal of attention paid to biological inheritance, and almost none to family traditions; much to the physical surroundings, and little to the social world; a great deal to the delinquencies and failures to adjust to school, to the home, to companions, and occupation, and relatively little to the interplay of attitudes between the child and those with whom he comes in contact and the cultural conflicts under which he labors. The habits of the child are generally recorded minutely, but the group customs of which they generally are a reflection and the milieu out of which they grow are often ignored. Objective descriptions of the fears, grudges, loyalties, aversions, and attachments are recorded as are the persons and objects toward which they are directed, while the private and personal meanings which they have for the child are often overlooked. If the sociologist can obtain some insight into the motives and attitudes of the child, his intimacy and distance to others, the personal meanings of the factors in the situation in which he finds himself, and, if he can more fully understand the behavior of the child in terms of the culture of the groups of which he is a member, he is dealing with elements which, although they are not physical, are nevertheless real and significant. If, in addition, the technique of community analysis, in which the sociologists have made a distinct contribution, can be extended to similar analyses of family and group life, their services will be indispensable.¹⁵

The sociological approach to behavior problems will remain mainly theoretical and academic unless it also evidences an interest in controlling and reconstructing the behavior of the child. It is of

¹⁴ See Myrtle Storm Mink and Herman M. Adler, M.D., "Suggested Outline for History Taking in Cases of Behavior Disorders in Children," reprint from March, 1926, *Welfare Magazine*, and Bibliography of other outlines at end of article.

¹⁵ For a summary of the significance of the community analyses thus far made by sociologists see Ernest W. Burgess, "The Cultural Approach to Behavior," *Mental Hygiene*, XIV (April, 1930), 307-25.

more than theoretical significance, consequently, what we conceive the nature of personality to be. Our conception must not merely conform to the facts, but in order to be fruitful clinically it must also furnish clues for treatment. The possibility of the sociological technique, which is in the course of development through the practice of the increasing number of clinical sociologists, can here be only tentatively outlined.

"What distinguishes the action of men from animals may best be expressed in the word 'conduct.'"¹⁶ According to Park, conduct is self-conscious and personal, it is conventional behavior and consists of action that is oriented with reference to a goal which is not immediately present. This accounts for the fact that we usually confine our moral and legal judgments to the conduct of human beings. It is this element which raises the actions of human beings to the level where they are regarded as "behavior problems." The life-history document, especially the autobiography, acquires for this reason a special significance, not only in the understanding of the conduct of the individual, but also in the control of this conduct and the reconstruction of his personality. The telling of his life story or the writing of his autobiography on the part of the delinquent may be one of the most effective devices in a therapeutic program.¹⁷

One of the major therapeutic tasks in which the sociologist is likely to have a primary interest is the modification and manipulation of the child's social world. If changes in behavior can be brought about by making changes in the school, home, and community life, as is amply demonstrated by experience, then here is a phase of therapy to which the sociologist may properly devote himself. William I. Thomas, some years ago, suggested the possibility of "beneficent framing" as a method of social therapy. By this he meant the deliberate manipulation of the child's social world in order to make it more responsive to his wishes. The substitution of socially approved for socially disapproved values as satisfaction for the wishes of the individual opens a field of broad possibility to the

¹⁶ Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, p. 191.

¹⁷ See Clifford R. Shaw. *The Jack-Roller*, Chicago, 1930. This technique is in many respects similar to that used by the psychoanalysts, but is in striking contrast to "moralizing."

sociologist in which the social worker is equipped to co-operate effectually. This "beneficent framing" involves frequently the modification of the attitudes and the behavior of members of the child's social world. From the standpoint of the child two major therapeutic techniques present themselves, viz., the modification of the child's attitudes toward his social world and the significant people in it, and the modification of his conception of himself. That these techniques are all fundamentally interrelated needs no argument. In the actual working out of such programs the sociologist will, no doubt, have much to learn from the social workers, who have been gaining practical experience in these matters for many years, without, however, being fully aware of all that the sociological approach to behavior problems implies.

The function of the sociologist in child guidance clinics is not to displace the psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the social worker but to enrich the resources of these clinics through the introduction of a point of view and a method which have hitherto been largely neglected. One danger of the rapid development of the field of clinical sociology seems to be that the claims which the sociologist makes for himself are apt to be exaggerated and he is likely to begin to look upon himself as a member of a cult. For this reason it is necessary to insist that the sociologist had better be rather modest in his claims and bear in mind that by himself alone he is incapable of dealing with clinical problems effectually. It is also necessary for the sociologist always to safeguard himself against the possible charge of quackery by taking the fullest account of the medical and psychological factors in the child's behavior and not to undertake the treatment of behavior problems without fully assuring himself that the medical and psychological factors are passed upon by specialists in these fields. The problem of greatest significance at present seems to be to keep the clinics from becoming the battleground of various groups of specialists each with a vested interest, and to keep the point of view and method of procedure flexible and experimental rather than caked with ritual and dogma. In this way we shall be promoting not merely our own science but shall aid in the building up of communities of scholars each of whom is conscious of his own limitations and his dependence upon others for the solution of a common problem.

THE NORDIC AND ALPINE RACES AND THEIR KIN: A STUDY OF ETHNOLOGICAL TRENDS

GRIFFITH TAYLOR
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

The writer briefly explains his "Zones and Strata Concept of Racial Evolution." This indicates that the Alpines with a central position evolved later than the Nordic and Mediterranean races with a more peripheral position. The Aryan languages appear also to be arranged in zones, and some suggestions as to their evolution are made. The Nordic race is somewhat akin to the Mediterranean, and probably originated in Siberia. The Chinese represent the eastern wing of the Alpine race. The thrusts of the latter determine the main features of world-history. The Nordic race in Europe appears to be dying out. The influx of Central Europeans (Alpines) into the United States will be likely to improve the American nation.

The scientific study of race, in the writer's opinion, is less understood by the intelligent layman than is the case with any other social subject of real importance. This is a great pity, for racial problems are probably the major cause of unrest in the world today. All over the world we find politicians, and even statesmen, cheerfully legislating on racial matters without the vaguest idea as to the meaning of race. They think of "race prejudice" as if it had a real biological basis; whereas, if the truth were known, their ideas of racial difference are almost entirely determined by their knowledge of the purely *cultural* (i.e., man-made) distinctions between *nations*.

In some circles it is apparently accepted as no mean achievement to compress the history of the republic into five hundred words. In the writer's opinion it is possible to express the controlling factor in the history of the whole world in the *five* words: "Expansion of the Alpine Race." This phenomenon is behind the phrase *ex oriente lux*. It largely explains the Völker-Wanderung of the Dark Ages. It is the key to the Mogul Empire in India, to the Manchu victories in China, to the Polynesian migrations. In present times it is behind the Chinese dominance in the East Indies. Even such different problems as the rise of the Jewish plutocracy, the spread of Slavs and Poles in the United States and of Ukrainians in Western Canada, may turn out to be based on a real, if slight, racial (i.e., biological) superiority of the Alpine race.

RACIAL CRITERIA

There is unfortunately no unanimity among ethnologists as to the criteria which determine race, but all are agreed that hair texture and skull shape are two of the most important.

In the accompanying maps (which are largely based on those of the Italian ethnologist Biasutti)¹ the distribution of head index (cephalic index) is shown in Figure 1. In this criterion the greatest length of the head (from brow to back) is called 100 units, and then the greatest breadth (above the ears) is measured in terms of the length.

In Figure 1 the narrowheads (conveniently called "dokephs") inhabit outlying regions in Africa and Australia, the broadheads

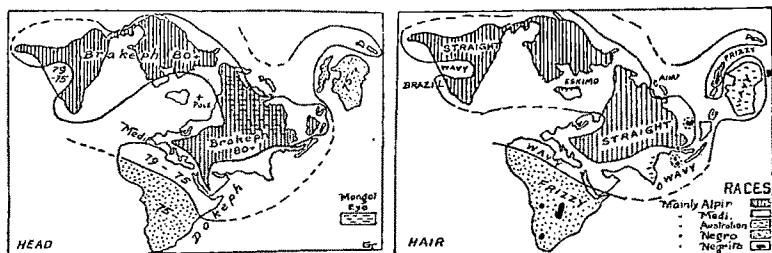


FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 1.—Main zones of head-shape. Broad in Central Asia; narrow around the margins of Eurasia.

FIG. 2.—Main zones of hair texture. Straight in Central Asia; wavy around the margins. (Both figures based on Biasutti.)

(brakephs) are found in the heart of the Old World and America, while the intermediate peoples with indices near 80 (like those of the Anglo-Saxons) live in a zone between the other two.

Turning to the map in Figure 2, we see a somewhat similar arrangement regarding hair texture. In the margins farthest from Asia are primitive folk with frizzy hair, like the negritoes and negroes. The peoples of Central Europe and Central Asia have straight or nearly straight hair. Between is a zone with wavy hair, which includes the Western and Southern Europeans. The aborigines of Australia also have wavy hair—which in the writer's opinion indi-

¹ R. Biasutti, *Antropogeografia* (Florence, 1912).

cates that they are to be placed biologically between the African (and Melanesian) negroes and the peoples of Western Europe.

• THE "ZONES AND STRATA" CONCEPT

One of the greatest generalizations made in natural science during the last twenty years has been due to the examination of the distribution of genera and species. The biologist Matthew of New York produced his most stimulating book, *Climate and Evolution*, in 1915. Here he showed that the mammals were distributed in zones which gave the clue to their evolution. Willis, the botanist, developed the same idea in 1922 in his discussion of the spread of floras. Wissler later used the same concept in regard to the spread of cultures. The present writer based his interpretation of racial evolution in 1919² on the same principle, to which he has given the name, "The Zones and Strata Concept of Racial Evolution."

I can best illustrate this concept by a personal experience. Some years ago I was traveling in the interior of Australia some 200 miles from Sydney, and happened to meet an ox team conveying the goods and chattels of a "bush" family to a new district. Returning nearer to Sydney—within about 150 miles—I came across one of the old buses (which I remember plying in Sydney about 1895 or so) still actively engaged in traffic in this outer zone. Within 100 miles of Sydney the motorbuses dominate transport. In Sydney itself we see many more aeroplanes than in any other part of the state. (See Fig. 3.)

If now we investigate the "archeological" relics in the "dump" of an engineer's yard in Sydney, we shall find fragments of aeroplanes overlying parts of motorbus engines, and these in turn heaped over bits of horse-drawn vehicles. At the bottom may be some moldering yokes of the ox teams which left Sydney fifty years ago. These relics are of course to be found in similar order under the outer zones also, as is shown in the section at the front of the block diagram in Figure 3. Everyone can interpret this sequence, which illustrates the Evolution of Transport from the ox team up to the aeroplane. It is clear that this series of zones (ox team, horse-bus, motorbus,

² "Climatic Cycles and Evolution," *Geographical Review*, VIII (1919), 289; *Environment and Race* (Oxford Press, 1927).

aeroplane) is the same as the series of strata. But the most significant deduction is that this sequence implies (a) that the most primitive type is pushed to the periphery and (b) that the most advanced type occurs in the center of the zones, where the stimulus (commercial in this case) has been greatest.

We see that a series of racial zones³ centering about South-Central Asia is clearly demonstrated by the racial distribution in Figure 3 (at left). These zones are named in the corner of Figure 2. All racial history shows that the dominant movements of early man (wherever we can reconstruct them) have been centrifugal from Asia.

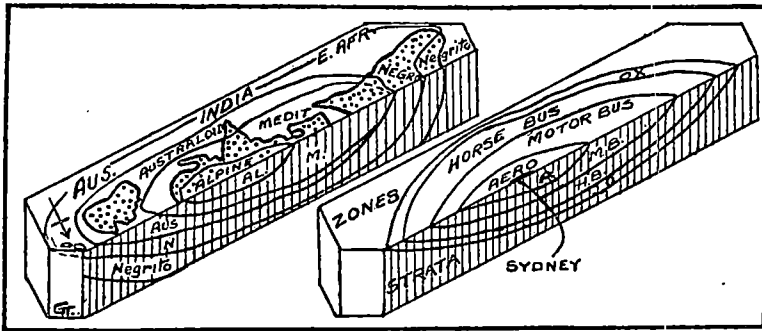


FIG. 3.—The “zones and strata” concept applied to racial evolution (left) and transport evolution (right). The two block diagrams illustrate distribution data on the surface, and buried “archeological” data in section on front edges. (From *Human Biology*, February, 1930.)

Two very interesting deductions may be referred to here, which I have never seen stressed in current anthropology. We found the ox team flourishing today precisely where it did not originate, for in Australia its original site was certainly Sydney. So, also, the discovery of a primitive skull in South Africa or Australia to my mind has no bearing on the site of the cradle-land of man. Rather it tells us where *not* to look for a cradle-land. Secondly, if the concept outlined above is true, then some of those broad-headed Alpine folk in or near Turkestan are indicated as the last types of man to develop in the stimulating cradle-land of man. Many anthropologists will

³ The zones shown on the surface of the left-hand diagram, are the same as are shown for Southern Asia, etc., in Figure 1. The observer is looking southward in Figure 3.

deny that one race is physically higher or better or later than another. Most anthropologists will say that we have insufficient knowledge to debate the matter. As a student of human ecology, the writer cannot see any escape from the conclusion that these Alpine folk in Central Asia are later and physically higher types of man than the West European (Mediterranean); just as the aeroplane is a later and higher type of transportation than the ox team.⁴

THE EARLY EUROPEAN PEOPLES

After the Ice Ages the climate of Europe became much warmer—possibly somewhat warmer than it is today. It was about this period, 10,000 or 12,000 B.C., that the first great migrations of the earliest important race entered Europe. These "Mediterranean" folk came into Spain and France by way of Algeria and introduced the Tardenoisian culture.

The first typical "Mediterranean" peoples were slighter in build, and not so artistic in temperament as the Cromagnon type who preceded them. Similar tribes occupied North Africa; and probably the modern Fellahin of Egypt, and the Gallas and Somalis of East Africa, very nearly resemble the first important stock to settle Europe. To this day they constitute the most numerous strain in parts of Western Europe. They are found in South Italy, and especially in Sardinia, in much of Spain and Portugal, and in Southwest France. They have left descendants in the short dark man of Devon, of Wales, of the Scotch Highlands. They are not unknown in small groups in Norway, and at the other extreme in Greece. (See Fig. 5.)

THE EUROPEAN LANGUAGES ARE PROBABLY ALPINE IN ORIGIN

What language did they speak? Not long ago these early dark peoples in Britain spoke Erse or its ally Gaelic, Welsh or its extinct ally Cornish. There was for a time a belief that these early Aryan⁵ languages were the original speech of the short dark aborigines of

⁴ The reader who wishes to read my explanation as to how climatic changes have produced these racial zones, will find it in chapter xx of *Environment and Race*.

⁵ The word "Aryan" should be used only in connection with language. It is not a race term.

Britain. But many objections to this theory cropped up, and the present explanation is quite otherwise. Two Welsh philologists (Rhys and Jones) have tabulated the peculiarities of the early Aryan languages Welsh and Erse, and find that they differ in many curious features from other (later-introduced) Aryan tongues.⁶ Especially is this true in the syntax. Thus, "Is he after finding his wife" is a common Irish expression molded on the Erse syntax (meaning "He has found his wife"). It is quite unlike the usual Aryan form of a past tense; but according to Morris-Jones, it clearly resembles the

TABLE I
ARYAN LANGUAGES

West		Center	East
Early <i>Kentum</i> Type of Speech		Later <i>Satem</i> Type of Speech	
Largely Mediterranean Race	Largely Nordic Race	Largely Alpine Race	
Primitive <i>K</i> (or <i>Q</i>)	Later <i>P</i>	East Europe	Southwest Asia
Gaelic 100 = Keud 5 = Kuig	Welsh 100 = Kant 5 = Pump	Lithuanian 100 = Szimta 5 = Penke	Sanskrit 100 = Satem 5 = Panch
Latin 100 = Kent 5 = Kink	Teutonic (and Greek) 100 = Hund 5 = Finf	Slavonic 100 = Sito 5 = Pietz	Armenian 100 = 5 = Pese

syntax of early Egyptian speech. He gives a score of different analogies (such as the conjugation of prepositions, word-order, agreement of verbs, etc.) between the language of the Pyramids and these idiosyncrasies of the so-called "Neo-Keltic" tongues. We may, I think, accept the view—which is borne out by the racial history—that the aborigines in Britain originally spoke a Hamitic tongue not unlike that of the Pharaohs, which is not in the least like Erse or Welsh in essentials. Where did they obtain their later Aryan speech? To ascertain this we must turn to another environment and to a somewhat later chapter in racial history.

In 1920 the writer pointed out that the more primitive Aryan speeches were spoken by the *Western* European peoples who, in

⁶ Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People* (London, 1900). See Appendix.

general, were of narrow-headed race (dokephs), while the later types were spoken by Alpine races who are broad-headed (brakephs).⁷ This feature is best summarized in Table I.

The Aryan languages are generally classified in two groups, *Kentum* and *Satem*. These are the words for "a hundred" in two contrasted speeches, Latin and Sanskrit. The Kentum languages are again divided (according to a very general sound-change) into the early *K* (or *Q*) speeches and the later *P* speeches. The words for "five" illustrate these subclasses, as shown in Latin (*quinque*) and Greek (*pente*). It is interesting to note that Latin and Gaelic are *K* languages, while the Greek and Welsh are *P* languages, and hence fundamentally allied. If we chart these languages on a map of Eurasia, they form a series of zones arranged around Southwest Asia. (See Fig 4.) It is the most western language—the earliest to leave Asia, and presumably that most affected by

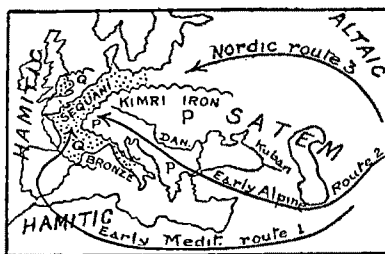


FIG. 4.—A diagram illustrating the routes of the three main races. About 800 B.C. the two Kentum waves of Aryan-speakers (*P* and *Q*) were conquering the western Mediterranean race, who spoke Hamitic languages.

contact with the pre-Aryan tribes—whose syntax differs most from the general Aryan pattern. This group includes Erse and Gaelic.

Let us now consider the archaeological data with regard to the period from about 10,000 B.C. onward. In many portions of Central Europe the ancient graves indicate that the modern broad-headed Alpine population was preceded by a dokeph migration, perhaps of Nordics. This is especially true in the northern regions of what is now almost wholly Alpine country in Europe. Yet here is a difficulty. A few of the oldest skulls discovered in Central Europe (as at Ofnet near Munich) are quite broad-headed, and of Alpine type. On the other hand, in Denmark there is a very early culture (usually linked with similar northern Asiatic culture) which some have considered to be due to the earliest Nordic peoples. It is difficult to say exactly which is the earlier immigrant of these two different classes, Alpine and Nordic.

⁷ "Evolution of Race and Language," *Geographical Review*, XI (1921), 54.

If we consider the changing environment, it seems likely that the central portion of Europe became an easy route from Asia, before the lands in North Russia, etc., were suitable for primitive man. Thus, long after the Mediterranean route was established, we should expect to find man crossing directly from Asia Minor into the Balkans and thence proceeding up the Danube Valley into the central Alpine regions of Europe. There is little doubt that the early Alpine broad-heads did follow this route. (See Fig. 4.)

THE STEPPE FOLK, THE ORIGIN OF THE NORDIC RACE

I have suggested in my book *Environment and Race* (Fig. 40A) that a group of steppe peoples was living in the Baraba region northeast of the Caspian Sea while the Alpine peoples were beginning to enter Europe. The steppe peoples were perhaps prevented from migrating to the west by the bogs and extensions of the Baltic and Caspian seas. The vast Pripet marshes of West Russia are relics of the difficult conditions facing early man.

Who were these steppe folk, whom some call Proto-Nordic or Caspian? They were narrow-headed and not unlike the Mediterranean peoples—probably originally of the same stock. But they moved to the northwest from the original European cradle-land (Turkestan?) instead of to the southwest to Africa. For fifty thousand or perhaps a hundred thousand years, the environments of these two narrow-headed races (Mediterranean and steppe) differed. The northern group experienced cold "continental" climates; and the southern group, warm Mediterranean climates. In the writer's opinion this would suffice to change the northern form, originally much like the "Mediterranean," into that taller, fairer type, which is called Nordic. The popular type of the pure Nordic, the golden-haired giant, probably never existed save in a few valleys near Oslo. (See Fig. 5.)

Let us now consider the affinities of the Alpines and Nordics from another point of view. In a map charting some recent research on agglutination of the blood of the various races (by Steffan),⁸ it is noteworthy that the blood-index is much the same (1 to 2) from Central Europe right across to China, which indicates the affinity

⁸ "Distribution of Blood-Groups," *Z. für Rassen-Physiologie* (Munich, 1828).

between the Alpine race and so-called Mongolians. The writer has long grouped the two together as Alpine-Mongolian. So, also, in general the Nordic and Mediterranean regions both have high indices (above 3), which again perhaps indicates the common origin of these two latter stocks. It must be admitted, however, that the few determinations of the negro blood-index agree with no orthodox scheme of racial classification (*Human Biology*, February, 1930).

MIGRATIONS OF THE SWORDSMEN

There is, however, another line of evidence which is of great interest in connection with this problem of race, language, and migration. It is largely due to Peake.⁹ He has investigated the distribution (in time and place) of the bronze and iron swords throughout Europe. He finds that the bronze or laurel-leaf swords seem to have arisen somewhere near Hungary about the fifteenth century before Christ. Thence they were carried by victorious migrants to the southwest and west. The later specimens have been found in the western lands of Europe, e.g., in the valley of the Seine (Sequani); and Peake believes that these swordsmen conquered all Western Europe except Spain. He equates them with the first Aryan migration or people of the *Q* speech (see Table I). They were broad-headed Alpine people; but few, except the dokeph aborigines of Europe, speak these *Q* languages now (Fig. 4). If this general theory is correct, then the original Gaulic speech (Pictavian?) of France cannot have differed much from Latin. (The writer has never been able to see why French should not have been largely derived from the indigenous Pictavian rather than from the foreign tongue of Rome.)

Somewhere about the eleventh century B.C. the art of making iron swords was developed in the Caucasus region near the Kuban River. These Alpine swordsmen were better equipped than the users of the bronze swords and drove them ever to the westward, displacing them everywhere east of the valley of the Seine.

Peake equates the iron swords with the second Aryan wave, i.e., the *P* speakers (see Table I). He thinks it likely that they took part in the Dorian invasion of Greece about 1100 B.C. and later developed

⁹ *Bronze Age and the Keltic World* (London, 1922).

the famous iron culture at Hallstatt in the Tyrol. As regards the British Islands, it seems likely that a group of bronze swordsmen of Alpine race, speaking something akin to Erse (Irish) or Gaelic, split off from their fellows in France (who spoke Pictavian, one imagines) and about 600 B.C. conquered the short, dark aborigines of Britain. The latter spoke, up to that time, some Hamitic tongue akin to early Egyptian or possibly early Somali; but learned Erse from the brakeph invaders (see Fig. 4).

Some few centuries later, perhaps about 200 B.C., the iron swordsmen (speaking *P* languages) in turn invaded Britain. They were perhaps akin in race and language to the modern Bretons of Brittany. They drove the former British leaders to the west. No doubt the bulk of the short, dark aborigines cared little which turbulent overlord ruled over them, and hence did not migrate to any extent. These newcomers introduced Brythonic, which split into Welsh, Manx, and Cornish as the hybrid Britons were isolated by the later Roman or Saxon conquerors.

RACE AND NATION IN EUROPE

We have now considered some of the recent evidence which throws light on the origins and migrations of the three main European races: the Mediterranean in the south, the Alpine in the center and east, and the Nordic in the northwest. It will be profitable to consider how these racial factors bear upon the national and political problems of Europe. We must briefly consider the early history of Europe. A glance at the racial map of Europe (Fig. 5) shows that only in the central part of the continent is there even apparent racial purity in any nation. We have seen that the Britisher and Frenchman are in no small degree hybrids, or, at any rate, that two absolutely distinct races can quite readily live harmoniously as parts of one united nation. We may be sure that originally "Mediterranean" hated Saxon in Britain, and that in France Cro-Magnon, Breton, Frank (Nordic), and Savoyard (Alpine) fought tooth and nail before they decided that it saved a lot of trouble to make friends (see Fig. 5).

Let us see what racial differences there are between France and Germany, or between the Austrian and the Serb. Surely, if there be

anything insuperable in racial antagonisms, it will crop up somewhere as a cause of the bitter animosity of these nations. If we examine racial charts of France and Germany, we find that the racial cleavage runs east and west (see Fig. 5); while the national boundary (which is the boundary of cultures and of man-made prejudices) runs north and south. In other words, northern Frenchmen are Nordic and are not racially different from north Germans; and the south Frenchmen are Alpine, and are akin to south Germans.

In the pre-war Austrian Empire the governing Austrian group was German, and had a political alliance with the Hungarian of Asiatic

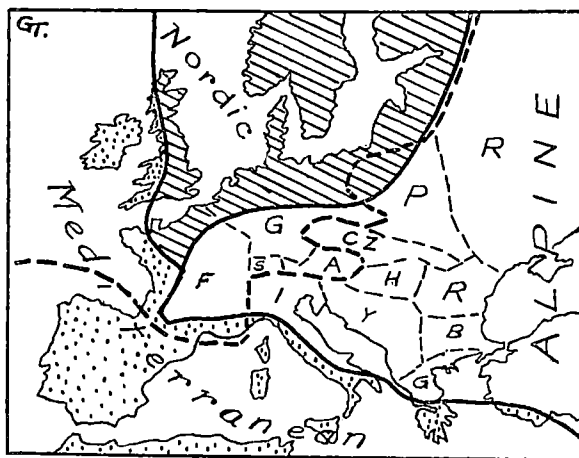


FIG. 5.—The three races which build up the nations of Europe. Nordic are tall, fair dokephs (narrow-heads). Mediterranean are short, dark dokephs. The Alpine "wedge" is distinguished by its broad-headed people. The heavy broken line includes (to the northwest) the nations which are virtually declining in population.

(Altaic) speech. They dominated (among other units) the Czech, who spoke a Slav language; the Roumanian, who spoke a Latin language, and the Bosnian, who was a Moslem. Here were differences of language, religion, culture, and environment—enough to wreck a dozen ships of state. But what about their races? Whether we consider head-index, hair, color, height, or any other racial criterion, we find that all belong to the same Alpine race. They are racially much more akin than are the man of Devon (Mediterran-

can), the man of Kent (Alpine), and the man of Lincoln (Nordic). Their enmity is all a question of the time and place of migration.

Of far more importance than race in determining the growth of a strong national feeling is a common environment bound together in a close network of communications, which again are centered on a well-placed capital city. Thus France developed about the national center at Paris. The lands shut off to the north by the Alps have looked to Rome. Half a hundred dialects, four major languages, and two opposed religions have not broken the Swiss Confederation, founded on a common Alpine environment around the valley of the Aar.

EASTERN EXPANSIONS OF THE ALPINE RACE

Lack of space will not permit me to do more than briefly refer to other migrations of Alpine people. Those writers who worship the Nordic fetish have explained the Golden Age of Greece as due to Nordic migrations invigorating the debased Mediterranean tribes of the Aegean region. The data are so doubtful that it is difficult to disprove such a statement, but it is at least significant that the peoples of Greece today are racially very close to the Slavs and are in effect largely Alpine. There is no trace of Nordic among them, though some districts are still dominantly Mediterranean.

Passing farther to the east, the writer has long maintained, from the geographical evidence of the zonal distribution, that the most progressive early peoples developed in the center of the racial zones in prehistoric times (see Fig. 1). Here, a priori we should expect to find the dawn of a true agricultural or settled civilization. It is significant that Pumpelly puts the founding of the cities of Southern Turkestan (at Askabad, etc.) much earlier than the dates assigned to Egyptian civilization.¹⁰ At Susa in Persia we have evidence of pottery perhaps as far back as 12,000 B.C. As regards the Sumerian peoples who colonized Mesopotamia, the writer suggested a dozen years ago that the evidence, such as it was, indicated that they were a broad-headed or Alpine race.

In India there is almost exactly the same sequence of migrations as in Europe. The aborigines were Australoids (or wavy-haired ne-

¹⁰ *Explorations in Turkestan* (Washington, 1905).

groes) who still persist in the southeast of the peninsula. These pre-Dravidians (akin in the writer's opinion to some of the later Neandertal folk of Europe) were invaded and driven south by Mediterranean races, sometimes known as Ethiopian or true Dravidian tribes. They are still found fairly pure in the southwestern mountains of India. In early historic times they founded a remarkable Dravidian civilization which affected nations even beyond India. The great Aryan migrations burst down from the northwest several millennia before Christ, and consisted (as in Europe) of Nordic (narrow-headed) types such as the Rajputs, and of Alpine types such as the Mahrati tribes. In 1398 Tamerlane, the emperor of the vast Alpine hordes of Central Asia, conquered Delhi; and later northern invaders carried on the Mogul (i.e., Mongol) empire for several centuries.

THE CHINESE—THE EASTERN ALPINE WING

In the Far East history repeats itself. The primitive peoples are pushed to the wall, and the overlords are Alpine broadheads. In the far south of China are isolated negroid relics probably representing an Australoid zone of the past. These are fairly common in the mountains of Burmah and Indo-China. The next zone (kin to the Mediterranean race) is also much broken up and submerged. The Lolo tribes in the upper valleys of the Yang-tse seem to belong to this zone, as do many of the Indonesian peoples of the East Indies. But vast hordes of Alpines poured out of the center of Asia into the Chinese coastlands probably before their brethren migrated into Europe. Chinese civilization advanced eastward from the Tarim basin, which is adjacent to that region in Turkestan whence Sumerian civilization was derived. The earliest Alpine migrants into Eastern Asia have in turn been driven out to the Pacific islands, where they form today the overlords of Polynesia. They are least mixed with earlier migrations in Samoa and Tonga. In Japan we see the Ainu aborigines (a hairy dokeph race akin to the early Nordics) always retreating northward before the attacks of the Japanese, who are hybrids (but mainly Alpine) in race (see Fig. 2).

Let us leave the pages of history and turn for a moment to the racial problems of today. The Chinese is the worker and the mer-

chant throughout the Federated Malay States. It is enough to state that the tin-mining (which supports these states) depends on the Chinese coolie; and that Singapore, the chief town of Malaya, although British in name, is literally a Chinese city. In 1921 the population of the small island of Singapore was 425,912, of whom 317,491 were Chinese, 58,520 Malay, and 6,231 European. This is, indeed, the true Yellow Peril—the unrivaled intelligence, industry, and sobriety of the migrating eastern wing of the Alpines in the Old World.

SURVIVAL OF ALPINE AND NORDIC RACES

In conclusion we may briefly consider whether the Alpine race is biologically superior to the Nordic. I have elsewhere¹¹ given my reasons for believing that the Alpines developed near Turkestan later than the Nordics and from some stock not unlike the latter. But on the present occasion I wish to discuss the population statistics of these two contrasted races in Europe.

A very interesting aspect of the racial rivalry is indicated by the eminent Italian economist, Professor Corrado Gini, in *Population* (University of Chicago Press, 1930). A number of statisticians, including Dublin and Kuczynski, have pointed out that birth- and death-rates do not tell us very satisfactorily how a nation is progressing. It is much better to consider the "survival-rate," based on the number of mothers in a generation who survive to maintain the population. Thus, among the northwest nations of Europe this survival-rate is not sufficient to maintain the population. For instance, England and Germany are about 14 per cent short of an adequate number. Esthonia, Sweden, Switzerland, and Austria also seem to be in a bad position; while Belgium, France (8 per cent), Finland (3 per cent), and Norway (7 per cent) are not so unsatisfactory in this respect. The Southeast European nations have populations where the supply of potential mothers is quite adequate. Indeed, Roumania has about 35 per cent in excess, while Italy (20 per cent), Bulgaria (17 per cent), Spain, and Russia also belong to this category. Holland is the only northern nation in a satisfactory position.

I have shown on Figure 5 by the heavy broken line the boundary

¹¹ *Environment and Race, passim.*

between the declining nations in the northwest and the increasing nations in the southeast.

Perhaps the reader will finish this long article with somewhat perplexed ideas. The writer believes that the Alpine peoples have a real but very slight superiority over the other races of the world. For this reason, to give a concrete example, he thinks that the large proportion of Alpines (Poles, Slavs, Austrians, etc.) who are helping to produce the American nation is an advantage which is absent, for instance, in the British nation. However, as the writer has stated elsewhere, apart from the negroes he can see no reason for saying that one nation or race in any important aspect is better than another. Chinese, Japanese, British, Indian, Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean, have all made good in suitable environments. Hence he would say that eugenics, rather than nationality, is the best criterion for those responsible for racial exclusion.

THE REVIVAL OF NATIONALITIES IN THE SOVIET UNION

RUDOLF BRODA
Antioch College

ABSTRACT

The world seems to move toward integration of culture, toward powerful ethnic individualities, few in number but strong by the human multitudes they hold together. This trend was particularly strong during the nineteenth century; some counter-tendencies have, however, appeared since the World War, particularly in the territories of the Soviet Union. Literacy was practically restricted, under the czars, to the Great Russians, to the dispersed Germans and Jews, and to some peripheric groups (like the Poles, Baltes, and Finns) which have since the time seceded from Russia. Georgians and Armenians in the Southeast are perhaps the only nationalities in the Union which can boast of continuity of an old culture, different from that of the Russians. But the party now in power has had political and other reasons for spreading literacy in the tongue of the hundred and more nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union. Cultural autonomy was granted to the more mature groups. The semi-dead culture of the Tartars, Ukrainians, etc., was thereby revived; universities spread their cultural aspirations. Georgians, Armenians, Jews, and Germans develop their cultural life in a broad way, and a hundred smaller groups start on a new career of culture of their own.

It is commonly believed that our age of rapid communications and easy cultural intercourse tends to unify large countries and to spread cultures, which have survived as the best, over vast areas. Such a tendency undoubtedly exists in the United States; provincial customs, costumes, folklore, and dialects tend to disappear likewise in France, Germany, Great Britain, and some other countries.

But there is another aspect of the problem. The principle of nationality had its great vogue in Western Europe nearly a century ago and has now subsided to a certain extent before the onslaught of unifying economic forces; but the same principle has triumphed in Central and Eastern Europe during the recent world crisis; a number of nationalities which seemed destined to be absorbed by larger groups, and were practically bare of literature and culture, have been constituted as new nations. This point applies undoubtedly to Letts, Esths, and Lithuanians, which now are independent. The Czechs, Poles, and Jugoslavs, on the other hand, had a strong and independent culture prior to the war, but they have now developed that culture in a much broader way, thanks to their new independence. The number of ethnic units with full national status has increased.

All that is well known, but it may be argued that the numerical increase of ethnic units on the earth has been only slight, that no new written language and no new national literature, which had not been in existence before the war, have been created, that the sweeping movement for integration of culture in some dominating nations has been qualified by these triumphs of the principle of nationality but has not been really invalidated.

It is less well known that nearly one hundred ethnic groups in the former Russian Empire, a great part of which, prior to the war, had no written language, no national literature beyond primitive folklore, and no real consciousness of national existence, have been revived through the agencies at work in the Soviet Union. These ethnical units have been granted political autonomy, awakened to cultural development, furnished with a written language, and started on the way toward separate national destinies. This movement, if it continues its course, would for the present day rather reverse the theory that nationalities on earth, like industrial enterprises, seem to integrate and consolidate more and more into a smaller number of more efficient and more powerful units.

It is proposed to examine, in detail, developments in the Soviet Union, to ascertain whether the processes under way are only superficial, demagogic movements or whether they are deep processes of re-creation of national feeling and living national culture. There may be an interesting by-product of this investigation. We may ascertain whether there is any conflict between national differentiation and economic integration, and whether, from a political standpoint, the problem of the coexistence of the various nationalities in the Soviet Union has been solved satisfactorily.

Under the czars, only one nationality ruled over the vast empire—the Great Russians, who, however, were and are only about one-half of the population of the vast country. All the other nationalities were denied any respect for national aspirations, any instruction for children in their mother tongue; publication of newspapers was discouraged; and cultural centers of any kind were suppressed so far as possible. The more successful members of these groups were absorbed into the Great Russian group. Great Russian was the sole language of the middle and upper classes, with the exception of

three regions in the west of the empire. The Polish culture survived in the central provinces of Poland in the face of great difficulties. Swedes and Finns conserved their culture and language in Finland, which up to the end of the nineteenth century enjoyed autonomy. German aristocracy in the Baltic provinces was rather favored by most of the czars, and German was spoken in the Baltic cities. The author, during several pre-war journeys through Russia, could confirm by his own observations the generally admitted fact that Polish survived in Warsaw, German in Riga and Dorpat, and Swedish and Finnish in Helsingfors. These cities are situated on the western border of the empire and were afterward separated from Russia. But in all the cities, eastward of a line a few hundred miles from the Baltic Sea, the Russian language, culture, and feeling were absolutely general, not even mixed with any independent culture of other nationalities. Even today this Russianizing of the upper and middle classes in the cities survives. When the author journeyed again through the Union in 1929, commerce, hotels, and other spontaneous, practical features of everyday life of the upper classes in Kiev, Kazan, and Tiflis had remained Russian.

But this Russianizing had never touched, under the czar, the vast masses of the peasants and workers in about one-half of the empire. These peasants had been denied by the czar any public schools for developing literacy in their own language; but neither had they really been given sufficient instruction in Russian. The czar, in that respect, lacked the efficiency of his neighbor, the king of Prussia. The Polish children in the eastern parts of Germany were denied instruction in Polish; they were forced to learn to read and write in German. In the country districts around Kiev, Kazan, and Tiflis, however, the children of the lower classes received neither sufficient instruction in Russian nor in Ukrainian, Tartar, or Georgian; even private instruction in the native tongues was discouraged.

This fact may prove a key for understanding the real motives for the sweeping policy of the new masters of Russia. They professed allegiance to the principle of nationality, although they themselves were internationalists; theoretical reverence for national rights alone might not have determined them to undertake the revival of a hundred half-dead national cultures. They found, also, a certain politi-

cal advantage in appealing to the nationalism of the hundred ethnic groups as allies against the "White" generals, heirs to the Great Russian tradition. They continued to need these national groups as allies against a restoration of the past. They had, also, another decisive motive to keep their promises to really mean business about the revival of a hundred small nationalities. Here was indeed the only way to awaken one-half of their subjects, particularly the toiling masses in which they were interested, to any kind of intellectual life.

The endeavor of the czar to implant Great Russian culture throughout the vast parts of the empire, inhabited by heterogeneous nationalities, had absolutely failed. Any attempt to take up that endeavor by more efficient Prussian methods would have meant taking sides with the Russian upper classes against the workers and peasants, forcing on them a hated alien tongue. The new rulers of Russia abstained from such a policy and resolutely embarked on the opposite tactics—teaching the art of reading and writing in the mother tongue of each of the separate ethnic groups. So only could they hope to eliminate illiteracy; so only they have been able to reduce it radically within a very short time.

Readers of this paper may believe that the number of these nationalities has been exaggerated and that after all only a few old cultures survive side by side with the Great Russian one. But that would be a complete error. The greater part of the nationalities with an old, independent culture have, in fact, seceded from Russia. Poland is independent; so is Finland; the Germans, Letts, and Esths of the Baltic provinces have their own independent republics. Two important cultural groups only, which had a fully developed pre-war culture, remained in the Soviet Union, side by side with the Russians: the Georgians and Armenians in Transcaucasia, with a combined population of not over four million. They, only, had a written language, literature, national feeling, prior to the revolution. But now the nationalities of Russia, which have not only their popular schools in their own language but some of them secondary schools and universities also, their newspapers and literary societies, their autonomous administration and their cultural or even political self-government, number, according to the Russian Academy of

Science, 187 well-defined nationalities and 151 languages. The census of 1926, distinguishing in great detail between race and customary language, gives the following picture of the principal nationalities.

	Using Language		Using Language
Great Russians.....	81,184,000	Mordvas.....	1,267,100
Ukrainians.....	27,572,300	Votyaki.....	508,800
White Russians.....	3,466,100	Mari.....	428,200
Polish.....	362,400	Kareli.....	248,100
Uzbeks.....	4,061,100	Komi (Ziranye).....	226,400
Turkomen.....	747,700	Permyaki.....	149,400
Azerbeidshan Turcs.....	1,752,200	Esths.....	154,600
Armenians.....	1,475,200	Jews.....	1,888,500
Georgian Group.....	1,909,000	Germans.....	1,192,700
Tartars.....	3,558,400	Tadzhikovs.....	975,500
Kazaks.....	3,959,900	Osyetins.....	272,200
Chuvash.....	1,117,400	Kalmucks.....	130,700
Kirgizi.....	768,800	Buryati.....	237,500
Bashkirs.....	365,500		

An example may show that the independent cultural development of these groups has already taken important dimensions. The new administration has established workers' departments at the universities to prepare workers with only grammar-school education for work at the real universities. Besides the sixty-eight Great Russian workers' faculties, there have been established six independent national workers' faculties, and thirty-six national sections attached to Russian day-faculties. Fifty-three different nationalities study in these workers' faculties.

The proportion of population between the nationalities and the participants of these higher studies is not even. Certain groups like the Jews, with higher intellectual aspirations, are by far more largely represented in the university departments than in the population. But practically all principal national groups are represented in these departments, with the sole exception of the Georgians, where other types of higher education prevail.

The policy of the Soviet Union is based on the principle of a certain amount of cultural autonomy to all nationalities of the Union and a somewhat greater amount of cultural autonomy to the more mature but numerically weak groups. A still greater amount of cul-

tural autonomy, combined with a certain degree of political and economic autonomy, is granted to several more important groups, but the principal groups enjoy full political, economic, and cultural independence. This is qualified only by freely consented links with the other principal groups for the fulfilment of certain practical problems needing centralized control.

This highest amount of self-government is granted to the seven constituent republics of the Union: Russia proper, over 100,000,000 inhabitants; Ukraine, about 35,000,000; White Russia, about 5,000,000; Turkomen, Tadjak and Uzbek republics in Central Asia, about 5,000,000; Transcaucasia, which is again divided into Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbeidshan, with together about 6,000,000 inhabitants. Inside of Russia proper and to a lesser extent inside the other republics, there have been constituted eighteen so-called "autonomous republics" with restricted self-government, and nineteen autonomous regions with an even greater restriction of self-government, consisting mainly in the right to maintain schools in their own language. There are, therefore, thirty-seven small administrative units.

The powers of the governments of these constituent republics, autonomous republics, and autonomous regions is diversified in conformity with the "pluralistic" system of political administration, which divides state authority into various constituent units.

Foreign trade, army and navy, railway and communications are administered by federal authorities of the Soviet Union. This Union conserves also special directing and planning functions for other departments, particularly for industry, finance, home trade, labor questions, and statistics.

Education, public health, social insurance, jurisdiction, agriculture, and internal administration on the other hand are administered by organs of the seven constituent republics or by organs of the autonomous republics or the autonomous regions.

The parts of administration which are particularly left to the decentralized authorities are education, administration of justice, and home affairs. Economic and cultural administration is, in some parts of the Union, further separated by the fact that economic regions have been established in conformity with the situation of raw

materials, with markets and lines of communications, while the boundary lines between the units of cultural administration conform to the ethnic differentiation of the people and cross and recross the boundary lines of the economic regions. Some conflicts have arisen between the two administrative systems. The central authorities of the economic Volga region in Samara, for instance, have tried for a time to exercise a certain influence inside the territory of the autonomous Tartar republic, which was resented by the leaders of this particularly proud ethnic group. These leaders made protest to the central authorities of the Soviet Union and obtained satisfaction. In general, however, this double system of economic and cultural boundaries functions well, and in many parts of the Union both limits coincide anyhow.

It may be asked why so complicated a system has been instituted instead of giving full autonomy to the principal nationalities—as some of them, for instance the Georgians, have insistently asked for. But if such full autonomy were granted, say to the Georgians, what would become of the Mohammedans of Adzharistan, or the mountaineers of Abkhazia, living inside the confines of Georgia? These groups are too small and too undeveloped to be entrusted with full autonomy of political administration, health administration, etc., but they have enough independent consciousness to ask for schools in their language. If they were simply included in Georgia without further differentiation, the Georgian authorities, as they showed in practice in the past, would hesitate to grant them their own schools. If they were erected as a constituent republic, they could not do justice, for instance, to the tasks of health administration. The system applied places them, therefore, inside of Georgia for those spheres of administration for which greater skill and greater division of labor inside larger units of a higher developed country is necessary, but grants them their right of cultural autonomy which cannot be infringed upon by the central authorities of Georgia, for they are guaranteed by the central authorities of the Soviet Union.

When the author visited the various parts of the Union in 1929, he was impressed, on the one hand, by the exuberant national and independent cultural life of the various nationalities; of the Tartars in Kazan, Ukrainians in Kiev, the Georgians in Tiflis, the Armen-

ians, etc. But, on the other hand, he was impressed by the fact that the intellectually and commercially leading Great Russian groups in these cities seemed to suffer from the preponderance of the formerly subject nationalities. While the Great Russians in Kazan, in Kiev, and Tiflis were privileged under the czar, they are now under-privileged. While they always form the physical majority in all gatherings connected with commercial or professional matters, their language is put entirely in the background. Posters, in Kiev at least, are exclusively in Ukrainian, while in Kazan they yet remain bilingual. But such slight inconveniences of the formerly ruling ethnic group seem to have a really slight importance if compared with the great mental satisfaction, the great relief from repression enjoyed by the former helots.

The outside observer may be tempted to the rash opinion that culture, so to say manufactured inside of ten years out of illiterate elements in the midst of a great economic transformation absorbing most of the life forces of the nation, cannot be of great value; but the facts seem to contradict such opinion. The riches of human nature under conditions of spontaneous creation, liberation of fettered energies, manifests itself in these various autonomous regions with astonishing creative energy and fertility. The author was really impressed by the rich collections of the Tartar museum in Kazan, or the splendid Georgian picture gallery in Tiflis, built up entirely during these last years.

The news bulletins of the Moscow Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries give week by week many astonishing data on the progress of cultural work among the different ethnic groups, and some of these data may be summarized in the following pages.

The *Ukraine* had practically no literature in pre-war days. A rapid growth began in 1923 in the production of books by Ukrainian publishers. Nearly three thousand different books were published in that year.

Georgia has two literary associations, that of the "futurists" and that of the "academical" writers. The last-named group advanced the idea of "eternity" and do not believe in art as a social vehicle, while the futurists, Dzigenti, Chachava, Chikovani, Shengelaya, and others, sponsor the tendencies of the new times.

Armenian literature centers in the union of Soviet writers in Erivan, which is inspired by nationalist Armenian tendencies. There are, however, two leading writers who declined to join the union, both of whom lived a long time abroad but have now returned to Armenia to take the lead of the left wing of cultural life. Proletarian Armenian literature develops independently of both groups. Musical life centers in the state conservatory in Erivan, with 365 students, a symphony orchestra with sixty-seven members, five quartets, and an opera ensemble. The primitive folk-music rather tends to disappear, but it is replaced by new achievements like the operas *Almast* and *Sega* and *The Legend of Akhtamar* by A. Tergevondyan, etc.

The *Jews of Central Asia*, particularly in Bukhara, try to connect their curious and ancient cultural life with modern tendencies. Illiteracy is more and more abolished, and a Jewish newspaper, *Rosh-nay*, is published in Samarkand.

The *Kirgiz* autonomous republic is populous but rather backward. Nomadism prevails, and up to the revolution there were no native schools. At that time, 98 per cent of the populace were illiterate, and certain nationalities, the Dungans, Taranchinzy, and Karakalpaks, were 100 per cent illiterate. Education is now spread more and more, and the plans provide its universality by 1933. It proves to be particularly difficult to get girls into the schools of this region, because the Kirgiz are accustomed to treat women as slaves and do not want to educate their daughters; but in the last years popular interest in education has become more and more vivid and large voluntary contributions for that purpose have been received by the authorities.

A new *Turcoman* dramatic literature is developing in Azerbeidshan. The theater aims at the cultural service of the public, and a gradual advance from old-fashioned traditions. The *Bride of the Flames* and *Shades of the Past* are among the most popular dramatic productions.

Cultural problems among *Finnish* peoples are very diversified, as the Esths and Finns in the west have practically no illiterates, while among the Lopars, Ostyaks, and Vogulis literates are rare. The Esths, Finns, and Karelians had in the old times a rich national literature, while the Ziranyi, Votyaki, Maritzi, Mordva, Permyaki

had before the revolution only a few books of a religious character. The Vogulovs, Loparis, and Ostyaki have no national literature whatsoever, and the same is true of the Injors, Vetii, and Vodi, who, however, can, to a certain extent, read Finnish. With these cultural differences, each nationality has its own problems. But a principal one for most of these Finnish groups is the question of a literary language. With the Finns, properly speaking, it is mainly a question of simplifying the language. With most of the other groups, a written language has to be created. Many leaders of these groups wish to work out a uniform alphabet for all these nationalities, as the Russian alphabet does not contain enough letters for the expression of many sounds in the Finno-Ugorsk languages. On the whole, the Latin alphabet is satisfactory for these languages and, after the example of the Tartars, who have adopted it, the Finns seem to fall into line.

This spread of Latin writing among a great number of smaller nationalities in the northeast and the southeast of the Soviet Union is indeed one of the characteristic phenomena which make for better contact with the Western world and may later on induce the Russians themselves to change their writing.

Most of the Finnish groups, which have the characteristic intelligence of most northern peoples, have good elementary education, well-administered by their autonomous governments. Several scientific societies examine the linguistic and cultural problems of these groups.

A curious antithesis exists with the *Esths*. An intellectual group in Esthonia wishes to perfect the national language by borrowing words from the Finnish or creating them artificially. The proletarian groups object because it would be too difficult for the popular masses to learn the new written language; these groups find some support among the *Esths* in the Soviet Union.

White Russia was particularly backward under the czars. Now national education and mass education have developed. Considerable funds are invested for that purpose. An independent literature is springing up. The White Russian State Publishing Company has published thirty-three million volumes during three years, while before the revolution there were no White Russian books. In the city of Minsk alone there are four newspapers and seventeen other jour-

nals in the White Russian language. The official languages of this republic are Russian, Yiddish, and Polish, along with White Russian, and the culture of these groups receives the same attention as the White Russian culture itself.

The *Bashkir* republic was one of the first to be proclaimed during the revolution in March, 1919. Prior to the revolution, the people were nearly completely illiterate. There are now in this autonomous republic 8 normal schools for teachers, 5 agricultural schools, 1 medical school, 2 vocational training schools, 17 factory apprentice schools, 87 secondary schools, and 2,495 elementary schools in which the Bashkir and Tartar youth form the bulk of the students. There are 2 state theaters, 6 museums, 14 town libraries, 112 district village reading-rooms, 76 movie theaters, 112 schools for teaching political subjects, 891 recreation corners and thousands of radio sets in the homes.

The *Uzbeks* in Central Asia had a traditional music culture which is now modernized. The *Kalmucks*, on the Caspian Sea, have folk songs which go back in their traditions to the time when they lived on the borders of China. These folk songs are now collected. Modern autonomous administration has been established.

Impartial examination of all these facts makes it indubitable that differentiated cultural life is springing up effectively among many of these big and small national groups. Will this development go beyond the wishes of the rulers of Russia and finally destroy the Union, destroy the widespread socialist state, replacing it by fifty or one hundred small cultural groups? Will this development further add to the confusion of cultural life on earth and constitute a stumbling block to the spiritual unification of mankind? These dangers exist, but let us not overlook the fact that seventy or eighty million human beings who proved to be culturally sterile for centuries have now awakened to the production of cultural values, enriching, thereby, the creative forces of mankind.

The danger of a too fragmentary development, of establishment of too many small and, thereby, impotent centers is somewhat counteracted by the pluralistic system of Soviet administration. The constitution entrusts (as we have seen above in detail) the vital economic and political functions to the authorities of big administra-

tive units and leaves to the small nationalities only the strictly cultural functions which are the quintessence of all their longings and the object of all their passions. Political friction between the different administrative units is also restricted by the fact that all are dominated by the same, Communist, party.

It may be argued that the great differentiation of culture also is dangerous because organization of research and development of great art can flourish only in great units. The point is probably particularly true for technical knowledge and such spheres of culture which need organization on a large scale. In these respects, however, Russian language and culture seems to maintain itself as a kind of medium for such organizations which cannot flourish in too small units. As to literature, the advantages of self-expression of the popular soul seem to be greater than those of mass organization.

It must be emphasized also that much unhappiness, connected with the artificial oppression of independent national life under the czars, has now disappeared.

Independent national aspirations have proved to be the death-call of old Austria-Hungary and an element of disintegration in so many empires. They do not play that rôle so far in the Soviet Union. The smaller nationalities are rather main supporters of the new order of things against any endeavor to re-establish a "Great Russian" state, based on the Great Russian language of the bourgeoisie. The problem of the peaceful coexistence of nationalities without centrifugal tendencies seems to have been solved.

The cultural creations of these small nationalities may for a long time lack in the spectacular character attached to the economic and political experiments of the Great Russian ruling class throughout the Soviet Union, which is more interested in political and economic than in cultural achievements. But the development of so many different new types of national culture cannot fail to bring into being new modes of thought, of expression, of temperament, of poetry, of music, of popular art, and deserves attention as one of the characteristic developments of present-day cultural life on earth.

STUDENTS' DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

The following list of doctoral dissertations and masters' theses in preparation in universities and colleges in the United States and Canada is a compilation of the returns from letters sent by the editors of the *Journal* to departments of sociology. The dates given indicate the probable year in which the degree will be conferred. The name of the college or university in italics designates the institution where the dissertation is in progress.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

- Minne E. Allen, M.S. Iowa State College, 1929. "The German Youth Movement." 1933. *Columbia*.
- C. Arnold Anderson, A.B. Minnesota, 1927. "Statistical Analysis of the Social and Demographic Factors Associated with Changes in Assortative Mating for Age in England from 1860 to 1920." 1931. *Minnesota*.
- Claude E. Arnett, B.Th. Transylvania, 1916; A.B. Southern California, 1920; A.M. Columbia, 1929. "The Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American Boards of Education." 1931. *Teachers College, Columbia University*.
- R. K. Atkinson. "History of the Boys' Club in New York." 1932. *New York University School of Education*.
- Louis Bader, B.C.S., M.C.S., A.M. New York, 1914, 1925, 1929. "Curriculum Construction in Sales Training in the Electrical Industry." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Edward Wight Bakke, A.B. Northwestern, 1926. "Development of the British System of Unemployment Insurance and Its Effects upon the Worker." 1932. *Yale*.
- Ernest M. Banzet, A.B. Hamline, 1920; A.M. Minnesota, 1926. "Development of Rural Community Consciousness as Shown from the Files of a Country Newspaper." 1931. *Michigan State College*.
- Robert Barker, A.B. Furman, 1926; A.M. Vanderbilt, 1927. "A Study of Crime and Delinquency in Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia." 1931. *Virginia*.
- Bessie Rogers Bartlett, A.B., A.M. California, 1907, 1921. "Trends in the Training and Practice of Women in Law, Medicine and Theology in the United States." 1931. *Chicago, Graduate School of Social Service Administration*.
- Belle Boone Beard, A.B. Lynchburg College, 1923. "Technique and Outcome of Juvenile Probation." 1931. *Bryn Mawr*.

- Helen Olive Belknap, A.B. Oberlin, 1913; A.M. Columbia, 1917. "Neighborhood Trends." 1932. *Columbia*.
- Ruth Z. Bernstein, A.B., A.M. Columbia, 1918, 1924. "Naturalization and Citizenship." 1932. *Columbia*.
- C. J. Bittner, A.B. Valparaiso, 1916; A.M. Iowa, 1924. "The Concept of the Self Embodied in Modern Social and Psychological Literature." 1931. *Iowa*.
- Herbert A. Bloch, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1926; A.M. Columbia, 1930. "Vagrancy." 1932. *Columbia*.
- Albert Blumenthal, A.B., A.M. Montana, 1926, 1927. "The Sociological Study of a Small Town." 1932. *Chicago*.
- Henry A. Bowman, A.B., A.M. Western Reserve, 1927, 1929. "The Role of Vanity in the Enforcement of Social Conformity." 1931. *Yale*.
- A. W. Bowers, B.S. Beloit, 1928; A.M. Chicago, 1929. "The Culture and Relations of Mandan Hidatsa, and Arikara, with Respect to Their Place in the Plains Culture." 1931. *Chicago*.
- George E. Breece, A.B., B.S., A.M. Missouri, 1913, 1913, 1918. "The Teaching of Sociology in American Colleges and Universities." 1931. *Chicago*.
- Alice Brethorst, A.B., A.M. Washington. "A Study of the School Systems of Chengtu, West China." 1931. *Washington*.
- Arthur H. Briggs, Ph.B. Kansas City University, 1905; L.L.B. Kansas City School of Law, 1906; A.M. Southern California, 1928. "Comparison of Sociological and Legal Interpretations of Personality." 1932. *Southern California*.
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- Theodora Land, A.B. Heidelberg, 1917. "A Study of the Cook County Psychopathic Hospital." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Carol K. Larsen, A.B. Morningside, 1930. "The Girl Scout Movement." 1931. *Iowa*.
- Elinor Lawrie, A.B. Beloit, 1926. "The Blind Pension Law in Illinois." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Raymond B. Leberman, B.S. North Texas State Teachers College, 1930. "A Sociological Study of a Dallas Business Block." 1931. *Southern Methodist*.
- Inez Marguerite LePage, A.B. Manitoba, 1928. "A Study of Girls' Organizations, with Special Reference to the C.G.I.T." 1931. *McGill*.
- Margaret Gray Le Pontois, A.B. Western Reserve, 1928. "Cleveland Day Nurseries." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Emelie Lenhoff Levin, A.B. Michigan, 1923. "Group Conferences as a Method of Field Instruction in Social Case Work." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Tinlih L. Li, A.B. Great China University, 1927. "Present Social Tendencies and Forces in China." 1931. *Southern California*.
- Lilith Lidseen, A.B. Wellesley, 1925. "An Introduction to the Sociological Study of the Dramatic Experience." 1931. *Northwestern*.
- Claudia Sanger Liebenthal, A.B. Wellesley, 1927. "Some Relationships between Financial Dependency and Large Families." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Fanny Snow Lister, A.B. Wellesley, 1926. "A Study of the Classification of a Family Case Worker's Case Load." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Floyd Loebur, A.B. Pomona, 1912; B.D. Pacific School of Religion, 1916. "Americanization Problems in Antelope Valley, California." 1932. *Southern California*.
- Alvin Estella Logan, A.B. Fisk, 1929. "An Analysis of the Personnel and Activities of Groups in the Phillis Wheatley Association in Relation to Group Needs and Community Resources." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Elsa Longman, A.B. Southern California, 1919. "Human Relationship Problems in the Canneries of Southern California." 1931. *Southern California*.
- Robert J. Lowrie, M.D. Toronto, 1922. "Combined Fetal and Neonatal Death Rate." 1931. *Columbia*.
- Katherine Lucy, B.S. Iowa State College of A. and M., 1926. "The Martha Washington Home for Crippled Children." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Emma Luthin, A.B. Missouri, 1925. "History of the Illinois School for the Deaf." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.

- J. Gilbert McAllister, A.B. Texas, 1928. "The Archaeology of Kahoolawe," 1931. *Chicago*.
- Vincent McAloon, A.B. St. Joseph's Seminary, 1918. "Commercialized Recreation in East Harlem." 1932. *New York University School of Education*.
- Hilda Jeannette McGee, A.B. Western Reserve, 1922. "The Place of the Social Case Worker in Clinic Management." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- John Miller MacLachlan, A.B. Millsaps, 1930. "Compensating Characteristics of the Press of Minority Groups." 1931. *North Carolina*.
- Frances Williams McLemore, A.B. Mount Holyoke, 1919. "Conflict as Seen in Negro Politics in Chicago." 1931. *Chicago*.
- Dena L. McMackin, B.Ed. Illinois State Normal, 1930. "Comparison of Newspaper Circulation and Votes Cast on Selected Questions in Illinois." 1931. *Illinois*.
- Alex MacVittie, B.S. Michigan State, 1911. "Time Given to Science in the North Central Association of Colleges and Universities Compared to Time Given to Other Subjects." 1931. *Michigan State College*.
- Thelma Elise McWorter, A.B. Fisk, 1929. "The Relation of a Settlement Program to the Wants of Adolescent Girls." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- C. D. Madsen, A.B. Harvard, 1929. "The Fulfillment of Some of Marx's Prophecies." 1931. *Chicago*.
- Janette Mahar, A.B. Oklahoma City University, 1925. "Ecological Distribution of Oklahoma City Population, 1890-1910." 1932. *Oklahoma*.
- Effie B. Mallett, A.B. New York, 1928. "Binet Tests and the School Progress of 560 Children." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Jeannette Yost Marsal, A.B. Goucher, 1925. "A Study of Certain Social Groups within a Community and Their Relation to Professional Family Case Work." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- May C. Marsh, B.S. New York, 1930. "Comparative Study of Churches in a Local Area in New York City." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Shirley Marsh, L.L.B. Washington, 1928. "Family Disorganization." 1931. *Washington*.
- Henry James Mason, A.B. Wiley College, 1907. "The Press and Its Relation to Crime in New York City." 1931. *New York University*, Graduate School.
- Dietrich L. Masten, A.B. Michigan State Normal, 1926. "Case Histories of Boys in the Michigan State Vocational School." 1932. *Michigan State College*.
- Jitsuichi Masuoka, A.B. Emporia, 1928. "Attitudes of the Japanese in Hawaii: A Study of Social Distance." 1931. *Hawaii*.
- Roger Pitkin Matteson, B.S. Tennessee. "Taxation of Personal Property, Tax Exemption, and Private Legislation in Tennessee." 1931. *Tennessee*.
- Frank Ellsworth Merrill, A.B. Dartmouth, 1926. "La Salle Street." 1931. *Chicago*.

- Lois Meyer, A.B. Southern California, 1930. "Status of Clerks in Los Angeles." 1931. *Southern California*.
- Cora K. Miller, A.B. Illinois, 1924. "A Study of University and Extra-Curricular Records of 390 Women, Covering a Period of Three Years, with Comparison of Sorority and Non-Sorority Women." 1931. *Illinois*.
- Nora Miller, B.S. Peabody, 1926. "Personal Problems of the Girls of Pender County, North Carolina" 1931. *Cornell*.
- E. M. Mills, A.B. Southwestern, 1923. "The Ecology of Juvenile Delinquency in Houston, Texas." 1931. *Colorado*.
- Martha S. Milo, B.S. New York, 1929. "Italian Immigration to the United States." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Jeannette Lois Mitchell, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1928. "The Adjustment of Sixty Problem Children in Boarding Homes." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- James Ardel Moore, A.B. Texas, 1929. "Outdoor Advertising as a Factor in Social Control." 1931. *Texas*.
- Maurice E. Moore, Ph.B. Chicago, 1929. "Bartown: The Inner Life of a Penal Institution." 1931. *Chicago*.
- Mae Brooks Morris, A.B. Florida State College for Women, 1929. "A Study of the Group Participation of the Cleveland Alumnae of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Edith Mozorosky, A.B. Reed, 1923. "Truancy and the Boys' Club." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Jane Mullenbach, Ph.B. Chicago, 1929. "James Mullenbach, A Study in Social Leadership." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Earl Wynott Mutch, A.B. Albion, 1929. "A Comparison and Analysis of Activities Pursued at Home with Activities Pursued at Camp in the Cases of Sixty Boys Attending Camp Wawokiye during the Summer of 1930." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Alice Elizabeth Newnham, A.B. New Brunswick, 1929. "The British Immigrant Family in Montreal." 1932. *McGill*.
- Mary Hammond Nixon, A.B. Western Reserve, 1923. "Reading Disabilities, Their Causative Factors and Social Significance." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- James Thurston Noé, B.S. New York, 1930. "A Study of Vocational Music in the Public Schools." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Rosemary Norris, B.S. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Inquiry into the Investment of Social Funds in Higher Education." 1931. *Columbia*.
- Theodosia Ethel Norris, B.S. New York, 1930. "Sociological Study of Retarded Students." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Theodore K. Noss, A.B. Princeton, 1925; B.D. Union Theological, 1929. "The Quakers and the Negro Slave." 1932. *Chicago*.

- Lavonne Clark Olson, A.B. Ohio, 1927. "Study of Day Nursery Families in Cleveland, 1928 and 1929." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Rose Gladys Orlando, A.B. Mount St. Vincent, 1927. "Sociological Aspect of Some Health Problems." 1931. *McGill*.
- Eulah Belle Orr, A.B. Southwestern, 1922. "Social Services Available for School Children in Illinois outside of Chicago." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Phillis R. Osborne, A.B. Oberlin, 1926. "The Problem of Intake at Cook County Detention Home." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Teruye Otsuki, A.B. Willamette, 1930. "Japanese Population Problems." 1931. *Columbia*.
- Alice Helen Paine, A.B. Smith, 1925. "The Worcester State Hospital for the Insane." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Glen Lawhon Parker, A.B. Texas, 1930. "Changing Attitudes toward Crime and the Criminal in the English Novel of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." 1931. *Texas*.
- Peter H. Pearson, A.B. Minnesota, 1925. "The Rural Church in Relation to Community Activities." 1932. *Michigan State College*.
- Freyda Peck, B.S. Boston, 1930. "Cost of Outdoor Relief in the Administration of the Old Age Assistance Act of Massachusetts." 1931. *Simmons*, School of Social Work.
- H. Earl Pemberton, A.B. Willamette, 1928. "The Social Forces Opposing Social Legislation in the United States." 1931. *Oregon*.
- Ruth F. Percival, A.B. Illinois, 1930. "Comparison of Probation Administration in Two Counties." 1931. *Illinois*.
- Anthony H. Petrazzuolo, A.B. Manhattan College, 1930. "Social Backgrounds of the School Child in an Interstitial Area." 1932. *New York University School of Education*.
- Frances Snyder Pickett, A.B. Wellesley, 1926. "A Study of Marital Incompatibility in Its Relation to Problem Children." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Ruth E. Pike, A.B. Nebraska, 1926. "A Sociological Examination of the Ethical Codes and Practices of a Selected Group of Newspapers." 1931. *Nebraska*.
- Harriet A. Pinchbeck, A.B. Syracuse, 1928. "An Experiment in Zoning." 1931. *Columbia*.
- Jessie Wells Post, A.B. Smith, 1910. "The Education of Women in a Changing World." 1931. *New York University*, Graduate School.
- Allen R. Potter, A.B. Washington, 1929. "Who Are the Homeless Men in Seattle?" 1932. *Washington*.
- Louise Brooks Powers, A.B. Radcliffe, 1912. "Care of Illegitimate Children Born in Cook County Hospital." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.

- Vocille Manlove Pratt, A.B. Arkansas, 1928. "A Study of Families Eligible for Mothers' Pension." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Emmett Butler Pryor, A.B. Union University, 1924. "A Sociological Survey of Williamson County, Tennessee." 1932. *Vanderbilt*.
- John A. Rademaker, A.B. College of Puget Sound, 1930. "Land Tenure by Japanese Farmers in the Puget Sound Region." 1931. *Washington*.
- Florence E. Rasmus, A.B. Iowa, 1929. "Socio-Psychological Aspects of Speech Correction." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Berniece Rasor, A.B. Oregon, 1929. "Delinquency Areas in Portland." 1932. *Oregon*.
- Bernard Regenburg, B.S. Northwestern, 1930. "An Analysis of the Public Health Institute and Its Patients." 1931. *Northwestern*.
- Ann Ritchey, A.B. Huron College, 1925. "The History and Development of the Illinois Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Victor H. Roberts, A.B. Illinois, 1930. "The Differential Growth of Rural and Town Churches in a Selected Illinois County." 1931. *Illinois*.
- Reginald Robinson, A.B. Bowdoin, 1929. "Descriptive Study of a Larger Boys' Club." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- José C. Rosario, A.B. Puerto Rico. "Historical Development of the Jibaro of Puerto Rico and His Present Attitudes toward Society." 1931. *Chicago*.
- Lillian L. Rosenthal, A.B. Mount Holyoke. "Delinquency Areas and Community Control." 1932. *George Washington*.
- Hermon Russell Ross, A.B. Princeton, 1925; B.D. United Theological, 1930. "Juvenile Delinquency in Montreal." 1931. *McGill*.
- Martha de Rouillac, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1930. "The Débutante." 1932. *Southern Methodist*.
- John Howard Roland, A.B. Nebraska, 1930. "A Sociological and Social Psychological Analysis of the Long Term Summer Camp." 1931. *Nebraska*.
- Gertrude Runyon, A.B. Carlton, 1930. "History of the Dixon State Hospital and Colony." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Harold C. Sandall, A.B. Nebraska Wesleyan, 1928. "Relation between Social Backgrounds and the Utopias." 1931. *Northwestern*.
- Marjorie Saxton, A.B. Western Reserve, 1928. "The Contribution of Angel Guardian School Training to the Adolescent Girl." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Emma Marie Schauer, A.B. Western Reserve, 1929. "Analysis of Activities of Thirty-Five University Neighborhood Centers Groups in Relation to Individually Expressed Interests, with Implications for Club Programs." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Anna Winifred Schneider, A.B. Seton-Hill College, 1925. "An Evaluation of Institutional Care." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.

- Hubert A. Schon, A.B. Minnesota, 1931. "A Study in Denotative Symbolism in Certain Newspapers." 1932. *Minnesota*.
- Clara M. Schwandt, A.B. Upper Ohio University, 1925. "Provision of School Facilities for the Over-Age Child as a Method of Social Treatment." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Miriam Scott, B.S. New York, 1930. "Status of Vocational Information in High Schools." 1933. *New York University School of Education*.
- Bessie Shore, A.B. Vanderbilt, 1930. "Selected Follow-up Case Studies of Foster Children." 1931. *Vanderbilt*.
- Ethel Frances Shreiner, A.B. Otterbein, 1929. "The Child at Play." 193 *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Margaret Haines Simpson, A.B. Western Reserve, 1927. "The Adjustment of Children in Relatives' Homes." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Raymond F. Sletto, A.B. Minnesota, 1926. "A Study of the Relationship between Sibling Position and Juvenile Delinquency." 1932. *Minnesota*.
- Madeline Bowron Smith (Mrs.), A.B. New Mexico Normal, 1928. "An Analysis of the Appeal of the Most Popular Novels of a Decade Recently Closed." 1931. *Virginia*.
- Thomas O. Smith, B.S. Utah, 1927. "The Administration of the Salt Lake County Jail, Utah." 1931. *Utah*.
- Irving Sollins, "The Treatment of the Juvenile Delinquent: A Historical Study." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Gladys Spencer, A.B. Indiana State Normal. "The Relation of the Parent and the Legitimate Child in the State of Indiana." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Grace Sperow, A.B. Wittenberg, 1926. "The Development of Public Welfare Administration in Maryland." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Elavina Sophia Stammel, A.B. Butler, 1928. "Occupational Mobility of Immigrant Population." 1931. *Indiana*.
- Phyllis Althea Stancil, A.B. Shaw University, 1930. "The Development of Public Opinion among the Negroes of the United States since 1900." 1931. *Columbia*.
- Henry Steffens, A.B. Hope, 1930. "Ceremonial Practices in Family Life in Holland, Michigan." 1931. *Northwestern*.
- Walter Stephan, A.B. Missouri, 1930. "A Comparative Study of Urban and Rural Divorce." 1931. *Missouri*.
- Hannah G. Stern, A.B. Hunter, 1930. "Caste System." 1931. *Columbia*.
- Emily White Stevens, A.B. Millsaps, 1929. "A Study of Diet in the Southern States." 1931. *North Carolina*.
- Stanley Scott Stevens, Ph.B. Piedmont, 1928. "Influence of Climate on Southern Efficiency." 1931. *North Carolina*.
- Verne A. Stockman, B.S. Michigan State College, 1928. "Effect of High-School Training in Agriculture Upon the Achievements of High-School Graduates." 1931. *Michigan State College*.

- Eugenia Stogdale, A.B. William Jewell, 1929. "Illegitimacy under the Children's Code of Wisconsin." 1931. *Wisconsin*.
- Mary L. Storey, B.S. Utah, 1920. "The Outcome of Delinquent Girls Once in the Utah State Industrial School." 1931. *Utah*.
- Olive Davis Streator, A.B. Western Reserve, 1926. "Day Nursery Families in Cleveland during 1928-29." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Johannes Stuart, A.B. Michigan, 1929. "Study of Divorce in Cook County." 1931. *Chicago*.
- C. A. Stub. "Danish Assimilation in the United States as Manifested by the Change in Content of Danish Foreign Language Newspapers, 1913-29." 1931. *Minnesota*.
- Marion Svensrud, A.B. Southern California, 1929. "A Case Study of Participation Contacts between Japanese Girls and Americans." 1931. *Southern California*.
- Thomas L. Swander, A.B. Earlham, 1926. "A Study of Sociological Content of Case Records in Kansas City Provident Association." *Kansas*.
- Nell Snow Talbot, Ph.B. Chicago, 1925. "A Measurement of Some of the Factors in the Presidential Election of 1928 and a Comparison of Party Solidarity in Urban and Rural Counties." 1931. *Chicago*.
- Alice Theodorson, A.B. Washington, 1930. "The Effects of Unemployment on Family Life: A Study from the University of Chicago Settlement." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Burton Peter Thom, M.D. Maryland, 1897. "The Ecological Study of Distribution of Morbidity and Mortality of a Local Area in New York City." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Alma Thomas (Mrs.), B.S. Texas, 1930. "The Social Ecology of the Cattle Ranch in West Texas." 1931. *Texas*.
- Henry E. Thomson, A.B. Washington, 1928. "The Houseboat: An Ecological Study of an Urban Rim Population." 1931. *Washington*.
- Sophie Lederer Tracer, B.S. New York, 1929. "A Comparative Investigation of Case Studies." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Li-Ying Tsao, A.B. National Southeastern University, Nanking, China, 1926. "Revolution as a Type of Social Movement: A Sociological Analysis of the Chinese Revolution." 1931. *Columbia*.
- Harry Gilbert Tuttle, A.B. McGill, 1930. "Religious Organizations in Pioneer Areas, with Special Reference to the Peace River Area." 1931. *McGill*.
- Rheba Usher Vance, B.S. Coker, 1929. "Geography of Southern Leadership." 1931. *North Carolina*.
- Lucy S. Veler, B.S. Bowling Green State Normal College, 1927. "The Significance of Intake in a Child Caring Institution." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Margaret Millicent Wade, A.B. Manitoba, 1928. "A Sociological Study of the Dependent Child." 1931. *McGill*.

- Reinhold E. Walker, A.B. North Central, 1928. "Criteria of Culture Changes among Immigrants in Illinois." 1931. *Illinois*.
- Thomas Avery Wallace, A.B. John Fletcher College, 1923; B.D. Drew, 1925. "The Municipal Playground, a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency." 1931. *New York University*, Graduate School.
- Edith Wallgren (Mrs.), B.S. Minnesota, 1929. "Social Factors Delaying Treatment of Cancer." 1932. *Minnesota*.
- Edith Webb, A.B. North Carolina College for Women, 1930. "Culture Patterns of Upper Middle Class Farmers after 1860." 1931. *North Carolina*.
- Donald Webster, A.B. Oberlin, 1924. "Evolutionary and Revolutionary Aspects of Changes in the Relations of Church and State in Certain Modern Situations." 1931. *Wisconsin*.
- Waldo R. Wedel, A.B. Arizona, 1930. "An Introduction to Pawnee Archaeology." 1931. *Nebraska*.
- C. Hale Wellman, Jr., A.B. Carleton, 1928. "Juvenile Delinquency in an Isolated Industrial Community: The 'Bush' South Chicago." 1931. *Chicago*.
- Charles Evans White, A.B. Marietta College, 1911; B.S. Colorado Agricultural College, 1914. "Social Legislation in Nebraska." 1931. *Municipal University of Omaha*.
- John Willis Whitelaw, A.B. Washington, 1929. "Sectional Planes of Living: An Investigation into the Planes of Living of the Various Geographical Regions in the United States." 1931. *Washington*.
- Alfred J. Wiesmann, Ph.B. Yale. "Comparative Study of the Sociological Views of C. C. Peters and W. R. Smith." 1931. *New York University School of Education*.
- Elizabeth G. Wilbur, Ph.B. Denison, 1927. "Oriental News in American Newspapers: A Study of Communication." 1931. *Chicago*.
- John Wilhollond, A.B. Miami. "The Negro in Oxford: a study of Accommodation." 1932. *Miami*.
- James B. Wilkinson, B.S. Detroit Teachers College, 1925. "Relation of Health to Achievement of Intermediate School Students." 1931. *Michigan State College*.
- Constance Williams, A.B. Vassar. "Opportunities for Improving the Health of the Aged in the Administration of the Massachusetts Old Age Assistance Law." 1931. *Simmons*, School of Social Work.
- Lena Mae Williams, A.B. North Carolina, 1930. "Trends in Criminology in North Carolina, 1902-30." 1931. *North Carolina*.
- Elise D. Willson, A.B. Nebraska, 1930. "Detention Facilities for Juvenile Offenders in Nebraska." 1931. *Nebraska*.
- Marguerite L. Windhauser, A.B. Loyola. "The Office of Public Guardian in Illinois." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Florence Winifred Witmer, A.B. Cornell, 1929. "A National Program Adapted to Girls in the Special Class Division of the Public Schools." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.

- Paul T. Wohlsen, A.B. Muhlenberg College, 1921. "Study of Leisure Time Activities in Marquard School, Brooklyn." *New York University School of Education*.
- Mary Gabriel Wolcott, A.B. Skidmore, 1924; Diploma New York School of Social Work. "The Parent and Child Relation with Reference to the Child's Employment." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Elinore Reed Woldman, B.S. Ohio State, 1923. "A Study of the Day Nursery as a Method of Treatment in Dependent Families." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Ronald M. Wolfe, C.A.B. Indiana Central, 1929. "Distribution of Church Affiliation as an Example of Culture Diffusion." 1931. *Illinois*.
- Benjamin Wood, A.B. Kansas, 1930. "Adult Participation in Voluntary Social Organizations in a Small Rural Town." 1931. *Wisconsin*.
- Genevieve Woods, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1930. "The Sacred Harp Singers: A Study in Rural Isolation." 1931. *Southern Methodist*.
- Edwin D. Wright, A.B. Oberlin, 1919. "Educational and Work History of Students at the Chicago Y.M.C.A. College." 1931. *Chicago*, Graduate School of Social Service Administration.
- Marian DuRoss Yost, A.B. Wells, 1926. "A Study of Day Nursery Families in Cleveland during the Year 1928-29." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Science.
- Hobart Nading Young, A.B. California, 1926. "The Occupational Situation of American-Born Japanese." 1931. *Stanford*.
- Ina V. Young, A.B. Trinity (Duke University). "Problems of the Small Town in North Carolina." 1931. *North Carolina*.
- Newton Clifford Young, B.S. Millsaps, 1925. "A Case Study of the Tarboro Lynching." 1931. *North Carolina*.
- Eva Ruder Younge, A.B. Alberta, 1930. "Rural Social Organization in the Prairie Provinces." 1932. *McGill*.
- Esther Yukl, A.B. Macalester, 1926. "The Changing Task of Bethlehem Church in Cleveland." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- Bertha M. Zahren, Ph.B. Chicago, 1927. "Auto or Tourist Camps as an Institution." 1931. *Chicago*.
- Harold E. Zickefoose, A.B. Iowa State Teachers College, 1929. "The Garvey Movement as a Collective Behavior Process." 1931. *Iowa*.
- Marian Woboril Ziegler, A.B. Western Reserve, 1917. "Married Couples with No Children." 1931. *Western Reserve*, School of Applied Social Sciences.
- David Ziskind, Ph.B., J.D. Chicago, 1923, 1925. "A Sociological Study of Third Degree Police Practices with Particular Reference to the Situation in Los Angeles." 1932. *Southern California*.

NEWS AND NOTES

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the March issue and up to May 15 are as follows:

- Ahlgren, Adler, Theta Chi, Durham, N.H.
Atwood, Jesse H., 517 N. Kellogg St., Galesburg, Ill.
Baker, R. Lowell, 6022 Ingleside Ave., Apt. 2, Chicago.
Barclay, Gordon Lanier, Dept. of Psychology, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.
Barker, Catherine, Room 630 Langdon Hall, Madison, Wis.
Bean, Rachel, Chi Omega, Durham, N.H.
Beatty, Thelma Louise, East Washington, Hillsboro, N.H.
Becker, Hilda Marie, Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pa.
Bluhm, Solomon, 86 Fort Washington Ave., New York
Brewer, John M., 24 Lawrence Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Brickner, Rabbi Barnett R., 8206 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
Brinton, Hugh P., Jr., 309 Ransome St., Chapel Hill, N.C.
Brown, Francis James, School of Education, New York University, New York
Bumpus, Rev. Lester W., 260 Semple St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Buren, Roy Edward, Box 4574, Duke University, Durham, N.C.
Callaghan, Margaret, 225 W. Fourteenth St., New York
Carlson, Glen E., 229 W. Beaver Ave., State College, Pa.
Carmichael, M. P., Kentucky State Industrial College, Frankfort, Ky.
Chao, C. H., 83 Gates Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago
Coons, E. T., 14 S. Jewell St., Liberty, Mo.
Curtiss, Howard T., 408 Henry St., Belle Vernon, Pa.
Dalke, Anna, Beloit, Kan.
Dando, Nancy, Box 505, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
Davidson, Hellen Hiller, 400 W. One Hundred and Nineteenth St., New York
Davis, Jean Scobie, Wells College, Aurora, N.Y.
Davis, Ruth E., Durham, N.H.
Demiashkevich, Michael J., Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn.
Falley, Eleanor W., Goucher College Library, Baltimore, Md.
Finch, Alpha Madison, 33 Curtis Ave., Manasquan, N.J.
Fitchett, E. Horace, 6511 Rhodes Ave., Chicago
Floch, Maurice, 917 E. Ann St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Ford, James, 3 Mercer Circle, Cambridge, Mass.

- Francis, Kenneth V., Psychopathic Hospital, Iowa City, Iowa
 Fuller, Richard C., 200 N. State St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Gentel, Jane, 214 Robeck St., Fox Chase, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Gooch, R. E., Box 4621, Duke Station, Durham, N.C.
 Goodwin, Mary Ella, 635 Fulton Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Gordon, William Ralph, 325 Garner St., State College, Pa.
 Graves, William W., 1402 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
 Green, Rev. William, Loras Hall, Dubuque, Iowa
 Greenburgh, Beulah N., 211 Central Park West, New York
 Gripman, Miss Merle, Information Service, Board of Home Missions, 1701 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Hammarberg, Viola M., Milaca, Minn.
 Hayden, Joel Babcock, 2757 Fairmount Blvd., Cleveland Heights, Ohio
 Heilman, Grace E., Linden Hall, Lititz, Pa.
 Hergert, Henry, Endicott, Wash.
 Hirshstein, Bertha, 496 Hudson St., New York
 Hoo, Frances M., 2020 Toberman St., Los Angeles, Calif.
 Houghton, A. V., 113 S. Lincoln Ave., Urbana, Ill.
 Hoyt, Clair, Dept. of Sociology, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
 Humphries, Jessie H., P.O. Box 745, C.I.A. Station, Denton, Tex.
 Hunter, Earle L., 69 Tiemann Place, New York
 Jacobi, John Edward, 65 W. Thirty-fifth St., Bayonne, N.J.
 Jenks, Leland H., 679 Worcester St., Wellesley, Mass.
 Johnson, Joseph Kelly, 2917 Pearl St., Austin, Tex.
 Jones, Florence L., Book Order Dept., Indianapolis Public Library, St. Clair Square, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Katz, Siegfried, 235 West End Ave., New York
 Kessler, Henry H., 31 Lincoln Park, Newark, N.J.
 Kincheloe, Marvin S., Liberty, N.C.
 Kochman, Mollie, 204 E. Allegheny Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Lammers, Sophia J., 339 E. Chicago Ave., Chicago
 Lasswell, Harold D., Social Science Bldg., University of Chicago, Chicago
 Loomis, Alice M., Yale Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, Conn.
 MacElfatrick, Margaret J., 235 Morgan St., Phoenixville, Pa.
 McWilliams, Mary W., 3622 N. Eighteenth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Merson, Mrs. Frankie Griffin, Keuka College, Keuka Park, N.Y.
 Miller, William Brumfield, 55 Hanson Place, c/o Boys' Division, Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Mohr, Freda, 614 Cloverdale Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
 Murdoch, Robert N., Durham, N.H.
 Murray, Caroline Wilson, 116 St. James St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Neely, Wayne C., Box 257, Livingston Hall, Columbia University, New York
 Oliver, Sadie Lee, Box 666, C.I.A., Denton, Tex.
 Omura, Bunji, 500 Riverside Drive, New York
 Orringer, Minnie Helen, 6501 Bartlett St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Otsuki, Miss Teruye, 500 Riverside Drive, New York

- Paul, Dorothea S., 5821 Morris St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Perkins, Annette, 135 E. Fifty-second St., New York
 Peterson, Oliver A., 55 Hanson Place, Brooklyn, N.Y.
 Pope, Liston, Box 4815, Duke Station, Durham, N.C.
 Prescott, Daniel Alfred, Stelton, N.J.
 Roethlisberger, F. J., Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration,
 Soldiers Field, Boston, Mass.
 Rosario, José C., Snell Hall 31, University of Chicago, Chicago
 Schmadel, Helen Cronin, Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pa.
 Schwaup, Frances, Osborne, Kan.
 Seagoe, Mae V., 230 W. Garney St., Wilmar, Calif.
 Severance, Robert Watson, Judson College, Marion, Ala.
 Shulman, Harry M., 3974 Forty-fourth St., Long Island City, N.Y.
 Smith, Malcolm, Durham, N.H.
 Stetler, Henry G., Wyomissing (Reading), Pa.
 Stewart, Paul, 97 N. University, Peoria, Ill.
 Streightoff, Frank Hatch, 733 E. Thirty-third St., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Su, Karl Yu, 5701 Drexel Ave., Chicago
 Tate, Aimee S., 640 Beaubien St., Dept. of Public Welfare, Detroit, Mich.
 Van Vechten, Courtlandt C., Jr., 57 Snell Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago
 Waitt, Russell E., 1901 Vilas Ave., Madison, Wis.
 Ward, Harry S., Jr., 6613 N. Twentieth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Whiting, Marguerite, Detroit Community Union Library, 51 W. Warren Ave.,
 Detroit, Mich.
 Wirth, Ruth, 4702 Carrollton Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
 Witherspoon, Miriam F., 804 A, Main St., Worcester, Mass.
 Wood, Marion 533 Kathmere Road, Brookline, Delaware County, Pa.
 Woodin, Gwendolyn G., 245 Darragh St., Oakland, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Yoder, Paul D., Codorus, Pa.
 Young, Hobart N., c/o Food Research Institute, Stanford University, Calif.

American Sociological Society.—The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Sociological Society will be held in Washington, D.C. The probable dates are December 28, 29, and 30. Meeting with the Society will be the American Economics Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Association of Rural Economists, the Instructors of Accounting Association, the National Community Center Association, and the National Society for Parent Education. The program of the meeting is on Social Process and will have six divisions, as follows: Social Psychology, Human Ecology, Population and Social Biology, History and Theory of Sociology, Social Research. There will be special meetings of all the sections—Rural Sociology, Teaching of Sociology, the Community, Sociology of Religion, the Family, Sociology and Social Work.

American Sociological Society.—[The following is printed here without the knowledge of Professor Burgess, who edits the "News and Notes."—E. F.] The following resolution offered from the floor at the annual business meeting of the American Sociological Society held at Cleveland, December 31, 1930, was inadvertently omitted from the report of the resolutions committee as published in the *Proceedings* under date of February, 1931, page 24.

Resolved, That this Society express its profound appreciation to Professor E. W. Burgess for his ten years of devoted and successful service to the organization, and its gratitude for the growth and progress in its work for which he has been so largely responsible; and that a copy of the resolution be sent to Professor Burgess and published in the *Journal*.

The resolutions committee wishes to incorporate the above resolution in its official report and requests you to publish the same in the *Journal* so as to make it a matter of record.

American Council of Learned Societies.—The twelfth annual meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies was held at the Harvard Club in New York City January 30 and 31. The Council is composed of two representatives from each of the eighteen constituent societies and these, together with secretaries of the societies and members of the Advisory Board, brought the total attendance to near fifty. Professors Stuart A. Rice and Edward A. Ross were delegates from the American Sociological Society.

This Council receives from the Rockefeller Fund \$100,000.00 a year; from the General Education Board, \$25,000.00; and from the Carnegie Corporation, \$25,000.00; of the total about one-fourth goes to general expenses of the Council and three-fourths to maintaining research. The chief business of the annual meeting is to consider and pass upon research projects and vote appropriations therefor. Seeing that projects in the social sciences may be financed from the Social Science Research Council, all the funds at the disposal of the A.C.L.S. go to stimulate humanistic studies. Since there is not money enough to finance all the projects proposed, the Council has set up an Advisory Board of scholars to examine projects and make recommendations. Approved and supported were projects for a survey of Indonesian Customary Law in the Philippine Islands; a Bibliography of American Opinion-Forming Press; publishing a Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies; study of the Papal Relations with England to the Protestant Revolution; publication of the Ethiopic Text of Ecclesiastes; Excavation of Jerash in Transjordan; a documentary

History of Primitivism; preparation of a *Corpus* of Medieval Songs; the continuance of *Bibliotheca Americana*; the Excavation of Samaria, and various others.

American Country Life Association.—The next American Country Life Conference will be held at Cornell University, August 17-19, 1931. The general topic will be "Rural Government," and Dr. Liberty Hyde Bailey will be president of the Conference. Announcements may be had from Dr. Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., or Dr. B.Y. Landis, secretary, American Country Life Association, 105 East Twenty-second St., New York City.

Indiana Association of Economists and Sociologists.—A meeting of the Indiana Association of Economists and Sociologists was held in conjunction with the Indiana State Teachers' Federation, in Indianapolis, on October 17, 1930. O. F. Hall, rural sociologist at Purdue University, presented a paper on "Sociology versus Civics as a Preparation for Citizenship," and DeWitt S. Morgan a paper on "Problems and Experiences in Teaching Economics in the Senior High School."

The annual meeting of the Association was held at Purdue University April 17 and 18. The following papers were read: "Causes of the Depression of 1930" by Professor F. R. Ormes of Wabash College; "Current Problems of a Bureau of Social Research in a State University" by Professor R. Clyde White, of Indiana University; "Unemployment Insurance" by Professor T. S. Luck, of Indiana University; "The Problem of Old Age" by Professor Tolbert F. Reavis, of Butler University. At the annual dinner Professor William F. Ogburn, of the University of Chicago, gave an address on "The Changing Modern Family."

Officers for the year 1930-31 were elected: Dr. R. Clyde White, Indiana University, president; Professor F. R. Ormes, Wabash College, vice-president; Professor C. B. Camp, Butler University, secretary-treasurer. The Association voted to meet at Butler University next year.

International Congress for Studies Regarding Population.—The Italian Committee for the study of population problems has organized an "International Congress for Studies Regarding Population," which will be held in Rome, September 7-10, 1931. Benito Mussolini is honorary chairman of the Congress and Corrado Gini, president of the Italian Committee, is the effective chairman. Papers will be presented under the following sections: biology and eugenics, anthropology and geography, hygiene and medicine, demography, economy, sociology, history, methodology. Fur-

ther information regarding the Congress may be obtained from the Comitato Italiano per lo Studio dei Problemi della Popolazione, 10 Via delle Terme di Diocleziano, Roma (Italia).

International Congress of Historical Sciences.—The Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Warsaw, August 21–28, 1933, under the sponsorship of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. It is being organized by the Polish Society of History. Address questions, suggestions, or proposals respecting contributions to the Secretary of the American Historical Association, 40 B Street, S.W., Washington, D.C.

International Industrial Relations Association.—A world industrial relations congress on "Social Economic Planning—The Necessity for Planned Adjustment of Productive Capacity and Standards of Living," will be held at Amsterdam, Holland, during the last week of August, 1931. It is being called at the direction of the I.R.I., of which the vice-president is Mary van Kleeck, director, industrial studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Kansas State Conference of Social Workers.—The Kansas State Conference of Social Workers held its annual meeting at the Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kansas, March 19, 20, and 21. Howard E. Jensen, chairman of the department of sociology, University of Missouri, was the principal speaker. At the same time a meeting was held of the teachers of sociology in the colleges and universities of the state. Randall C. Hill, associate professor of sociology, Kansas State College, was chairman of the program committee for the Conference and for the group of state sociologists.

Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene.—A new periodical for teachers, *Understanding the Child*, is now being published quarterly by the Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, and is being distributed free of charge to every public school teacher in Massachusetts. The editorial board consists of J. Mace Andress, editor, and E. Stanley Abbot and Henry B. Elkind, associate editors.

Meetings of the New York City sociologists, 1931–32.—During 1931–32 the sociologists of New York City are meeting the second Saturday of each month at one o'clock at the Town Hall Club, 123 West Forty-third Street. This is a small informal group who meet for purposes of friendly discussion usually led by one of their own members. It has no constitu-

tion, no dues, and no officers except a secretary. Sociologists residing outside of New York City, who are in the city temporarily or who are passing through, are cordially invited to attend the Town Hall Club meetings.

Missouri Sociological Society.—A meeting of the Missouri Sociological Society was held in St. Louis on Wednesday, April 15, in connection with the Missouri Conference for Social Welfare. The program included addresses by Arthur S. Emig, University of Missouri, on "The Content and Objectives of the First Course in Sociology"; by L. L. Bernard, Washington University, on "To What Extent Could and Should the first College Course Make Use of Direct Contact Materials?" and by Carl T. Philblad, University of Missouri, on "A Comparison of Textbooks Commonly Used for the Introductory Course in Sociology."

National Conference of Jews and Christians.—The National Conference of Jews and Christians has appointed an advisory committee on research, of which Dr. Benson Y. Landis is chairman. This committee will be interested in learning from individuals, university departments, and others, of research which is under way on relations between religious groups in the United States. The committee has available a statement in regard to the kinds of research in which it is interested which may be obtained on application to the office of the Conference, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Rudolf Funke Prize.—The Institut für Weltwirtschaft und Seeverkehr at the University of Kiel will award a prize for a thesis on "The International Interrelationship of Economic Fluctuations." The prize is open for competition to any individual research worker, or to any group of research workers, or to any institute. The winner will be awarded the Rudolf Funke Prize of RM. 18000 and the Rudolf Funke Gold Medal. Five typewritten copies of the thesis, in German or in English, must be handed in to the secretary of the Institut für Weltwirtschaft und Seeverkehr at the University of Kiel not later than December 31, 1932.

Southwestern Social Science Association.—The Sociology Section of the Association held its annual meeting in Oklahoma City, April 3 and 4, 1931. The following papers were presented at the three sessions: "The Development of Sociology in Oklahoma," by Jerome Dowd, University of Oklahoma; "Obsolescent Sociological Concepts," by W. P. Meroney, Baylor University; "Some Aspects of the Problem of Sociological Measurement," by L. L. Bernard, Washington University; "Some Sociological Problems of the Southwest," by Walter Watson, Southern Methodist

University; "Local Evidence on Rural Mental Inferiority," by T. C. McCormick, East Central State Teachers College; "The Relation of Church Membership to Tenure Status among Cotton Farmers," by O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College; "Social Status of the Tenantry of a Texas Cotton Plantation," by Edwin A. Elliott, Texas Christian University; "Yellow Journalism as a Mode of Urban Behavior," by Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas; "Personality Problems as Sociological Material," by H. L. Pritchett, Southern Methodist University; "Personality Problems of College Students," by L. L. Leftwich, Texas Christian University; "War-time Control of Public Opinion," by O. A. Hilton, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Carl M. Rosenquist of the University of Texas and William C. Smith of Texas Christian University were in charge of the program. J. J. Rhyne of the University of Oklahoma and Walter T. Watson of Southern Methodist University were elected chairman and secretary for the coming year.

The name of the organization was changed from the "Southwestern Political and Social Science Association" to the "Southwestern Social Science Association."

The Brookings Institution.—The dedication of the institution buildings was held in Washington, D.C., May 15-16. Representatives were present for the conference on co-operative research from the leading foundations and research institutions of the country. The discussion of "Possibilities of Co-operation among Research Institutions" was introduced by Robert S. Lynd, permanent secretary of the Social Science Research Council, and by J. B. Condliffe, formerly research secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The subject "Possibilities of Co-ordination of Government and Independent Research Activities" was introduced by Henry C. Taylor, director Vermont Commission on Country Life, and by Louis Brownlow, director, Public Administration Clearing House. John C. Merriam, president Carnegie Institution of Washington, gave an address on "Research in the Natural and the Social Sciences." Harold G. Moulton is president of the Brookings Institution.

University of Buffalo.—The department of sociology is conducting a study of differential birth-rates in Buffalo and the surrounding areas. About twelve thousand individuals are included in the study. Tabulation is now under way and a series of articles and manuscripts dealing with

the data will be prepared during the coming months. The study, which was made possible by an allowance from the Milbank Memorial Fund of New York City, is under the direction of Dr. Niles Carpenter in collaboration with Dr. Karl W. Bigelow, Mary Sarbough, Mazie E. Wagner, and William M. Haenszel.

Dr. Eleanor L. Lattimore has accepted an assistant-professorship in the department of sociology and anthropology. She will assist in the administration of the new Social Work Curriculum which is to be introduced next year.

The Sociology of City Life, by Dr. Niles Carpenter, is being published by Longmans, Green and Company. It is expected to appear before the end of the present academic year.

Henry Holt and Company announce the publication, about the middle of September, of *Criminology: A Study in Method*, by Professor N. F. Cantor.

University of Cincinnati.—The Department of Sociology of the University of Cincinnati has recently completed a redraft of the ward boundaries of the municipality which organizes each ward in terms of the Federal Census Tract. This work was done at the request of the city council, which has now adopted it as the official ward-plan for the next ten years. This is said by the executives of the Census Bureau in Washington to be the first time that a large municipality has laid out its political boundaries in terms of sociologically defined areas.

James A. Quinn, of the sociology faculty, has been made secretary of the Permanent Census Tract Committee for Cincinnati.

Clark University.—The department of sociology is co-operating with the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement in having a graduate student in sociology investigate for the Commission the cost of the administration of criminal justice in Worcester, the same serving as material for a Master's thesis.

Dartmouth College.—Dr. McQuilkin De Grange is on sabbatical leave, engaged in research in Washington, D.C. During the summer he will be at Vichy, France, and will be associated with the University of Clermont.

Duke University.—Professor Charles A. Ellwood will lecture this summer at MacDonald College, a part of McGill University, Montreal, Canada, from July 27 to August 7. Up to July 20 Professor Ellwood will teach classes in sociology in the Duke University summer school.

Professor Howard E. Jensen will take up his work in the department of sociology the first of September. Mr. Guy V. Price, now professor of history and social science in the Teachers College of Kansas City, and Mr. Roy E. Buren have been appointed graduate assistants in sociology.

Harvard University.—The new department of sociology is open and will begin to function next academic year. It composes a division by itself not united with any of the existing divisions of the university. The members of the department are: Professors: P. A. Sorokin, chairman; G. W. Allport; John D. Black; R. C. Cabot; T. N. Carver; James Ford; Edwin F. Gay; A. M. Schlesinger; A. M. Tozzer; William Morton Wheeler; E. B. Wilson; Associate Professor C. C. Zimmerman. Instructors and tutors (on the faculty appointment): C. S. Joslyn, T. Parsons, W. L. Warner; (without the faculty appointment): P. Pigors, E. Schuler. Additional professors and instructors and tutors will be appointed later. In the teaching of the department and guidance of its graduate students, besides the members of the department, the following professors will participate: W. E. Castle, Dean G. H. Chase, Walter E. Clark, W. L. Crum, W. E. Dearborn, R. B. Dixon, Dean G. H. Edgell, W. Y. Elliot, W. S. Ferguson, C. J. Friedrich, L. J. Henderson, Dean H. W. Holmes, R. Holmes, E. A. Hooton, T. L. Kelley, C. E. Keeler, W. L. Langer, C. H. McIlwain, A. D. Nock, A. H. Whitehead, and J. Whatmough.

The essential traits of the organization of the new department are as follows:

Freshmen are not admitted to any course in sociology. Most of the courses are open only to Juniors and Seniors and graduate students. Only the honor students are permitted to major in sociology. No elementary introductory sociology course is offered. Next year the following courses in the sociology department will be offered: "Contemporary Sociological Theories"; "Human Relations"; "Social Evolution and Progress"; "Social Organization and Structure"; "Social Dynamics"; "Social Institutions"; "Social Pathology and Social Policy"; "Rural Sociology"; "Rural Social Organization, Institutions, and Culture"; "Urban Sociology"; "Quantitative Problems of Population"; "Qualitative Problems of Population"; "Sociology of the Family"; "The Ethics of the Family"; "Criminology and Penology"; "Animal Sociology"; "The Study of Character and Personality"; "Experimental Sociology"; "Social Psychology." Besides the above courses given in the department of sociology, several courses given in other departments of the university can be taken by the sociology students in partial fulfilment of their sociology concentration requirements. (Undergraduate students majoring in sociology must take seven

full sociology courses; of these seven courses, five should be taken from the departmental courses; the remaining two can be taken from the "recommended" courses given in other departments). These "recommended" courses are: "Human Evolution" (Hooton), "Primitive Sociology" (Tozzer), "Culture and Environment" (Dixon), "Methods of Science with Special Reference to Social Sciences" (Whitehead), "Statistics" (Crum, Kelley, Wilson), "History of Religion" (Nock), "Economics of Agriculture" (Black), "Programmes of Social Reconstruction" (Mason), "Outline of Ethics" (Perry), "Theories of Production and Distribution" (Taussig), "Geography of Population and Habitation" (Blanchard), "History of Science" (Sarton and Henderson), "Social and Intellectual History of the United States" (Schlesinger), "Principles of Popular Government" (Elliot).

As a prerequisite for admission to sociology courses the undergraduates should take two of the following courses: "General Anthropology," "Life and Its Environment," "Principles of Economics," "Introductory Statistics," "Popular Government," "European History from the Fall of Rome to the Present," "History of Philosophy," "Introduction to Psychology."

The graduate students are not obliged to take any lecture course. In their training and work a particular emphasis is made on their active study and creative research with the help and guidance of the most competent professors of the department and university. Correspondingly, their study and research are contemplated mainly in form of the seminary work and informal meetings with their advisers. In accordance with this plan twenty special fields of sociology research are mapped and the best specialists of the Harvard faculty are assigned to each of these fields as the advisers.

As to the requirements for the advanced degrees in sociology, a candidate for the Ph.D. degree must successfully pass the general examination in the six fields of sociology and a special examination in connection with his thesis. A candidate for the Master's degree must pass successfully the general examination only: presentation of a thesis is not obligatory for him. The six fields of sociology are composed out of the following fields: (a) sociological theory; (b) three fields chosen by the candidate from the following list: methodology of the social sciences (including statistical and historical methods); social organization and dynamics; social evolution and progress; comparative social institutions; social psychology; social standards and values; (c) two fields chosen by the candidate from the following list: economic institutions; political institutions; domestic

and family institutions; sociology of religion; rural-urban sociology; problems of population; experimental sociology; problems of race and nationality; social pathology; poverty, defectiveness, and crime; social service administration.

Professor P. A. Sorokin is appointed chairman of the sociology section of the "International Congress for Studies Regarding Population" which will meet at Rome, September 10-16, 1931. *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* by P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman are being translated into German under the editorship of Dr. W. Seedorf, director of the Institut für Landwirtschaftliche Betriebs- und Landarbeitslehre at the University of Göttingen.

University of Kansas.—D. C. Marsh, assistant professor of sociology at the University of Kansas for the past five years, has left to resume work on his doctorate at the University of Michigan. Mr. J. Mapheus Smith, assistant instructor in sociology, Vanderbilt University, has taken his place on a temporary appointment. Professor Carroll D. Clark will teach at Cornell University the last half of the summer session.

University of New Hampshire.—H. G. Duncan's volume *Backgrounds for Sociology, an Introductory Text*, has recently been published by Marshall Jones Company Book Publishers, Boston.

University of North Carolina.—The University of North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science is planning to extend its regional and theoretical studies of American society in a ten-year program now being planned. Dean C. T. McCormick of the Law School has been added to the Administrative Board. Special statistical advisers and professors include Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Dr. Clarence Heer, while a list of thirty-five professors, associates, and assistants will direct and make studies into many aspects of the economic and cultural life of the South and of certain other regions in co-operation with other groups or students.

Howard W. Odum has been given leave of absence for such time as may be necessary as chief of the Division of Social Science in "A Century of Progress," the Chicago International Exposition of 1933. His appointment was made on the recommendation of the Social Science Research Council Advisory Committee, composed of Dr. Edmund Wilson, chairman, Hon. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Presidents Hutchins, of Chicago, Chase, of Illinois, Moulton, of the Brookings Institution, together with Shelby Harrison, of the Russell Sage Foundation, and Professor Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of Wisconsin. During those months in which

Professor Odum will be away Dr. Katharine Jocher, assistant director of the Institute, will be acting director, with President Frank Graham, chairman of the Board.

Bobbs-Merrill announce the publication on March 11 of the third of the Black Ulysses Trilogy, by Howard W. Odum, under the title *Cold Blue Moon: Black Ulysses Afar Off*.

Northwestern University.—Ginn and Company announce the publication of *American Standards and Planes of Living*, by Thomas D. Eliot, professor of sociology.

University of Pittsburgh.—F. F. Stephan has been appointed for next year as head of the Bureau of Social Research, to replace George A. Lundberg, who goes to New York.

Richard R. Smith, Inc., announce the publication during the summer, 1931, of *Family Adjustment and Social Change*, by Professor M. C. Elmer.

Sweet Briar College.—Harper and Brothers announce the publication, in their "Social Science Series," of Joseph Kirk Folsom's new volume, *Social Psychology*.

Vanderbilt University.—Longmans, Green and Company announce the publication of a text, *Social Psychology*, by E. T. Krueger and Walter C. Reckless.

University of Virginia.—The subjects of the round tables at the Institute of Public Affairs, to be held June 28–July 11, are the following, with their leaders: "Law Enforcement," Dr. Raymond Moley, professor of public law, Columbia University; "Our Latin-American Relations," Dr. Herman G. James, president University of South Dakota; "The Plight of Southern Agriculture," Mr. David R. Coker, Hartsville, South Carolina; "Problems of Municipal Administration," Dr. Thomas H. Reed, professor of political science, University of Michigan; "Religious Education in the Rural Church," Dr. Henry W. McLaughlin, director Country Church Department of the Presbyterian church in the United States; "The Chain Store," Dr. Frederick C. Hicks, research professor of economics, University of Cincinnati; "The New Industrialism in the South," Major LeRoy Hodges, managing director Virginia State Chamber of Commerce; "Regionalism," Mr. Louis Brownlow, director of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago; "Unemployment," Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau of America.

Yale University—The department of economics, sociology, and government has been expanded, in the graduate field, to include two new divisions, anthropology and human geography, and has changed its name to the department of the social sciences. This development is a natural outgrowth of the work of the division of sociology at Yale, which has always stressed the anthropological approach and the geographic influences on human society, and which will continue to offer the courses in anthropology in the undergraduate schools. The two new subdepartments will permit more graduate specialization in their particular fields. A special effort, however, will be made to correlate all the work in the social sciences, as, for example, by means of an interchange of faculty and students. Directors of graduate studies have been appointed for the various divisions as follows. For the old divisions, Professor Clive Day will continue to direct the work in economics, Professor A. G. Keller the work in sociology, and Professor Francis W. Coker that in government. For the new divisions the following appointments have been made: Dr. Edward Sapir, of the University of Chicago, who has accepted a call to be Sterling Professor of Anthropology and Linguistics, will be director of graduate studies in anthropology, and Professor Ralph H. Gabriel, of the Yale history department, will direct the work in human geography.

The new division of anthropology will include several faculty members already on the ground, namely, Dr. Clark Wissler, professor of anthropology, Dr. George Grant MacCurdy, research associate in prehistoric archaeology and curator of the anthropological collection, and Dr. Cornelius B. Osgood, instructor in anthropology. These men, with Professor Sapir, will carry the bulk of the work in anthropology. The staff will also be increased next year by the appointment of Mr. John Dollard, now of the University of Chicago, as assistant professor of anthropology, and Dr. Richard Thurnwald, professor extraordinary in the University of Berlin, who as visiting professor of the Bishop Museum, will give seminars at Yale next year. Dr. Charles T. Loram, former chairman of native affairs and director of education in Natal, South Africa, who has been appointed professor of comparative education, will devote some of his time to work in anthropology, especially the education of primitive peoples. Graduate courses in the anthropology group will also be given by Professors Keller, Leyburn, and Murdock from sociology and Professor Huntington from human geography.

The work offered by the division of anthropology will include courses and opportunities for research in ethnology, cultural theory, primitive

linguistics, and, to some extent, archaeology and physical anthropology. Graduate students will be expected to have a general acquaintance with the social science field and with psychological and sociological points of view. The emphasis throughout will be on culture and its historical and psychological interpretation. Opportunity will be given for field work, which in general will form part of the requirement for the Doctor's degree.

The new program in human geography will require candidates for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (the Master of Arts degree will not be conferred in this subject) to divide their work among three groups of courses as follows: I. *Courses dealing with the natural environment*. The faculty for this group will be drawn from the university departments of geology, botany, zoölogy, and forestry. II. *Courses dealing with human society*. These are selected from the divisions of sociology, both theoretical and applied, anthropology, economics, and government. III. *Courses dealing with the adjustments of human society to the natural environment*. This field will be covered by Professor Gabriel, Dr. Ellsworth Huntington, research associate in geography, and by a professor of geography whose appointment has not yet been announced.

PERSONAL NOTES

Doctor Anna Garlin Spencer died February 12, 1931, at her home in New York. Dr. Spencer was associate director and staff lecturer of the New York School of Philanthropy, 1903-13; a special lecturer on social services and social aspects of education at the University of Wisconsin, 1908-11; director of the Institute of Municipal and Social Service, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1910 and 1911; Hackley professor of sociology and ethics at the Theological School, Meadville, Pennsylvania, 1913-18. She had since been a lecturer in Teachers College, Columbia University; and was director of the Division of Family Relations of the American Social Hygiene Association.

Professor Patrick Geddes, now president of the British Institute of Sociology, as well as of the local Institutes of Edinburgh and Montpellier, also head of the Collège des Écossais of Montpellier, France, extends to American students and professors traveling in Europe this summer a very cordial invitation to visit Montpellier. He will be very glad to co-operate with American students of sociology and anthropology in helping to make available for them opportunities for study, especially in France.

Harry Elmer Barnes, formerly of Smith College, is now on the staff of the New School for Social Research.

George A. Dorsey, eminent anthropologist, died at his home in New York City on March 29, 1931. Dr. Dorsey was noted for his anthropological monographs. Up to the time of his death, he was a member of the American Sociological Society.

Middletown, by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, is soon to be published in France by Editions du Carrefour.

The Vanguard Press announces the publication of *The Second Oldest Profession* by Dr. Ben Reitman. This volume is a study of the panderer, and the materials in it are derived from the author's experience as a specialist in venereal diseases and as a prison physician.

BOOK REVIEWS

Population Problems. By WARREN S. THOMPSON. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1930. Pp. xi+462. \$3.75.

In this work Professor Thompson maintains his high reputation for scholarly and interestingly written contributions to population questions. It is comprehensive in scope but so small in size that one occasionally feels that the chapters are too short. There are twenty-five chapters, beginning with "Population Policies in Former Times" and ending with "The Control of Population Growth." There are the expected chapters on Malthusian and pre-Malthusian theories, population composition, birth- and death-rates, differential birth-rates (two chapters), and growth of population (four chapters). There are, in addition, chapters on the Negro, the city (four chapters), migration, the optimum population, population quality, and natural selection. There does not seem to be any very obvious plan in the arrangement of chapters; it would seem on first study that relocation of several of them would give greater integration and continuity of treatment.

An outstanding merit of the book is found in the excellent tables and graphs. Tables are always a problem in such works and Thompson has solved their difficulties most satisfactorily. Not all the graphs appear to be necessary but students will doubtless find them all valuable. The treatment is simple and direct in form and marked by clarity and careful thought. One feature of the style, however, grows monotonous, namely, the repetition of "I." This word appears on more than one page as many as ten times. This appears to be a trivial fault, but it gives an all too personal quality to the content and makes certain passages sound like confessions of faith, personal disclaimers, or rationalizations of personal complexes.

The outstanding weakness of the work as a general treatment of population is the scanty and somewhat personal discussion of the problems of quality. The author's strong bias against assumptions of class superiority have appeared in print before and one is prepared for the short shrift he gives eugenic ideas and arguments. The student, however, may well demand a fair treatment of a literature which is not only large but numbers among its contributors some of the ablest minds of modern times.

There is no mention, even in the Bibliography, of Galton or Pearson. The author does in one place make an incidental reference to Pearson's law of population renewal, but without mention of its source. A long list of those who have contributed to population problems from the biological viewpoint are conspicuous by their absence. One result is that the treatment of natural selection, while ingenious in parts, is far from well rounded. In his views on eugenics, the author leaves out of account the fact that the successful classes (who by the way include the professional elements, scientists, artists, etc., as well as the hard-fisted, aggressive, and acquisitive business men whom Thompson seems to despise so utterly) have the smallest families. Even if one admit that the successful are no better from the standpoint of race than the unsuccessful, one might at least consider that they are in position to give their children more of those opportunities which the author thinks are primarily responsible for social ascent. But would it not be rather disheartening to the friends of democracy to admit that, in spite of the prodigious efforts to open the doors for talent, those who rise to the top in our competitive society are of no more worth than those who fail?

The author's difficulties in treating realistically various problems seem to grow out of his strong anti-eugenic feelings. He is forced into a complacent, somewhat fatalistic attitude, quite out of harmony with the general spirit of a scientific culture. "I am disposed to think," he says, "that we can trust the natural inclinations of men and women in this matter of raising children so far as stock is concerned." Is this "natural inclination" a hereditary trait? If so, will it express itself "willy-nilly" in any social medium? Can one say that those who want six children are of better stock than those who want only three and that those who have none are not worth preserving anyway? Is parental worth correlated with the intensity of the sex drive? If the "natural inclination" is due largely to culture, how can we be sure the number of children measures the racial worth of the parents? If nature has in some mysterious way solved this problem satisfactorily, while in other matters man thinks he can improve on nature's methods, why concern ourselves about population policies?

In spite of these differences of view and emphasis, this appears to the reviewer the best general work on population in print. He will use it as a text next year, and not for the sole purpose of having an excellent foil for his own adverse biases and presumptions.

F. H. HANKINS

Chinese Civilization. By MARCEL GRANET. Translated by KATHLEEN E. INNES AND MABEL E. BRAILSFORD. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1930.

In this volume, the latest of the series on the "History of Civilization" edited by Professor Ogden, we have a refreshingly independent treatment of a rather well-worn theme. Dr. Granet, in this first part of his projected work, is justifiably skeptical with regard to much that has passed for Chinese history. In the words of Henri Berr, contributed as a Preface, the author does not try to stop the holes in the Chinese tapestries but rather to call attention to them and expose them. While he confesses that "it would show little prudence to reject *en bloc* the historical Chinese traditions," he still moves rather gingerly among the annals of the earlier dynasties. A generation ago Mr. H. J. Allen proposed to treat much of the Confucian classics as forgeries of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, of the Han dynasty, and was roundly scolded for his audacity. Granet seems inclined to adopt much the same attitude. At any rate, he does not wax enthusiastic over the achievements of Chinese history till toward the time of the Ch'in Empire and its successor the Han. He is probably, however, too pessimistic when he declares the problem of Chinese origins to be "entirely unsolved."

It is in the second part of the volume that Granet is at his best. Here he uses the available Chinese literature with great confidence, as well as with keen insight and an almost poetic imagination. Behind the solemn formality of Chinese life we catch glimpses of unexpected joyousness and spontaneity; we feel the part played by imitative magic in customs which have been generally unintelligible; we realize the atmosphere of "agitated equilibrium" which the author is reluctant to call warfare; and we are conscious of the growth of institutions and traditions. Inverting the usual statement, our author tells us that civic morality was not the projection of the domestic morality but that, on the contrary, domestic life was modeled on the court assemblies. One of the most valuable parts of the treatise concerns the development of the family institutions and the transmission of authority from grandfather to grandson, skipping a generation in the agnatic line.

Dr. Granet's general conclusion is that the civilization of China reached its maturity by the time of the Ch'in and Han empires but that, in spite of the reign of formalism and the taste for static dignity, China still retained a "deep-seated plasticity" and remains a nation "rich in youthful forces."

The translation is carefully done, but it would have been wise to turn the French transliterations into the system usually employed for English

readers. It is misleading to read in English of *Song* (Sung) and *Kong* (Kung) and *Chong-kuo* (Chung-kuo). It would have been better also to have omitted the French M. before Chinese names. It sounds odd to read of M. Lo Chen-yu, or even of M. J. G. Andersson.

HERBERT H. GOWEN

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

The American Road to Culture. By GEORGE S. COUNTS. New York: John Day Co., 1930. Pp. 194.

The Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University. By I. L. KANDEL. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. Pp. xix+558.

In his Preface Professor Counts announces: "The present volume represents an effort to abstract from American social and educational practice the principles and ideas that shape the conduct and evolution of education in the United States." This is a simple way of saying that he intends to deal with the philosophy underlying the American system of education, as that philosophy reveals itself in the actual practices of our schools.

Under the heading, "Faith in Education," Professor Counts writes:

At the base of the theory of education in the United States is a profound faith in the potentialities of the individual man. . . . This faith in the potentialities of the individual has gradually taken the form of a faith in education. . . . Perhaps the most striking aspect of this phenomenon, however, lies in the fact that education is identified with the work of the school. As a consequence the faith in education becomes a faith in the school, and the school is looked upon as a worker of miracles. *In fact, the school is the American road to culture.*

Under the second topic, "Governmental Responsibility," we read:

In America a certain theory of control . . . has persisted for so many decades that its validity is accepted as axiomatic. This is the principle that education, conceived as schooling, is a governmental responsibility. . . . The Americans believe not only that the control of education should rest with the political power but also that the program of instruction in the public school should be secularized.

However, Professor Counts devotes three or four pages to the rôle which private enterprise and religious influence play in our educational system.

Under "Local Initiative" we read, "The American people, at least in

the past, have placed their faith in an extreme form of local initiative. No one therefore can understand their system of education without first understanding the very fundamental rôle which the small community plays in the support and control of the schools." The next three or four pages, however, explain to the reader the extent to which localism is mitigated and modified by the state and federal governments. Under the same heading we read "In America the actual control of education rests with the people."

The principles to which he arrives are the principles underlying our policy, as discernible by any practical-minded person familiar with our system. In fact, such a person reads the book with the impression of not having learned anything; since the book is a systematic statement, page after page, of what he feels that he has always known, by reason of having grown up through our school systems.

At first one is inclined to wonder what is the utility of such a book; but upon reflection that question answers itself with entire adequacy. Its first function is to reveal the American system of education to foreigners. A foreign student could probably get a better idea of our American system of education from Professor Counts's book than by traveling and visiting schools in this country for a year. The second function of the book is to render our own educational folk ways overt, explicit, and objective to ourselves. By formulating the principles underlying American education, Professor Counts puts the reader into a frame of mind which enables him to ask himself, as he may never have been able to do before, whether these principles are what they ought to be or not. We have always taken it as a matter of course, for example, that the people control education in America. Even the Scopes trial scarcely sufficed to raise the question in our minds as to whether that is as it ought to be. Professor Counts holds a mirror up in front of us and lets us see ourselves educationally. He thus gives us an opportunity to consider whether it might not be a good idea to wash our face and comb our hair educationally.

The Kandel book is an attempt to make a similar presentation for the school systems of England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States. Professor Kandel's subtitle is "The Philosophy Underlying National Systems of Education." But in literary style and in logical method and procedure the two books are as different as could well be imagined. The Kandel book is a symposium, each nation being represented by one (in the case of England, two) representative educational thinker. But each writer seems to be imbued with the idea that a philosophy of education must first of all be abstract, profound, and unclear.

The book is liable for that reason to be more or less of a disappointment to many readers.

The project itself is a laudable one; for there is no line of study that ought to be more promising for prospective educational leaders in America than a comparative study of other educational systems, especially with respect to the relationship between the social systems of each country and the educational system which represents it. But the job ought to be done with a technique more similar to that which Professor Counts has used. As it is, one reads and re-reads, but with the feeling of having just missed the point.

The section about Germany is the most baffling in this respect. One is reminded of the story of the American, visiting a German church service with his wife; his wife suggested that they slip out before the sermon was ended, but he insisted that he wanted to wait and see what the verb was going to be. One becomes aware, as he reads, that the German people are writhing under what they regard as a vindictive punishment, inflicted by those who provoked them irresistibly to what they are now being punished for. No travail of the soul can be more bitter and tragic; and it is apparent that the Germans feel their national spirit outraged accordingly. In the darkness and bitterness of this tragedy they are trying to re-establish their national spirit through education. But just what they conceive this national spirit to be, and just what education is to do about it, is not easy to find out through two hundred pages.

The same obscurity pervades more or less the entire book. One vaguely realizes, however, that the problem of uniformity through diversity is being worked out in England through their dual system, that the problem of moral education, in a large civic sense, is keenly felt in French education, that the issue of individualism versus collectivism, of social stability versus social progress, is as keenly felt in Japan in connection with the question of pedagogical methods as it is with us here in America, and that education is more or less a servant of the new régime in Italy.

Nevertheless, despite the obscurities of form and language, the book is stimulating. One feels that certain fundamental educational problems are world-wide; but one also feels that they are manifesting themselves in diverse forms and various details in different parts of the world. One feels, too, the parallelism between the culture system and the educational system in whatever part of the world he may be studying. To just the degree that our educational system is a causal factor in the evolution of our social life here in America, prospective educational leaders ought to lift

their eyes above our national conventionalities, not to say our prevailing hobbies and obsessions, and face a world view of education. Toward this objective the International Institute of Teachers College, through its *Yearbook*, is making an important contribution.

ROSS L. FINNEY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Marriage and the Civic Rights of Women, Separate Domicil and Independent Citizenship. By SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xi+158. \$2.00.

The readjustment of the rights of men and women has been a patchwork job. Taking place at an uneven tempo along a jagged frontier, it has entailed some unnecessary hardships for individuals and it has been attended by a certain amount of unforeseen and unintended injustice.

Part of the difficulty of reconstructing law has always been that those who know the law do not know what the situation demands, while those who know the needs of people do not understand legal machinery and the traditional principles governing its operation. Miss Breckinridge has attempted something which has been done altogether too rarely. To a clear exposition of the legal principles affecting the right of married women to separate domicil and independent citizenship she has added an analysis of the actual life-problems of women whose status is theoretically governed by those legal principles. Reading her book one realizes that laws regulating citizenship and the procedure for naturalization do not look quite the same to us, who only read about them, as they look to Mrs. Bolszenski who has four children and scrubs at the Y.M.C.A. hotel every day but Monday.

The first section of this book, an exposition of the principles of domicil and citizenship affecting women, is concise, well documented, and authoritative. The second section is perhaps of even greater significance; it consists of reports of interviews with foreign-born women in Chicago whose status is determined by the Cable acts. Those women are divided into three groups: those who have succeeded in becoming citizens, those who have tried and failed, and those who have never tried. Appendixes add to the usefulness of the book as a work of reference.

WILLARD WALLER

CHICAGO

International Labor Office. "Studies in Industrial Relations," No. 1. Geneva, 1930. Pp. xii+263.

The International Labor Conference, by formal resolution, in 1928, requested the International Labor Office to follow with due attention and report from time to time on the progress of the spirit of collaboration between employers and employed. The present study is the first in a series complying with that request. Except for a brief report on Industrial Relations in the United States, made in 1927, the International Labor Office has previously devoted its energies to conferences and reports on such matters as labor legislation, trade unionism, wages, cost of living, accidents, industrial health, and hours of work. These studies have had the traditional welfare approach. The present series of studies, stimulated largely by developments in personnel management in the United States, represents a broadening of the scope of work and in some degree at least a change in viewpoint. Along with the "rationalization" movement in Europe, perhaps in consequence of it, there has developed an increasing awareness of the field of common interest between employers and employed, and the practicability of collaboration in the development of this interest. This constitutes, to some degree at least, a departure from the traditional dogma that the interests of employers and employed are generally opposed; that the inevitable tendency of the competitive capitalistic system is to grind down the worker unless estopped by legislative and trade union barriers.

The present volume is a report on industrial relations in five firms, representing each a different country and a different type of business. The firms are: the Siemens Works—electrical equipment manufacture—Germany; the Lens Mining Company—coal mining—France; the London Traffic Combine—passenger transportation—England; the State Mines of the Saar Basin—coal mining—the Saar Basin; the Bata Boot and Shoe Factory—Czechoslovakia. The Office explains this selection of firms: "Its primary purpose was to study industrial relations in the diverse conditions in which they may develop. The undertakings selected for study were chosen rather as illustrations than as patterns." It might have added that they illustrate, in the judgment of the Office, the best rather than the average of industrial relations programs.

These reports on industrial relations do not pretend to be exhaustive, but they succeed admirably in presenting clearly and succinctly the essential features of these industrial relations programs. As measured in terms of American experience the industrial relations programs of these firms represent an advanced stage of constructive development in respect to

technical matters of human engineering, harmonious, co-operative relationships, and the health, comfort and efficiency of the workers. Many of the policies and methods of these companies are identical with the better policies and methods employed in the United States despite fundamental differences in institutional and economic settings. In all the cases, a comprehensive legislative code is the basis of the industrial relations program even though this legislation varies considerably from country to country. In all except the Bata Company, collective agreements constitute a considerable part of the structural machinery. With a few notable exceptions, neither of these institutions has played an important rôle in the development of personnel management in America.

The Office rigorously refrains from interpretation and evaluation except in one instance: "Legislation and collective agreements, however far reaching in their effects, leave open, for free development by both management and workers, a wide field of constructive activity." It is obvious that these firms have been able to go far beyond the letter of the law, but legislative codes and trade unions seldom do constitute a significant hindrance to the leading firms. It would be interesting to know how the less ably managed, or less fortunately situated, firms fare by comparison. When the proposed series of studies is completed, we shall have a more adequate basis of judgment on this point.

Students of industrial relations will find this an interesting and valuable group of case studies.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The World Crisis. By WINSTON CHURCHILL. New York: Scribner's, 1931. Pp. 866. \$5.00.

This is a one-volume edition of Churchill's famous war memoirs. It will permit a much wider distribution and reading. Churchill's reminiscences are by far the most frank and valuable of any published by an Englishman of the war period. They are candid and straightforward.

While Sir Edward Grey was invincibly committed to war in 1914, and must share the immediate responsibility for Britain's entry, there is no longer any doubt that Churchill was the man who "steam-rolled" the Cabinet into voting for war. He may thus be charged with having done more irreparable damage to England than any other Englishman since the Piltdown Man of some 150,000 years ago.

He frankly admits that he began to prepare the British navy for actual war after the Morocco crisis of 1911. In the crisis of 1914 he intrigued

privately with the Conservatives to help overrule his pacific Liberal colleagues in the Cabinet and force their hands (pp. 117-18). He ordered the premature mobilization of the British fleet in the absence of—indeed, in opposition to—the approval of the Cabinet. He was the great war horse of the 1914 crisis in Britain. Some of his Liberal colleagues have since referred to “the fury of Winston.” His sporting blood was up; what mattered it to him if millions of his fellow-citizens might go to their graves?

In spite of Churchill’s malicious—indeed, diabolical—part in the crisis of 1914, one cannot entertain contempt for the man. He is frank. He makes none of Grey’s hypocritical pretense to saintliness. He knew what he wanted, and he got it. He is generous to defeated foes—at least in words (p. 848)—though there is no evidence in this book that he labored mightily against the barbarous blockade of Germany for months after the Armistice—the one great and unpardonable atrocity of the World War.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
NEW YORK CITY

Survey of International Affairs, 1928. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, assisted by V. M. BOULTER. Oxford University Press, 1929.

This annual survey produced under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs has become a standard reference work, but it is more than that. Its able editor, Arnold J. Toynbee, not merely records important international events of the year, but fits them into their historical setting and expounds their significance. This means that the Survey cannot follow a simple geographical or chronological plan but groups incidents, often those of more than one year, into comprehensive essays.

Thus, the survey under review deals with the rise of the Nationalist government in China and the foreign relations of that government with the Islamic world, in continuation of the survey of that region published in 1925, with Southeastern Europe, and with certain developments in the constitution of the League of Nations including the enlargement of the Council, the functions of the Permanent Mandates Commission, and the personnel of the Secretariat. This does not include all events of international importance which occurred during the year under consideration. Thus, affairs of Northeastern Europe, of the American continent, and of tropical Africa are reserved for later volumes.

The section of the book, however, which will probably interest American readers the most is that dealing with the Kellogg Pact, the negotiation

of which the editor regards as "undoubtedly the most important international event of 1927-1928" (p. 10). This section begins with a survey of the institution of war which the editor distinguishes as a species from the genus violence, noting that it has by no means existed coevally with the human race but only during the six thousand years since organized states began. He calls attention to the renewal of efforts to eradicate the institution on every occasion when its ravages have been most impressive and to the comparative success of these efforts in wide areas on several occasions as during the early Han dynasty in China and during the first two centuries of the Roman Empire. He seeks to estimate the probability of the present efforts enduring longer than these earlier ones, and finds hope in the facts that the present effort began before the ravages of war had destroyed the independence of states and set up a single superstate; that the present system is world-wide, thus the peripheral wars, which generally, in the past, have overwhelmed the peaceful community of the earlier outlawries, are no longer to be assumed; and that superior control of power and communication have made the danger of war to civilization more grave than ever before. This fact, illustrated by two quotations, the first, by Premier Stanley Baldwin, uttered in 1927, inquires, "Who in Europe does not know that one more war in the West and the civilization of the ages will fall with as great a shock as that of Rome?" the second, from the historian Gibbon written probably in 1781 reads, "In War, the European forces are exercised by temperate and undecisive contests" (p. 9).

In recounting the negotiations of the Kellogg Pact, the editor properly emphasizes the part played by public opinion both in urging the government to initiate negotiations and in assuring ratification of the instrument. It is, therefore, surprising that the movement for the outlawry of war, which originated in Chicago with Mr. Salmon O. Levinson, which certainly was responsible for the conversion of Senator Borah to the idea, and which furnished the nuclear drive for the treaty in American public opinion, is ignored entirely.

In other sections of the survey, where attention is concentrated on the details of the events narrated, vigorous generalization is not wanting. Thus the editor notes two main tendencies in the development of the League of Nations during its first nine years: "a gradual but unmistakable transference of energy from tasks of European reconstruction to tasks of world organizations; and "a tendency for political activities to yield some ground to activities of an economic and cultural character" (p. 104). The great problem of international organization, i.e., regionalism

versus universalism, is discussed in connection with the attitude of Latin America to the League, with the consoling conclusion that the method of solving the Paraguay-Bolivian dispute in 1928 showed that co-operation between the two systems in political matters is practical (pp. 108-9).

With this volume the Royal Institute initiates a practice of publishing a companion volume of official documents. Thus, the documentary publication in the survey itself is reduced. Treaties signed by Great Britain with two Moslem powers, Najd-Hijaz and Iraq are, however, included as is a useful chronology of international events, classified by states, for the year 1928. In general, the survey lives up to its high standard, which all persons interested in international affairs can well hope will be continued.

QUINCY WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Contemporary Social Movements. By JEROME DAVIS. New York: Century Co., 1930. Pp. xx+901. \$5.00.

General ideas about social movements are a good deal like the family laundry as it is dumped out of the hamper—crumpled and without organization. This book suggests part of it brought back ironed and sorted but not yet put to its ultimate use. The outer garment—our present capitalist system—not going to the cleaners this week, does not need to be mentioned and isn't. One wishes that the Congressional Commission investigating "red" activity could have used this book as a text in college, but one feels confident that the next generation of investigators, having studied this book or one modeled after it, will have greater understanding.

It has been hard to review so long a book because its material is so interesting. Any biases which the author may undoubtedly have are without moment because of the varied documentation and the extensive bibliographies. It was brought down to the date of going to press so that Gandhi's "Salt March" and last spring's situation in Russia are included; this will make it seem behind the date in a short time, but will not invalidate either the dynamic of the "movements" or the historic documents which are their guide books.

The movements treated are: utopias, socialism, communism, fascism, co-operation, British labor party, and peace. In each case the historic sequences and the personalities involved are put into relation, and criticisms presented from various standpoints.

While utopias can hardly be called movements, they have furnished a field for important writers from Plato down, and the ideal has stimulated

multitudes to embrace movements leading in a utopian direction, and probably, by their imaginative characterizations, have aroused opposition to practical programs because the utopian ideal has seemed to be beyond the capacity of human nature.

While there is no parsimony of space in the treatment of any of the sections, very properly, the most is given to communism and the Soviet experience. If one may judge from the space in the press and the subject of conversations, communism is far and away the most absorbing subject in the world. Fortunately the author of this book has unusual familiarity both with the literature and with the evolution of the movement in Russia, and presents it with intimacy and objectivity.

Diverse and contradictory as these movements are, all of them are becoming part of the social order into which we are entering, and should be understood in their relations and development. This book is the only one offering the possibility in one volume.

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research. Edited by T. V. SMITH and LEONARD D. WHITE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. Pp. xi + 283. \$3.00.

Most of the readers of the *Journal* have at least a general acquaintance with the work carried on under the direction of the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago. The numerous publications that have appeared in recent years attest the range and caliber of its research activities. The present volume is an inventory of the Committee's accomplishments during the five years of its existence. The contributors are members of the faculty who participated in the planning and direction of the various research activities. The focus of attention is the city of Chicago and adjoining territory. The function of the Committee is to plan and supervise social research in the local metropolitan area. This does not, however, imply that all the social research of the University or even the major part of it is confined to the local community.

The book is replete with suggestions of what a university can do in the study of life near at hand. It is a valuable guide to colleagues in other universities who have a sense of the futility of much of the piecemeal research carried on at the present time. The University of Chicago is blazing a trail in what promises to mark a new era in social research in this country. There may be some basis for criticism that attention is focused upon too

small a sector of life to permit of the generalization to which science always aspires. But the reply is that the technique and precision essential to scientific progress can only be developed in the laboratory of active life. And where is there a better laboratory than the great complex city of Chicago?

The volume opens, therefore, fittingly, with a comprehensive chapter by Park entitled "The City as a Social Laboratory." Here is shown the rôle of the city in the evolution of human institutions and personality. White follows with two chapters in which he outlines the objectives of the Committee, its structure, and methods of operation. He discusses the research facilities of the University—giving special attention to the splendid new Social Science Building—and those of the community outside. He shows how the Committee integrates the research interests of the different departments within the University with those of the various social and administrative agencies of the city. Burgess, the contributor of three excellent chapters, describes how the University, in co-operation with city agencies, proceeded to fund basic social data. The Committee wisely took the position that its first task was to standardize procedure in the gathering and recording of social statistics. This necessitated the establishment of consistent and comparable census tracts, the preparation of a base map and the development of procedure for continuous and systematic recording of data by unit areas. Burgess also reviews the research undertaken to test the validity and practicability of the basic territorial units adopted for statistical enumeration. The remainder of the book is made up of pithy chapters describing a wide range of local studies undertaken by different members of the faculty and by graduate students.

The reviewer is impressed by several things in this inventory of social science research in the University of Chicago. In the first place all the traditional lines of demarcation between academic departments seem to be disregarded. Lasswell of political science is engrossed in personality studies; Millis of economics is chairman of the Joint Committee of Registration of Social Statistics; Merriam of political science centers his attention upon trends in the distribution of population within the metropolitan area as basic to problems of local government and administration; Miss Breckinridge of the School of Social Service Administration is concerned with urban growth and the problems of social control involved. A second noteworthy feature is the general objectivity of the research and yet its close relation to the practical problems of the community. Many of the projects have been financed by funds matched by city agencies, yet the University has maintained control throughout. The research, as T. V.

Smith indicates in the closing chapter, is, from the University standpoint, disinterested and objective but it is connected with problems of real practical interest to the community.

Little can be said by way of criticism. The book is well edited, though a few typographical errors have crept in. One is naturally regretful that the list of studies completed but not published is almost as large as the list of published studies. To be sure some of these unpublished studies may eventually appear in print but it is unfortunate that so many of those referred to in the text are buried away in the dusty shelves of the library. If they are worthy of review in the book it is tantalizing to the outsider to be unable to have access to them.

R. D. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Psychopathology and Politics. By HAROLD D. LASSWELL. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. ix+285. \$3.00.

This volume merits attention as another example of the present shift among the social sciences away from the older rationalistic, volitional conceptions of human nature and behavior (hedonistic). In the search for more fruitful and revealing insights into behavior, and more especially social life, the findings and theories of the clinic offer both a fascinating and a useful tool for investigation into the activities of politics and economics.

In this volume Dr. Lasswell has attempted to interpret psychopathology to the students of social science and show them how "the significance of political opinions is not to be grasped apart from the private motives they symbolize." As he further remarks, "Political movements derive their vitality from the displacement of private affairs upon public objects. The intensive scrutiny of the individual by psychopathological methods discloses the prime importance of hitherto neglected motives in the determination of political traits and beliefs."

The acceptance of these viewpoints must lead students of politics toward an increased interest and effort to study personality, to discover the rise of these private effects or emotional attitudes and how they have found a focus and an outlet in the arena of political activity. Through such studies it is evident, as the author has shown in his case histories, that we must go behind the individual's overt political and social professions, to the highly personal needs, urges, and frustrations he is seeking to fulfil or allay. In the light of these considerations, it must be obvious that discussion and argument upon the overt political issues espoused by

an individual are essentially irrelevant and more productive of conflict than of resolution. If we can learn to regard the political man as one who has chosen political activity as a method of obtaining personal adjustments, as one who is projecting upon social life his own inner strivings and discontents and finding therein a symbolic realization, we will attain not only to a clearer insight into political behavior but to a better realization of the necessity of "preventive politics" as the author has named this newer viewpoint: "the politics of prevention draws attention squarely to the central problem of reducing the level of strain and maladaptation in society." Here we begin to see the emergence of a fairly new conception of the task of social welfare as not so much a question of legislation and administration, but as a problem of rearing wholesome, sane human beings. The implication of this conception finds additional reinforcement in Dr. Lasswell's volume, that the difficulties and shortcomings of our social life, in economic, political and family affairs, are to be viewed as the products of maladjustment and distortion of personality rather than the operation of large impersonal "systems" and "forces" and the other conceptual apparatus we have inherited from celestial mechanics.

It is inevitable that many readers will be offended, if not incensed, by the author's avowal of psychoanalytic theories and interpretations, particularly since, to adopt the author's own interpretative method, they may find it a convenient symbol for discharging their dismay at the prospective changes in political science which this book foreshadows. The author's contribution does not stand or fall by psychoanalysis, however much he may espouse those doctrines. As suggested earlier, it is to be viewed as another example of the change in our thinking on the subject of human behavior, of which the analytic theories are themselves an instance.

LAWRENCE K. FRANK

NEW YORK CITY

Wirtschaftsgemässe Gestaltung der Arbeitslosenversicherung. By ERICH HÄUSSERMANN. Nürnberg: Hochschulbuchhandlung Krische & Co., 1931. Pp. 75. 2 RM.

In this pamphlet the author offers his solution of the increasing difficulty in financing unemployment insurance, to wit, that the employer's premium rates be scaled according to the number of persons released rather than persons in his employ. The author suggests that upon the worker's discharge the employer be required to pay into the unemploy-

ment insurance fund a sum equal to wages for one-sixth of the period of employment but not to exceed three months' wages. The rates are to be higher than one-sixth in case the worker is engaged for a short time only. The premiums are to be paid in a lump sum following the dismissal of the worker. These funds are to cover half the cost of benefits, the other half being met by premiums paid by the worker, whose contributions are not to fluctuate with risks of employment in the industry or establishment. Any excess of their contributions over need for current benefits is to constitute a reserve fund. The author discusses the economic value of providing incentives to maintain workers. He does not indicate how a dismissal wage could be paid by a declining industry or a bankrupt firm. He does, however, offer suggestions leading to stabilization in normal industries.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Ten Years of International Co-operation: The League of Nations. Boston: World Peace Foundation, American Distributors, 1930. Pp. 467. \$3.50.

This volume, prepared by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, constitutes the first adequate effort on the part of the permanent staff at Geneva to describe and explain the League machinery and its functioning for the benefit of the layman. In the Foreword by Sir Eric Drummond, secretary-general, the aim of the book is said to be "to present a simple record of the work done by the League during the first ten years of its existence—to set forth briefly and impartially the principal events, the progress which has been accomplished, and the methods which have been devised for dealing with the problems that have arisen." This objective the work achieves with signal success. It is scarcely a history, since it is devoid of evaluations and interpretations, but it is much more than a mere statistical compilation. The specialist might desire more complete documentation, but the Bibliography at the end compensates somewhat for this deficiency. Unwittingly perhaps, but wisely, the organization follows the classification of League functions suggested several years ago by Professor Rappard, who declared that the League might well be regarded as three organizations in one: the League to prevent war, the League for international co-operation, and the League to enforce the Peace treaties. The first four chapters deal with the pacific settlement of international disputes, security and disarmament, the world court, and the codification

of international law. The next five take up international action through the League in dealing with financial and economic problems, transit and communications, health, social questions, and intellectual co-operation, while the last five discuss the mandates system, the protection of minorities, the administration of the Saar and Danzig, the budget of the League, and the League and public opinion. The Secretariat is singularly free from hallucinations and illusions. As to the ultimate implications of these developments for the future of international relations, most observers will agree with the sage observation of Sir Eric Drummond that "the historian, if he is wise, will wait at least another decade before he attempts to form his final judgments."

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Milk and Honey Route, A Handbook For Hobos. By DEAN STIFF, illustrated by ERNIE BUSHMILLER. New York: Vanguard Press. \$1.50.

Dean Stiff has written a light, romantic handbook for hobos that will be a boon for tired business men and weary college professors.

The Milk and Honey Route is the most fantastic book on hobos since Josiah Flint's *Tramping with Tramps*, written more than a quarter of a century ago. The author reminds us of William J. Locke's *The Beloved Vagabond* and Kipling's *The Tramp Royal*. He is described as "quite reserved in his address, and with a humor both ironic and subtle." He is called "a poseur, always sure of himself and always staying within the bounds of propriety."

He says: "There is too much hokum on the Hobo subject. What with professors doing researches and the novelists doing the human interest stuff, the rest of the world is getting to think of the Hobo game as a lot of cheap comedy. I say it's a grand art and it's about time somebody stepped in and saved it from the hitch-hikers."

There are fifteen chapters to the book, all portraying the delights of the free and easy life of the hobo. Chapter ii, "The Road to Roam" is a poet's geography; . . . "the road the real Hobo follows is never ending. It is always heading into the sunset of promise."

Chapter vi, "Social Workers Mean Well," portrays vividly what confronts the hobo when he meets the social worker.

Chapter viii, "The Art of Panhandling," is the best part of the book. It quotes "Chi Kid's Unpublished Autobiography" and gives ten rules that every successful panhandler must learn.

Chapter xi, "How To Enrich Your Leisure," is a contribution to adult education, showing what a hobo with intelligent curiosity, artistic tendencies, and radical proclivities can do to secure a liberal culture and spiritual security.

Chapter xiv, "What the Cats Fight Over," is an enlightening discussion of how the homeless man satisfies his sex life.

Chapter xv, "Who's Who in Hobohemia," introduces us to the commanding general, Jacob S. Coxey; to the beloved James Eads How, the hobo millionaire who recently died in a manner similar to Tolstoy; to Jim Tully, the exploiter of hobos and misery, and to Mr. Zero, the hobo reformer.

The book also contains a poetical Appendix that has one of the finest collections of hobo poetry in print and a very readable glossary of hobo terms.

Ernie Bushmiller has cleverly and humorously illustrated the book.

If the thousands of heartsick unemployed tramping the country looking for work could only get the viewpoint of this book, we might disband Hoover's Unemployed Emergency Committee, but, alas, even a sociologist gone poetic somehow fails to convince us that the road the hobo travels is the real "Milk and Honey Route."

BEN L. REITMAN

CHICAGO

Crime and the Criminal Law in the United States. By HARRY BEST.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xvii+604. \$6.50.

This book is rather unique in the range of data and problems with which it deals. The author states that it "is to be looked upon as an elementary text." After a brief discussion of legal conceptions of crime, there follows an informal descriptive treatment of types of offense, court procedures including those of the juvenile court. The body of the work is devoted to the exposition and analysis of statistical material which is derived mainly from the reports of the Census Bureau. The conditions under which crime occurs are considered. Facts concerning race, nativity, residence, family relationships, economic conditions, education, recidivism, previous experiences, and habits are explored by quantitative methods with a view to indicating causal relationships. Better validated data are, of course, not available at present for the writer who treats of crime throughout the United States. It cannot be too often stressed, however, that inferences drawn from some such material as has been used in this instance are to be regarded only in a provisional way. The study of the

Massachusetts Reformatory by the Gluecks shows how unreliable is much of the official information concerning prisoners. On the topics of internal administration, prison, labor, and probation, the absence of reference to particular places makes the treatment rather indefinite. A number of the remedies for defects in the present legal and penal systems are described, though little is added to previous suggestions. The concluding chapter strikes a moralistic note.

Since there is no emergence of any integrating set of principles, the work must be regarded as a compilation rather than as a treatise. Provided that enough emphasis is placed upon critical examination of the source materials, it should prove useful for students and other interested citizens, as an introduction, from the sociological standpoint, to a large number of aspects of criminology.

HENRY E. FIELD

STATE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION, MASSACHUSETTS

Introduction to Rural Sociology. By C. R. HOFFER. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930. Pp. ix+418.

Following Sorokin and Zimmerman's *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, the present volume on the whole represents a reversion to type. The point of view is the traditional one in rural sociology, i.e., the problem-welfare-evaluative approach. Yet, factual studies, whenever available, are made the basis of inference; and, much more often than usual, opinion is withheld in the absence of data. Rural sociology is thus primarily an applied science for the author, as it has been for most of his predecessors; but happily the scientific element is noticeably stronger. Increased use is also made of the concepts of general sociology, although a highly specialized terminology is avoided, perhaps with more gain than loss.

Hoffer's vision of rural sociology as a mixture of applied and pure science (pp. 12-13) will appear to many less ideal than a clarifying division of labor between these two divergent and somewhat incompatible motives and techniques. But it will probably be generally admitted that the emergence of a pure science of rural sociology on the one hand and of a rural social technology on the other, if it occurs, must be the result of a gradual evolution, in which this volume may be seen as a progressive step. The author's claim that treatment is confined to "facts pertaining to rural life that appears to have significance in all sections of the country" (p. 14)

is open to the objection that almost no scientific knowledge exists about rural life in many regions.

This text is outstanding for its simple style, thoroughgoing discussions, sound economic background, and up-to-date material. In spite of the lack of the pedagogical aid of questions at the end of chapters, it will prove the most satisfactory book for beginning classes that has yet appeared in the field.

THOMAS C. McCORMICK

EAST CENTRAL OKLAHOMA TEACHERS COLLEGE

The American Hotel. An Anecdotal History. By JEFFERSON WILLIAMSON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Pp. xx+324. \$3.50.

Jefferson Williamson's "anecdotal history" is the second of two monographs on the hotel containing material of interest to sociologists. The other is Robert B. Ludy, *Historic Hotels of the World*, published in 1927. Although Mr. Williamson's book leaves much to be desired in the accuracy of its statements and the quality of its pictures it is the best source available on American hotels. The author's experience as press agent for a circus and later as editor of *The Hotel Gazette* has enabled him to write racily about a subject with which he is familiar.

Prior to the nineteenth century there were only inns and these places differed considerably from the hotels that developed later. "Ye bowl and pitcher period" was begun with the opening of the Tremont House of Boston in 1829. Few inns had exceeded thirty rooms in size, yet the Tremont had one hundred and seventy—"the world's largest" at that time. Although it had been customary in colonial times for the traveler to share his bedroom or even his bed with one or more strangers, the Tremont introduced the unique feature of specializing in single and double rooms for its guests. Sometimes "when guests got too nasty," the innkeeper had put them in the stocks, but "Mine Host" at the Tremont started a new policy of giving the guest the utmost of comfort, luxury, and service. This service included such novelties as an individual lock on the door, a bowl and pitcher and free soap for every guest room.

Although the emphasis in this book—and the same is true of Mr. Ludy's study also—is on concrete unique events connected with such a "historic" or leading hotel as the Tremont, occasional sentences or paragraphs make significant generalizations. The history of the American hotel, for example, has been marked by a high death-rate. The average life span has been less than fifty years. Most important among the "new-

fangled notions" that made the rivalry between hotels "a sort of game, like the annual blooming of new models of motor cars and radio sets" were: (1) modern plumbing, especially the hotel bathroom and the installation of heating systems; (2) the "vertical railway" or elevator; (3) the electric light, and (4) the telephone.

As the use of railroads increased the commercial traveler "became one of the chief mainstays of the hotel business," but with the growth of the chain-store system the ranks of drummers have been greatly thinned. The number of women guests, however, is steadily increasing.

With the increasing need for efficiency in hotel operation proprietors of present-day "grand caravanseries" have less frequently come up from the ranks than in the past. "Future generations, perhaps, will be chiefly college-trained men, for there are now scientific courses in hotel administration."

Just as many innkeepers had operated stage lines, so "hotel men built, or helped to build, many railroads and many railroad companies built hotels." Up to about fifty years ago, however, vacations and tours were chiefly the prerogative of the well-to-do. Although cheapness of transportation, by railroad and steamer, had stimulated the business of resorts, there was throughout the nineteenth century "no such universality of touring and tripping and vacationing as there is today."

NORMAN HAYNER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

An Introduction to the Study of the Family. By EDGAR SCHMIEDELER.
New York: Century Co., 1930. Pp. xi+384. \$2.50.

Father Schmiedeler's general thesis is the superiority of a civilization of vows over one of contracts, and he applies it to the family. An analysis of the medieval integration of the family is followed by a discussion of the present period of disorganization, with suggestions for reintegration. He begins his study with the Middle Ages, and pays little or no attention to the early history of the family. This historical section of the book is its weakest part. The author continues and even overdraws the traditional contrast between the Graeco-Roman and Christian ages. He oversimplifies Catholic church history. As a matter of fact, the idyllic picture which he gives of family integration wrought by the church in the Middle Ages can scarcely be taken literally. Certainly Pope Alexander was under no such romantic illusions, for his bull in 1259 declared that the people were being corrupted instead of reformed by their ministers; and monastic life

in the "greatest of centuries" can scarcely be said to have integrated family life. Dr. Schmiedeler's analysis of the sources of modern family disintegration is clear-cut and sound. He is properly informed on genetics and quotes contemporary writers on the family like Goodsell, Mowrer, Ellwood, Popenoe, and Groves. He is not always discriminating, however, as to the sources which he uses and an occasional quotation is too patently selected to prove his thesis: for example, taking the description by an American army officer as authoritative on Mexican family life sixty years ago. On the whole the author composes a judicious mixture of science and theology with an outlook realistic and reasonably objective. Occasionally there is a drop to the homiletic. Here and there a defective reference occurs (e.g., p. 221). There is some theological begging the question, most noticeably in the argument for clerical celibacy and on the beneficial qualities of pregnancy. This theologizing at its worst appears in the author's perpetuating the ancient fallacy and dogma of the divine right of the husband as head of the family. It is much easier to state dogmatically than to prove that "a more humane system of industry and not an inhuman restriction of the family is the logical remedy" for the situation which others propose to meet through birth control. For some reason or other the author is especially fond of a mixed metaphor, for he resorts to it more than once; namely, that family "tension will likely be nipped in the bug"!

ARTHUR J. TODD

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The Pace of Agriculture in American Life. By WILSON GEE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 217. \$2.00.

This is a brief, popular, but fair and factual, consideration of agriculture and country life in relation to national welfare. The author reviews the contributions of rural life to the development of the early, as well as later, affairs of the nation and contends that rational national growth is dependent upon the continuous vigorous participation of the farmer group in all public affairs upon terms of equal advantage to its group interests. Such participation in the future is held to be dependent upon the maintenance of the individualistic spirit of the farmer and upon his receiving his full share of the nation's wealth in order that a high standard of living may be maintained.

A number of factors held to be essential in the maintenance of an adequate system of rural living and those which need redirection are discussed. Special reference is made to the economic condition of the farmer;

to current social problems; to co-operation in agriculture; to the question of the farmer in politics, and to farm relief. A minor place is given to the future development of corporation farming as compared with efficiently managed and owner-operated smaller units. Combination will make its contribution in the field of distribution rather than in the field of production. The author assumes that the farm group may expect only such consideration from other groups as it effectively fights for.

E. L. MORGAN

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Mr. Miller of the "Times." By F. FRASER BOND. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931. Pp. xi+264. \$3.00.

This life-story of the man who for nearly two score years was at the editorial helm of the *New York Times* will interest the student of the press not simply because, while remaining relatively unknown, Miller exercised a wide influence on American thought and affairs, but because his career bridges the transition from the old editorial tradition to the new. He was schooled in personal journalism on the staff of the *Springfield Republican* under "the great Sam Bowles." As editor of the failing *Times*, he sought to preserve the traditions of didactic editorial leadership against the inroads of "yellow" competition. The interesting point is that he failed, and that his failure brought success. It enabled Ochs to take over the bankrupt paper and to renovate it along radically different lines. The new *Times* quickly demonstrated that a non-sensational informative type of news was capable of holding its own against yellow sensationalism.

Miller's part in the new régime was to adapt the editorial page to the complex anonymous organization that emerged. Though critics have sometimes identified the *Times'* editorial columns with stodgy conservatism, the fact remains that they contained comment and interpretation that aroused interest to an extraordinary degree, thus preserving editorial vigor amidst a general decline of this function.

An Appendix containing selected editorials and fugitive articles from Miller's pen makes up about one-fourth of the book.

CARROLL D. CLARK

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Community Organization. By JESSE F. STEINER. New York: Century Co., 1930. Pp. xii+453. \$2.75.

When the first edition of Steiner's *Community Organization* appeared in 1925 the country had just passed through a decade of enthusiasm for social progress via the local community. This was in part a reaction against wider reform movements on the one hand and case work on the other. But in the last five years a more balanced view has been developing and "a more reasoned appraisal of its actual rôle in social and civic affairs. Of special significance has been the advance made in understanding the nature of the community, its process of growth, its tangled web of social forces, and its wider relations with the outside world."

All these changes are reflected in the revised edition, which seems to the reviewer better balanced and better integrated than the original. The 1925 volume was divided into three distinct parts, (1) the community movement and social progress, (2) typical experiments in community organization, and (3) theories and principles of community organization. In the revision these sections are fused.

While the author appears to have made no startling change in his social philosophy, he has introduced some new viewpoints which give the reader a more critical interpretation of community organization. "The community movement was ushered in a generation too late." We do not care enough for old values to pay for them the price of isolation. Our associations are more and more selective instead of localized. We are thinking more in terms of the region than of the community. Hence it is perhaps natural that many local federative devices have proved disappointing. "Community organization must be regarded as a transition movement."

All in all the revised edition is a distinct improvement over its predecessor, but not even Steiner has yet given us an adequate account of the processes involved in the integration and disintegration of local communities nor a program for their control.

STUART A. QUEEN

DETROIT COMMUNITY UNION

The Departments of the American Federation of Labor. By ALBERT THEODORE HELBING. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1931. Pp. 137. \$1.25.

This dissertation for the doctorate will be welcomed by students of labor economics for it is a good contribution on a subject concerning which little of value had been written. The origin and development, the struc-

ture and government, and the functions of each of the five departments—the Building Trades' department, the Metal Trades' department, the Railway Employees' department, the Label department, and the Mining department—are discussed in as many chapters, after which comes a summary and appraisal. The value of the monograph lies partly in the detail brought together, but more in the interpretation of these American Federation of Labor devices and in the appraisal made of them in the concluding chapter.

Of course the Label department has been primarily an organization for booming the label in an effort to make the workers and their friends union-label-minded. In this it has not realized a great deal of success, but it has served the purpose more efficiently than the many unions could have, acting independently. The Mining department, long since discontinued, was primarily a federation of the then strong United Mine Workers of America and the weak Western Federation of Miners. The federation was a substitute for the proposed amalgamation of these two industrial unions, a proposal unacceptable to the U.M.W. of A. because it would have to carry most of the burden and would reap little benefit. The other three industrial departments were formed of craft unions. They finally emerged out of the struggle over the issue of industrial unionism versus craft unionism. They were in a sense a compromise between two forms of organization. The author is of the opinion that students of the subject have been too prone to regard these federations as evidence of a tendency toward the industrial form of organization; they are substitutes for it and craft feeling and outlook have stoutly persisted. Moreover, the departments have served as devices for maintaining the supremacy of the national unions as against local organizations and movements. If tested as devices for maintaining national union supremacy and for furthering co-operative effort among craft unions, the three existing industrial departments have been successful.

H. A. MILLIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The United States of Europe. By EDOUARD HERRIOT, translated by REGINALD J. DINGLE. New York: Viking Press, 1930. Pp. 330. \$3.50.

In the present volume, which has been published simultaneously in several countries, M. Edouard Herriot undertakes to present the case for Briand's proposal of a European federation. The work is significant both for its content and for its source. In style, substance, and cogency, it is well above the average of literary productions of politicians, at least in the United States, though Paris is more familiar with political leaders who are also scholars and gentlemen. The

scholar in this case is chief of the Radical-Socialist party (neither radical nor socialist, despite its name), leader of the *Cartel des Gauches* which came into power in France in 1924, and French premier and foreign minister during the era of the Dawes Plan and Locarno. Since he is only 58 years of age and still a power in his party, he may well become premier again. For this, if for no other reason, his comments on Briand's scheme are noteworthy.

Herriot's premises, like those of Briand, are those of nineteenth-century bourgeois liberalism, buttressed by post-war pacifism and by anxiety over the future of an internationally integrated capitalism in a politically fragmented Europe. He recognizes the impossibility of national prosperity and security so long as each state pursues its own economic and political interests without reference to those of the continent as a whole. He shrinks from communism and even from moderate socialism as roads to salvation. The solution, as he sees it, is to be found in international federation. With more rhetoric than critical acumen, he traces the history of various past proposals in this direction and then presents in some detail various international economic problems which he believes can be effectively dealt with by this method. The economic case for European federation has never been more strongly presented by any political leader. The union which he envisages would be supplementary to, and not a competitor of, the League of Nations, and would be open to any European state, including the Soviet Union, which desired to join. Its eventual goal, though not its immediate objective, would be a European customs union.

Herriot's arguments for the U.S.E. are incontrovertible. The only question which may legitimately be raised is their efficacy and relevancy in a world of state-sovereignty, economic nationalism, and prestige diplomacy. Social action, unfortunately, is determined, not by incontrovertible arguments, but by self-interest and by the traditions and behavior patterns inherited from the past. The Western European state system in its traditional form is perhaps too deeply imbedded in the culture of the continent to be radically modified, even in the face of disaster. That Europe is sick is obvious. That the diagnosis here suggested is correct is almost equally obvious. But it is by no means clear that the patient will take the medicine prescribed.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A Scale for Measuring Social Adequacy. By MARY JOSEPHINE MCCORMICK. Social Science Monographs No. 1 (October, 1930). Washington, D.C.: National Catholic School of Social Service. Pp. 73.

Social adequacy is defined as "the quality by which a family is able to preserve its domestic life without unusual aid from the community." A brief but excellent summary is given of earlier attempts to measure such similar factors as occupational class, socio-economic status, and cultural status of families. The scale which Dr. McCormick has constructed and tested covers quality of neighborhood, education, occupation and civic status, material status of the home, and cultural and social influences. By a system of weighted values, one score is arrived at to indicate the degree of social adequacy of a given family. The scale involves a visit to the home to be measured and is intended for social workers. There are several drawbacks, although in general the scale appears to be quite usable and more objective than many previous scales—the observer is asked to make several subjective judgments; the scale assumes a family with children; certain modern urban devices (such as apartments) are penalized;

there is an undue limitation to certain questions, as with reference to favorite sports. It would be well if the scale were tested out in other cities than Washington to eliminate local influences.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

Foundations for Human Engineering. By CHARLES R. GOW. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xiii+226.

This small book carries a collection of class lectures by the incumbent of a new chair of "Humanics" at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a former engineer-contractor. The lectures, delivered for engineering students, extol such virtues as industry, honesty, and loyalty, and relate them to success in business life. They are written much in the style of the "success" articles in certain popular magazines.

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

EAST CENTRAL OKLAHOMA TEACHERS COLLEGE

The League Council in Action: A Study of the Methods Employed by the Council of the League of Nations To Prevent War and To Settle International Disputes. By T. P. CONWELL-EVANS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. Pp. xi+291. \$5.00.

This is a careful study of some twenty-three international disputes handled by the League of Nations Council during the first decade of its existence. By a comparison of cases the author has clearly brought out the way in which the actual procedure of the Council has evolved. Articles x and xvi of the Covenant (dealing with territorial integrity and sanctions, respectively), which were largely responsible for keeping the United States out of the League, have in practice been replaced in significance by article xi, providing for the mediation of the League. "Enacted" institutions rarely if ever work as originally intended! Experience has significantly improved the peace procedure, particularly by distinguishing between the task of separating the combatants ("cease fire"), and that of fixing responsibility and removing the causes of the dispute (first realized and carried out in the Graeco-Bulgar case in 1925); by public sessions of the Council and the focusing of world opinion upon the replies of the disputants; by the use of advisory opinions of the World Court; and by the creation of a rapporteur and commissions of neutral experts. The machinery of the League seems in fact to be somewhat in advance of intelligent public opinion—i.e., it is not sufficiently understood or appreciated. Possibly another international crisis is needed to provide the necessary testing and education.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

SKIDMORE COLLEGE

The Rôles of Men and Women in Eskimo Culture. By NAOMI GIFFEN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. xiii+113. \$2.

This monograph, based upon published studies and selected travelers' reports, appears under the University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology—"Ethnological Series." The distinctive feature is a tabular device summarizing the activities of the sexes in Eskimo society under the headings "Men Only," "Women Only," "Prevaillingly Men," "Prevaillingly Women," and "Both." The orienting principles are: (1) Male economic and female magical activities

are group and communally toned; conversely, female economic and male magical (amulets) functions are undertaken for individual or family (as contrasted to village or tribal) gain. (2) Common sense and a relatively sophisticated appreciation of a "grudging Arctic atmosphere" play a dominant rôle in the differentiation of male and female activities. Thus, though, under ordinary circumstances, there are sex patterns more clearly defined than among Europeans, "a man may do any kind of woman's work and a woman any kind of man's work," if a sufficiently urgent or capricious situation (danger, absence, or scarcity of the opposite sex, jest, etc.) presents itself.

The study is carefully documented, bears reading by those who would use indirect evidence without doing violence to the facts, and is a contribution on the concrete side to the subject of division of labor. A list of the secondary sources used would assist in understanding certain uniquenesses in methodology and point of view.

WALTER T. WATSON

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

What Crime Statistics Show about the Italians. By GIOVANNI SCHIAVO.

Pamphlet No. 9. New York: Italian Historical Society, n.d. Pp. 30.

This is an analysis of the reports on prisoners in the United States, for the purpose of demonstrating that the available statistics do not indicate that the Italian immigrants to the United States have an extraordinarily high crime rate.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Crusade. By ROYCE BRIER. New York: Appleton, 1931. Pp. 337. \$2.00.

This is a novel of a Y.M.C.A. secretary who became police commissioner of a small city for the purpose of cleaning it up. He found that it wanted the semblance rather than the fact of "respectability." Its sociological significance lies in its realistic analysis of attitudes toward laws and law enforcement, with prohibition as the central theme.

C. C. VAN VECHTEN

CHICAGO

The Woman with a Thousand Children. By CLARA VIEBIG. Translated by BRIAN LUNN. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930. Pp. 292.

This novel, of the kind advertised as "deeply human," is an additional rather than a new statement of the dilemma of the professional woman, viz., Shall I marry and give up the profession I enjoy, or, shall I remain a spinster, work, and retire to a friendless old age on a pension? This time it is a teacher whose friends enact before her eyes each of the alternatives, with no success. She chooses her profession, after much trial of the spirit, and the reason for the title is that she makes of school-teaching in the poorest part of Berlin a full-time social service job.

The book is interesting as another evidence of the literature growing about the *Tragik der Weiblichkeit*. Jews, Negroes, women, and any other disturbing new element in occupational competition tend, after much legislative attention, to become the theme of artistic endeavor, and Clara Viebig's work is a contribution to the literature of the marginal man.

HELEN GREGORY MACGILL

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

An Anthology of Modern Philosophy. By DANIEL SOMMER ROBINSON.
New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1931. Pp. xiii+836. \$4.50.

This is a companion volume to the author's *An Anthology of Recent Philosophy*, and seeks to present selections from the writings of the greatest philosophers from 1500 to 1900. Represented are such figures as Bruno, Francis Bacon, Hobbes, Descartes, Pascal, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Herbart, Comte, Mill, Spencer, and Lotze. In this volume the author continues his admirable scheme of prefacing each selection with a short analysis, of suggesting questions for discussion, and of giving a short biographical sketch of each author in the Appendix. The selections are well chosen and should make this volume comparable in value to the earlier work.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Readings in Psychology. By RAYMOND HOLDER WHEELER. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1930. Pp. x+597. \$3.75.

The readings, twenty-eight in number, are grouped in the following divisions: social behavior, intelligent behavior, emotive behavior, learning, reaction, observational behavior, and the nervous system. For the most part the readings are selected from the works of younger men in the field of psychology, and tend to reflect an interest in *Gestalt* or *organismic* psychology, which seeks, according to the author, to explain the parts in terms of the whole. This point of view is developed particularly in the first division, which, incidentally, should be of primary interest to the sociologist. The author, in his introductory reading, gives eight *organismic* laws which, in substance, declare that the individual must be understood in terms of the group. This principle, once stated, seems henceforth to be ignored; at least in the other divisions of the volume, treatment is given to such topics as learning, emotions, perception, sensory activities, with scarcely any indication that they are aspects of social behavior.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

How To Abolish the Slums. By E. D. SIMON. London & New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. Pp. xii+146. \$1.80.

The Ex-Lord Mayor of Manchester presents here a concise analysis of the housing problem in English cities and a financial plan for dealing with it. He shows that little has been done to improve the housing conditions of the working classes since the war and that little can be done, even with state subsidies, until houses can be built at rents that working-class families can afford to pay. Razing of the slums will not remedy the situation unless at the same time adequate alternative housing accommodations are provided. These, he suggests, can be most advantageously provided in the large housing projects in the suburbs, provided the increased cost of transportation to the place of work is taken account of. He realizes the significance of town and regional planning, but deliberately limits himself to the financial aspects of the problem. Working on the assumption that England will reach a stationary population in the near future, he is convinced that the slums in English cities can be eliminated in about twenty years by means of subsidies no larger in the aggregate than those now in force, but so distributed as to benefit primarily those in greatest need. The immediate appointment of a Royal Commission on Housing is suggested.

LOUIS WIRTH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes. By HANS F. K. GÜNTHER. Munich:

J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1930. 15th ed. Pp. vi+509. RM. 14-.

The author, departs again from the accepted racial groups of Europe by establishing a "Dalic" (*fälische*) and a "Sudetian" race in addition to using Deniker's "Dinaric" race. The "Dalic" race in Germany is supposed to be composed of descendants of Cro-Magnon man. It seems that the author is too prone to classify his racial types by observational data alone.

Six sections are devoted to psychical characteristics of the different races, in which the inheritance of these traits is assumed. But here, too, too much is evidently taken to be somatically inherited; besides the temperament of the various races, he includes cultural ideals and various other environmental characteristics. In addition to a discussion of the rather speculative field of the early history of the various races now found in Germany, Günther touches on various social-anthropological fields. It is quite evident too that the author is biased; he believes in Nordic race superiority, seeing Germany's hope for the future in this race. In this respect he has to be classed with Madison Grant, Stoddard, and others.

GEORG K. NEUMANN

CHICAGO

Crime and the Community: A Study of Trends in Crime Prevention. By the CRIME COMMISSION OF NEW YORK STATE, SUB-COMMISSION ON CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF CRIME. Albany, New York, 1930. Pp. 292.

This is an analysis and summary of the materials on the social causes of crime, which have been published recently by the Crime Commission of New York State and by other investigators. It is much like a book of readings dealing with the effects upon behavior of delinquency areas, family life, school systems, gangs, and employments. Liberal use is made of case histories. Programs of prevention of crime are discussed very briefly. The general thesis of the book is that crime is essentially a product of primary group relationships and that crime prevention should concentrate on these primary groups rather than on isolated individuals or on the broader social organization.

E. H. SUTHERLAND

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Post-war Progress in Child Welfare. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. CLI. Philadelphia, 1930. Pp. 316.

Under the stimulus of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, the editors of this issue of the *Annals* planned a résumé of child care during the last decade. The résumé takes the form of brief articles by specialists and covers changing social backgrounds, health work, mental hygiene of children, problems of special groups—dependent, illegitimate, and delinquent children—endowments, research, and administrative problems. The articles are brief, factual summaries. Among the authors are Chapin, Ogburn, Grace Abbott, Jessie Taft, Lowrey, Gesell, Myerson, and Healy. Throughout there is recognition of the need for scientific study of problems, for public responsibility for child welfare and of the importance of the family in the child's development.

The report will serve well the purposes of those who wish a brief survey of trends in child welfare. Its usefulness might have been increased by the inclusion of bibliographies to guide those who wished to pursue the subject further.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

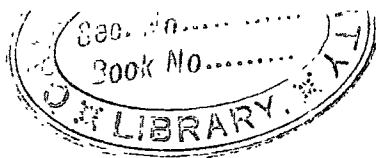
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RACE AND CULTURE: A STUDY IN MOBILITY, SEGREGATION, AND SELECTION

MAURICE H. KROUT
Crane College, Chicago

ABSTRACT

The definitions of the term "race" have been either naïve or superficial. The bases of racial classification have been numerous, and agreement as to the meaning of "race" is prominent only by its absence. Brain morphology and pigmentation are the most popular criteria of racial differentiation, but neither of these seems to be dependable. The monogenetic origin of races is commonly held by anthropologists. If this be true, it is migration, regional segregation, and environmental selection that explain anatomical, physiological, and pathological peculiarities of "racial" groups. But, in the last analysis, race differences are defensible only in a certain special sense. For the hybridization of races is an acknowledged fact. Racial differences turn out to be cultural differences, and these—in view of the constant re-adaptation of borrowed culture forms to the specific demands of pre-existing cultures—are anything but pure. Competition and migration, mobility and dominance, segregation and selection may be regarded as stages in the development of culture groups. In the light of this analysis the concept of racial superiority appears to be highly artificial. The real significance of the term "race" lies in its employment as a culture symbol of group conflict and group organization.

I

The term "race" was introduced into the literature of natural science by G. L. L. de Buffon who, in the eighteenth century, espoused the cause of evolution from the environmental point of view. Buffon adopted the biblical division as a basis for his own, but his contemporary, Linnaeus, classified mankind into *Sapiens* (wise), *Ferus* (wild), and *Monstrosus* (vicious). Since the day of Buffon and Linnaeus these classifications have undergone several revisions, and now some anthropologists list more than sixty kinds of *Hominidae*.

The definitions of the term "race" bear a general resemblance to each other, but this is rather superficial for, when examined, the resemblance turns out to be one of form rather than of content or meaning. Brinton, Hertz, Schwalbe and Fischer, Odin, Ripley, Crozier, Haddon, Gobineau, Tylor, Dixon, and Wilder¹ are all virtually in agreement that a human race, to quote from one of them, is a "large group of human beings who, through the inherent similarity of the definite inborn bodily as well as psychic characteristics (*Habitus*), are attached to one another and are differentiated from other groups than their own."² The ultimate justification for this point of view rests, of course, in the biology of the subject. From the point of view of at least Mendelian biology, a race is a grouping of individuals having a set of permanent determinants in common which are transmitted from generation to generation as the specific differentiating characteristics of the group. In contrast to this view point, it has been suggested that if races contain many common determinants (whatever these are), they also have a great many, diverse determinants; so that while each race differs with respect to its common genes from other groups, i.e., other races, "no race is uniform in its genes."³ It might be added that the lack of uniformity in genes is contingent on certain extra-plasmic factors, the violation of which must of necessity affect the genes because it affects the relationship between the genes and these factors.

Curiously enough, the lack of agreement as to kinds of differences that exist among races has not prevented speculation as to "inborn differences," and groups as far apart as Negro and Mongol and as close to each other as south- and north-Europeans have been distinguished as races. On the basis of these distinctions it has been asserted that "there is no respect in which the races of man may be

¹ D. G. Brinton, *Races and Peoples* (1890), p. 100; F. Hertz, *Race and Civilization*, p. 20; Schwalbe and Fischer, *Anthropologie* (1923); also Eugen Fischer, *Rasse und Rassenentstehung beim Menschen* (1927); A. Odin, *La Genèse des Grands Hommes*, Vol. I, Parts II-IV; W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*; J. B. Crozier, *Civilization and Progress*; A. C. Haddon, *The Races of Man and Their Distribution*; J. A. Gobineau, *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*; E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology*; R. M. Dixon, *The Racial History of Man*; H. H. Wilder, *Man's Prehistoric Past*, also his *Pedigree of the Human Race*.

² Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³ H. S. Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, p. 279.

said to be alike."⁴ The range of qualities or traits adduced in connection with race study would indeed be proof of this assertion if the qualities were not so "widely distributed" among various anthropologists. Races have been classified on the basis of skeletal form muscular type (e.g., the gastrocnemii), pelvis, shape of women's breasts, chest circumference, brain morphology, inner organs, sense organs, general physiognomy, color of hair and eyes, texture of skin and hair, mouth, lips, alveolae, and various combinations of these units.⁵ The fact that so many attempts have been made to prove the reality of race differences may be taken as evidence of the uncertainty of any one, or any small group, of these units as diagnostic signs. Many of these classifications are speculative or rooted in common sense, and virtually each one of them has been critically discussed by some author proposing a substitute classification.

It is with reference to brain morphology and pigmentation that there has been the greatest insistence. Brain morphology has been studied by both neurologists and anthropologists as an index of race quantity. Differences in the length of cerebral fissures, the complexity, absence, or presence of cerebral sulci, the mean weight of the frontal lobes, the size of the cranial cavity, and similar deviations from a hypothetical norm have been deemed conclusive proof of the reality of race differences. More recently, however, Boas' discriminating statement of what is and what is not important in brain morphology⁶ and Mall's measurements and tabulations at

⁴ F. H. Hankins, "Racial Relationships and International Harmony," *World Unity*, IV, (May, 1929) 106.

⁵ O. Ammon, *Die Naturliche Auslese beim Menschen* (1893) (particularly interesting passages on pp. 177 ff.); Griffith Taylor, *Geographical Review*, VIII, 289-328; Eugen Fisher, *op. cit.*, and *Die Rassenunterschiede des Menschen*, Vol. I; A. L. Kroeber, "Three Essays on the Antiquity and Races of Man," *University of California Syllabus Series*, No. 119; Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*; F. H. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, pp. 72-73; Wilder, *op. cit.*, chap. v; A. Thomson and L. H. Buxton, "Man's Nasal Index in Relation to Certain Climatic Conditions," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LIII (1923); Ales Hrdlicka, *The Old Americans*; also his *Physical Anthropology*; F. H. Hankins, *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, Part II; A. C. Haddon and A. H. Quiggin, *History of Anthropology*, pp. 88 ff.; D. G. Brinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36; G. Vacher de Lapouge, *Les Selections Sociales, Race et Milieu Social* (1909); F. Hertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-43.

⁶ Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, chap. i; also his "Human Faculty as Determined by the Brain," *Proceedings of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science*, Vol. XLIII.

Johns Hopkins in rechecking Bean's fallacious results⁷ have shed new light on this problem.

On pigmentation some interesting studies have been made. T. Wingate Todd's results showing that whites are 37 per cent black and that in some Italians and Mexicans the "black factor" reached well into the Negro range,⁸ have been taken as conclusive evidence of the unreliability of color as a distinguishing characteristic. Older students have long discerned ten to thirty gradations in the color of the skins of all races.⁹ The correlation of color with suprarenal secretions¹⁰ and of these with the consecutive interactions of developmental factors suggest the technical difficulties associated with the use of color indices.

The superficial studies of differences in physical type have, for the most part, taken no account of the selective influences operating in the growth of individuals and races. There undoubtedly is a fundamental speciate protoplasm standardized for the varied conditions of life on this globe. For proof of this, aside from the obvious similarities of structure in all members of the species, one might refer to such facts as the uniformity of body temperature in races regardless of climatic zone. There are no variations in this regard so far as age, sex, or the food basis are concerned. In some respects evidently the protoplasm of the species had to be standardized in order to prevent its fluctuation beyond the possibility of existence. Yet protoplasmic differences apparently exist, and if the endowment of the species is the same for all its members, the variations found must be superinduced on the subdivisions of the species by special conditions of *development*.

To say that peoples do differ, then, in certain respects is not to gainsay the fact that their differences may be resistances demanded by the developmental conditions. If we assume, as do most anthropologists, the independent and simultaneous evolution of the several

⁷ F. P. Mall, *Journal of Anatomy*, Vol. IX.

⁸ Referred to in M. J. Herskovits, "What Is a Race?" *American Mercury*, II, 209.

⁹ J. Deniker, *Les Races et les Peuples de la Terre* (1900), speaks of ten gradations and Broca, *op. cit.*, worked out a scale of thirty-four gradations.

¹⁰ See A. Keith, *Man: A History of the Human Body*, for a statement of the relation between environment and glands in producing pigment and other racial characteristics.

Pleistocene groups, from a generalized Pliocene precursor, in different surroundings, we cannot fail to see that the specialized forms were afterward diversely modified by fresh migrations and interminglings.¹¹ The important fact in connection with the theory of monogenetic development is not, then, the direction of differentiation, i.e., whether the transition was from blacks to Allophylian and other whites, or from the different sections of a Mongol prototype. Granted original dispersion and subsequent mobility—the question is what were the factors that made the differentiation of races actual?

It seems obvious that geographic position is a factor of prime importance in determining the formation and permanence of races. Those isolated on islands or in secluded uplands could not develop into the same physical types as races in large, open spaces—continental plains and plateaus unobstructed by barriers to movement. Naturally, individuals acclimated to a certain mean range of temperature and atmospheric pressure have repeatedly shown their ability to migrate and live successfully along approximately the same isothermal lines. According to Brinton, when a difference in temperature to the extent of eighteen degrees is reached, human individuals cannot resist the deleterious action of the new climate owing to a change in the chemical composition of the blood which leads to anemia and extinction in the third generation or thereabout.¹² Yet even in the light of this fact, adaptation gradually takes place, since there are cases of groups who have acquired a “cosmopolitan immunity” and others who survived under one or another of the extremes in climatic conditions. Both of these, of course, are exceptional cases. Special immunities of this kind must be purchased at the expense of some physiological peculiarity,¹³ for no two regions have the same capacity for the development of a given type of organism.

Anatomical, physiological, and even pathological variations of

¹¹ See R. Linton, “An Anthropologist’s View of Race Mixture,” *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XIX, 70; also, E. B. Reuter, “The Hybrid as a Sociological Type,” *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

¹² D. G. Brinton, *The Basis of Social Relations* (1902).

¹³ See J. Loeb, *The Unity of the Organism*, II, 143 ff.

racess have been fruitfully approached from the point of view of regional segregation. Boas, for instance, in a study of over two thousand subjects, has found remarkable variations as between immigrant parents and their children in this country even in such supposedly stable somatic qualities as stature and shape of head.¹⁴ These Boas assumed to be due to factors of climate and nutrition. Some older researches seem to have adumbrated these conclusions. Variations in head form, found by other investigators, have been correlated with differences in rural-urban conditions. Specifically, the influences exercised at least in regard to stature and head form seem attributable to the growth of bone and cartilage, connected with changes in the hypophysis and thyroid gland. These changes are further correlated with food, water, habits of living, and general habitat.¹⁵

An unexcelled opportunity to study changes in physique under special conditions during the recent famine in Russia has yielded data which seem to point unmistakably to the dependence of physical proportions, pigmentation, and the inner secretions on habit and habitat.¹⁶ A study of cancer among Jews and non-Jews throughout the civilized world showed the same incidence of the disease for these groups in specific localities.¹⁷ Only unimportant differences in the

¹⁴ F. Boas, "Changes in the Bodily Form of Immigrants," *American Anthropologist*, XIV, 530-62; also his "What Is a Race?" *Nation*, CXX, 89-91. For even more striking changes in some German immigrants who settled among the Georgians, near Tiflis, in 1817, and from a fair-haired, blue-eyed people with coarse features within two generations developed, without intermarriage or miscegenation, into a dark-haired, brown-eyed people with a "noble oval face" see Keane, *op. cit.*, p. 203. For cases of individuals who within their own lifetime showed the effect of change in climate see Henry R. Harrower, *Endocrine Diagnostic Charts* (1929), p. 28.

¹⁵ For an extensive discussion, see R. B. Bean, "Stature Throughout the World," *Science*, LXVII (January 6, 1928); also Brinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff.

¹⁶ A. Iwanowsky, "Anthropometrische Veraenderungen russischer Voelker unter dem Einfluss der Hungersnot," *Archiv fuer Anthropologie*, 1923; see also, C. M. Jackson, *The Effects of Inanition and Malnutrition upon Growth and Structure*. For a correlation between food and biometric measurements, see Spielman and Jacobs, "Comparative Anthropometry of English Jews," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1890. The study of inanition, particularly, is reported in an extensive bibliography in P. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 628-34.

¹⁷ Maurice Sorsby, "Race and Cancer: An Investigation of Its Incidence among Jews," *Eugenic Review*, XXII, (July, 1930) 99-101.

types of carcinomatous growths were found. Fishberg's studies¹⁸ showing the uniformity of regional types, whether of Aryan or Semite, have been considered reliable with reference to the dependence of other characteristics of Jews on their environmental setting.

Studies aiming to bring out the relation of racial qualities to protein compounds in diverse localities have yielded significant correlations between these and the number of blood corpuscles found. The corpuscles had a range of from five million p.c.c. in Europeans to four and a half in Indians and Negroes and five and a half among Fuegians. The number of heart beats per minute have also shown a considerable range of difference for the different races. The whites and Negroes of American stock showed, however, almost the same rate—74 and 74.8 respectively—Indians and mulattoes 76.3 and 76.9; the Kirghizis 77.7; and Europeans 71 to 72.¹⁹ These indices may again be taken as proof both of the existence of standardization in the relations between developmental factors and of the fact that the developmental processes tend to follow definite patterns of interaction.

That there is such standardization needs hardly to be emphasized, for nothing implies standardization more clearly than does segregation. The segregated environments are standardized with reference to a number of factors, and being standardized of course retain a standardized relationship (with reference to the fundamental factors mentioned) to the racial constitution. One evident factor standardized for the different environments is food. Some striking facts have been brought out in a comparison of the dietaries of the people of the United States with those of the natives of twenty-one other countries as regards age, sex, and occupation.²⁰ The absence of fish and meat in certain localities and of cheese, milk, and eggs in others deprives the population of nucleins, phosphorus, and lime essential to the upbuilding of nerve cells and the formation of blood plasma

¹⁸ Maurice Fishberg, *The Jews: A Study in Race and Environment*.

¹⁹ L. Luciani, *Human Physiology*, pp. 341 ff.

²⁰ W. H. Jordan, *Principles of Human Nutrition*, 1914, pp. 180-6. The study of food factors will not be complete until the exact relation of vitamins to endocrines is discovered. At present it is only suspected that vitamin E is directly related to the secretion of the sex glands.

and blood corpuscles.²¹ The diet of the Eskimo predominates in protein and fat; that of the Bengali is primarily carbohydrate. It is interesting to note that the Japanese, who are primarily a fish-eating people, issue regular meat rations to their soldiers. The effect of food on the physical qualities of race is obvious, and attempts to establish other correlation between physical racial type and various segregating factors are not wanting.

If differences there are, and if they are defensible *en masse*, why was the first part of this section of the paper devoted to a meticulous denial of all biological and anthropological claims to differences in racial type? The reason for this is that, in their attempt to arrive at classifications of races based on qualitative differences, anthropologists have created fewer rules of race than exceptions to these rules. Probably the chief reason for their inability to formulate a clear-cut scale of differences—besides the fact that races are not sharply delimited—is the fact, too, that “meeting places of even unfriendly races are also the meeting places of lovers, that political conquest of one race by another means also the conquest of the woman of the defeated race, and that all racial frontiers are marked by racial hybrids.” Of course, those who hold that through crossing it is not new types of individuals but merely an ensemble of different characteristics that is obtained, will not agree with this; but we are not here concerned with the question as to whether hybridization means superior stock, since both harmonious and disharmonious combinations are probably possible. The fact in which we are interested is that the skeletal remains of prehistoric peoples point to the existence of the blending of divergent stocks thousands of years ago, and that the amalgamation of stocks is evident in the lives of all contemporary peoples—preliterate and civilized alike.

Evidence of the coexistence of a short dark people and a tall blond people in Africa, in early times, proves that even in the Stone Age ethnic mixtures had already taken place. There is proof that the Chinese, and the Assyrians and Babylonians²² were never known to be pure, and that even Hottentots and Bushmen²³ are mixed

²¹ Arnold Lorand, *Building Human Intelligence* (1917), chap. vi.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 19 and 32.

²³ G. W. Stow, *Native Races of South Africa*, pp. 6–14; and George McTheal, *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi*, pp. 58 ff.

breeds. The time has passed therefore when Friedrich Ratzel's diction: "Among the savage races of today we find great differences in endowment" could be said to be supported by the existing evidence. Even such more recent theorists as Chamberlain or Grant fail to excite the interest of responsible scholars. The correlations of anatomical characteristics with racial type are contradicted by an overwhelming amount of evidence. On the whole, this approach to the problem encounters obstruction in the observation that the finest specimens of physical development are to be found not in Europe or in America but in Polynesia²⁴ where a group hybridized from Negro, Mongol, and Caucasian stocks lives at present. Other physically superior types live in Australia proper. The white race, at any rate, is as thoroughly blended as is any other race.²⁵ From a biological or anthropological standpoint it is therefore impossible to discover differences in physical type which would be of determining qualitative value.

Most of the classifications of races depend on statistical averages as indices of trait-distribution in certain regions. Their chief deficiency lies in their failure to distinguish differences in racial type, variations about the race type, and the artificiality of the complexes of traits assumed to be characteristic of races. Two groups may yield the same average and still be very different in distribution while two averages may differ appreciably when plotted, and yet may be found to overlap at many points. Furthermore, race statistically conceived is a static and artificial unity, while historically it is an eternal becoming. Finally, statistical generalizations seldom escape subjective bias. For example, Bulgarian statisticians attempting to find seven hundred Serbians in Macedonia, a region of great mixture, were unsuccessful where Serbian statisticians found over two million, and the Greek enumerators found none at all.²⁶

A critical and careful statistical treatment of races may indicate how, *in a general way*, races range on the scale of biological growth. But there is every reason to believe that such a study would indicate nothing so far as the qualitative human resources of the race are concerned; for while quantitative expressions may show degrees

²⁴ Linton, *op. cit.*

²⁵ A. Hrdlicka, *Old Americans*, is an illustration in point, but there are many others.

²⁶ Referred to in F. H. Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

of quality, and in this sense may be extensions of qualitative measurement, they never quite take the place of the qualitative study of wholes. This, however, does not mean that there are no quantitative differences so far as physical type is concerned. When we contrast a Caucasian, a Negro, an Indian, and an Australian with the anthropoids, our nearest of kin in the organic world, we find the differences between the four groups of human beings relatively slight. Thus, too, when the Negro is compared with the European, the differences among groups of Europeans or among groups of Negroes become insignificant. Human beings, therefore, do differ quantitatively. Their differences are deviations from a speciate norm which is fundamentally the same for all races, and are accounted for by differences in the factors of development to which each race is subjected.

Whether or not we agree with Yusaboro Noguchi, Japanese biologist, that by "electrical nutrition and endocrine control" we should be able to convert an Indian into a Negro and a Japanese into a Caucasian, we may rest assured that there is considerable basis for such optimism. Certainly it cannot be doubted that, in the natural world, the diversities among racial groups are attributable to the developmental conditions under which the various races take form and continue existing. The developmental process being the same for all the members of the species, we may conclude that the speed and manner of racial development are traceable to the conditions of mobility from the point of origin, to the manner and type of segregation, and to the special factors in the physico-geographic setting—including the vital factor of nutrition—which select from the multiplicity of physical characteristics (made possible for human beings by the standardization of their speciate protoplasm) those characteristics in regard to which races differ.

II

The anthropological approach to the study of race is based on the subject matter of biology and its methods. If race has any social significance, however—and it has more of that than of biological significance—it cannot be understood merely by the measurement of physical characteristics or by the investigation of physiological

processes. Important as these are, they are only indices of how races come to be culturally different and how their cultures grow and change. Biology is concerned with the evolution of the human species by the transmission of traits resulting from germinal variation or mutation through the interbreeding of the sexes. Sociology,²⁷ on the other hand, assumes that the central element in social life is the accumulation and selection of activity-complexes born of human interaction, stored only in human memories (or their extension, i.e., totem-poles or books), and transmitted by one generation to another through contact and communication.

It is because these activity-complexes appear to be subject to change that a fundamental view in biology known as "evolutionism" was transferred bodily into the field of human events and applied with a rigor of dialectic and an emotional enthusiasm unparelled in the history of science. The evolutionary stages traced out by Darwin and those others who, like himself, saw the transition from "colloidal slime to man" as part of a natural world-order, could not, however, stand the tests to which they were subjected. To be sure, Darwin himself was careful to indicate that "naturalists have not defined to each other's satisfaction what is meant by an advance in organization," but social scientists did not proceed with similar caution. Hence, the general progress of the human species was lightly assumed and put down as an unequivocal sociological truth. It was unavoidable that the notion of progress through variation and selection on diverse levels, built on so flimsy a foundation, when applied to human art, government, language, and religion, should be found wanting in many respects.

The interrelations within and without a given culture and the historical antecedents of culture-forms are dependent on the migration of the group. Migration may be regarded as the fundamental social process explaining the beginnings of social order and the origin of racial differentiation.²⁸ Social changes are due primarily to the

²⁷ Sociology as here used is synonymous with cultural anthropology, though strictly speaking, cultural anthropology dealing with social products rather than with social processes cannot be styled sociology proper because it cannot be styled a science. Such as it is, it is closely related to sociology and has many problems in common with it.

²⁸ This notion is developed at great length, in a two-volume work, by Edmond Demolins, *Comment le roule crée le type social*.

conflict and fusion of cultures, and migration contributes importantly to this through multiplying contacts and facilitating communication between groups and individuals. Strictly defined, however, migration is a form of human behavior and social interaction leading to the readjustment of ill-balanced human relations, the assurance of survival, and the achievement of position in a socioeconomic world-order. It is in this sense that migration is an outgrowth of competition. Migration is an attempt to make competition more advantageous, to make it more tolerable. Thus migration becomes a function and an index of competition. Competition means a disturbance of equilibrium. This inevitably leads to migration, possible invasion, and possible colonization. These again lead to a disturbance of the existing equilibrium, and conflict results.

Migrations of peoples have gone on continuously since the origin of man. The original migration of a presumably undifferentiated human stock from an Indo-Austral base is relatively easy to imagine if we realize that all continents were at one time accessible by overland routes to the migratory groups. Evidences of these migrations are obtainable from the data of history, traditional accounts collected by ethnologists, archaeological researches, the comparative morphology of languages, and comparative culture studies.²⁹ The routes of migration have varied for different peoples, and have laid the foundations not only of diverse racial structures but also of diverse cultural characteristics.

The routes of migration therefore, in a sense, describe the nature of historical competition. The steppe route followed by Tartar and Mongol eventually led to the occupation of the fertile plains of the rivers. The route of the tundras and marshes of the north, which the Lapps and the Esquimaux have followed, led to the occupation of the deserted regions of Siberia and Greenland. The forest route of the Indian and Negro has had its characteristics. The ancient desert routes of the Orient led to the establishment of an Arab stronghold in Arabia and to the Assyrian and Egyptian settlements. The routes of the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus have led to the foundation of the grand empires of Asia. The valley routes of Cau-

²⁹ C. Wissler, *Man and Culture*; Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples* (pp. 1-18, esp.), and Otto Sittig, "Compulsory Migrations in the Pacific Ocean," *Reports of the Smithsonian Institution* (1895), pp. 519-35.

casia and Crimea, the ancient routes of maritime peoples and the rise of Phoenicia and Carthage, the medieval routes of the Mediterranean and the rise of Venice, the river routes of the Don and the Danube and the emergence of the lesser Slavic nations, and finally, the far-flung empires of Greece and Rome coming as a result of their routes, testify to the rôle of migration in competition, conflict, and social organization.

In all these movements, the trend was always outward, from a point of relative balance (settlement) to a frontier; but after some degree of balance had been achieved in the frontier region, movement back to the centers of origin began. That is how stabilization was brought about; that is how centers of dominance grew up; and that is how groups became segregated and their cultures took on definite form. It is not by accident that the routes of civilization lay in Eurasia, and that the chief development of man occurred on that continent. The dry interiors of Europe and Asia have attracted population; and when it was attracted to certain centers its movement backward tended to create centers of dominance throughout this area. Dominance, however, has not meant segregation in the sense of isolation without any possibility of relationship. Competition brings about segregation, i.e., the settlement of population in certain areas, but it does not imply isolation or complete freedom from contact. Competition, of course, does not involve contact; but competition cannot bring about a readjustment of disturbed relations unless contact is ultimately provided for. An isolated community which shuns contact in the face of an ecological disturbance is doomed to extinction.

The ecological conception of change in a cultural milieu brings out and emphasizes several kinds of contact which bring about a modification of the customs and institutions of a people. The effect of migration is notorious in this respect. As the function of a group, this is not necessarily disruptive of the ties which hold people together. Indeed (as in the case of pariah peoples), it may cement them together more strongly, though it may be productive of change as well. Especially obvious changes, however, are produced by the interchange of objects in contiguous peoples (a sort of border trade) necessitating some degree of contact. A still more obvious effect is produced by the migration of traders from other regions with the

view to a temporary sojourn and ultimate return to their native land. Of course, traders may not wish to return, and may become definitely attached to the new region with the view to carrying on an impersonal, symbiotic, relationship to the population. In such cases the effects, if more subtle, are just as definite.³⁰ The peaceful invasion which comes about as a result of this relationship leads to a fusion of idea-systems of diverse groups and the gradual substitution of a personal, mutually sympathetic (not only mutually helpful, as in symbiosis) relation for the impersonal relation with which all competitive functioning begins. Finally, we might mention war and the subjugation of one group by another as relations rooted in ecological processes.

To sum up: the climate, the mineral and vegetable resources, orographical and hydrographical conditions, and, finally, the traffic routes, had a definite bearing on the direction of migration, its frequency, and the possibility of segregation. The change from a nomadic to a segregated, settled, sort of existence is at the same time a change from a blood-kinship to a territorial group, localized in a certain culture area. Change in such a group can be attributed to the changes of physico-geographic factors, such as climatic fluctuations, cataclysms, volcanic eruptions, etc., and finally to the intrusions of outside groups. Contact with outsiders leads to the introduction of culture objects or culture forms unknown to the in-group, and this loosens the existing ties, and forces the group to modify its *habitus* and culture.

The foregoing account of the effect of ecological processes on the formation and change in culture groups brings us back to the question of race differences. If the account here given is correct, no theory of racial superiority in a cultural sense is tenable, for the changes in group life cannot be said to proceed along a straight line. Cultural change proceeds in fits and starts. When reaching a certain level, progress seems to decrease, and though the cultural assets are generally absorbed by another people, the original producers(?) of it become less and less concerned with it.³¹ The claim has been made that such a decline is due to miscegenation. It is yet to be shown, how-

³⁰ F. J. Teggart, *The Processes of History*, pp. 80-4; 144-45.

³¹ Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 305. The best illustration of this general thesis is found in the growth of Melanesian culture through the slow accretions of culture patterns of successive groups of immigrants. See Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, 2 vols. (1915).

ever, that this is so as long as the new group, taking over the culture objects, continues the line of progress with which it began.

There is no race old or young whose culture can be differentiated on the basis of a specific complex of "racial traits." Historical events have been busily compounding both bloods and cultures. Just as there is then no single self-constituted culture, just so is there no single self-constituted race. All great civilizations of which we have any record have been the work of thoroughly mixed groups. The white race, through its many and trying historical contacts, has come into possession of some nuclear ideas of other groups (agricultural, for example, borrowed from the Sumerians), and has utilized them to the fullest. This, however, does not mean that the pigmentation generally associated with Aryan peoples is an assurance of a high level of cultural achievement. White peoples have changed in degrees of "superiority" in different periods of history, and inferior peoples have shown a tendency to rise to higher levels.

Race differences, as measured by cultural achievement, are abstract and essentially artificial. However, they represent qualities which are culturally selected as symbols of high social potency. It is through interstimulation and inhibition in the cultural milieu that group members become conscious of the qualities distinguishing them, or assumed to distinguish them, from other groups. Race distinction is posited as a necessary aspect of continuity and integrity in group life. Those traits in an out-group which are particularly obvious are selected as convenient symbols of distinction. A fundamental inertia in the mores is mistaken for a guaranty of racial purity in the in-group. This in turn becomes the justification for the discriminating attitude and for an ideal to be lived up to. When the group is small and isolated, prejudice is reinforced by emotional interdependence upon friend and neighbor, and social distances are maintained. Those who belong to the "profession of maintenance" tend to hamper objective analysis and mutual understanding and to retard social progress within and without the group. Thus "racial traits," fundamentally the product of selection from the general protoplasm of the species by migration and segregation in a physico-geographic world, become operative on a socio-cultural level in which they are selected by the culture patterns and the interpersonal relations which lie at the basis of group isolation.

THE ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SWEDISH ROYAL SOCIAL BOARD

CARL CHR. SCHMIDT
K. Social Styrelsen, Stockholm

ABSTRACT

The Swedish Royal Social Board is a permanent organization whose members are appointed by the king for life. Its functions are to present to the government, after investigation, its decision upon measures within its field which are to come before the king in council, to provide information on questions referred to it, and to make researches and reports to the government officials. The Social Board consists of a general director and six bureaus. Bureau I has to do with the labor market, labor conciliation, arbitration work, emigration and immigration questions, housing conditions, alcohol problems. Bureau II handles questions relating to health and to protection from accident. Bureau III deals with the voluntary sickness associations and various mutual aid societies. Bureau IV keeps statistical reports on (1) collective agreements, strikes, and lockouts, (2) the development of the labor market, (3) changes in the cost of living, (4) the development of co-operative enterprises. The work of Bureau V is purely statistical, including farm-labor, housing, and industrial wages. Bureau VI deals with the department's own administration and personnel.

A number of American sociologists who have examined the operation of the Swedish Royal Social Board in Stockholm have suggested that the preparation of a somewhat organized description of the work of this Board, particularly in those aspects which relate to social legislation, would be of considerable interest to them in connection with their own problems, and with this in view I have undertaken to prepare the following statement.

The relation of the work of the Social Board to the organization of the Swedish state.—The permanent organization and important position of all the different Royal boards or departments is a significant feature of the structure of the Swedish state and provides a guaranty against the misuse of power on the part of the government and of parliament. The government consists of nine ministries, and associated with these are a number of separate departments each of which has its independent field of activity. The following departments are among those under the jurisdiction of the Social Ministry.

1. The Social Board, whose functions are described in detail below.
2. The Medical Board which has to do with matters of health and sickness.
3. The governmental Insurance Office which has to do with obligatory insurance against accidents in work.
4. The Pension Board which administers the obligatory old-age insurance.

There is in Swedish law a provision that "before proposals are brought before the king in council, they shall be formulated by those presenting them in the light of information obtained from the related departments." In consequence of this provision, the government, before it makes a decision in a given case, must submit the transactions in the case to the special department or departments within whose province it falls. The department concerned has then to give an opinion on the measure, often after prolonged investigation on the factual side, approving or disapproving the proposed measure. In the decision by a department regarding a measure thus referred, the chief of the department and at least one bureau chief participate—in important questions, all the bureau chiefs—and each has the right to express his dissent from the decision together with his reasons, to be forwarded with the report to the government. Department members, appointed by the king, cannot be removed against their will, unless guilty of neglect of duty or criminal offense, which must be determined by a court. Their tenure of office is therefore permanent, as in the case of judges in many countries. The government cannot dismiss an objectionable but an unimpeachable member, since in that case he could claim before a court of justice the right to continue his duties and receive his salary. On this account, the members are not prevented by the problem of bread and butter from expressing their unbiased opinions, and the decisions of the department can be reached along factual lines without reference to the complexion of the government in power at the moment.

It is to be noted that all the communications between the government and the departments are in writing. Every incoming and outgoing communication (except those relating to the relations of the kingdom to foreign powers) is recorded in the form of a diary accessible to everybody. In this way the public is informed through the newspapers of the activities of the state authorities and of the opinion of the departments in regard to given questions. All the important opinions and data of the departments are moreover printed. The departments have, in addition, the task of providing information on questions referred to them and of making researches and reports to the government officials where important issues are involved. Their time and energy are constantly engaged in preparing reports and working out proposals concerning important issues.

In the case of more important questions, requiring careful and tedious examination, and when the department in question has not the time to make such an investigation, the government may appoint a special committee consisting of scientific representatives and politically important persons. This committee is not a part of the department, but works by the side of the department in question, and the scientific members of the committee are frequently members of this department. For example, not less than three members of Bureau I of the Social Board are at present secretaries of such committees. The proposal of the investigatory committee, which is also printed, is then submitted to the appropriate department by the government for its further consideration and opinion.

The government is, of course, able to go contrary to the opinion of the department but it cannot suppress the statement which is in disagreement with it. In the case of every proposal of a law or request for a grant which is presented by the government in parliament, the government must also present the opinion of the department involved, either as a whole or in an extensive abstract. In the nature of the case the government must present very weighty reasons in order to gain the approval of parliament to a measure on which a department has made an unfavorable report. It may be said, in fact, that practically no law is enacted which is contrary to the advice of the department.

In the case of many questions coming up for legislation, it is difficult, in the absence of experience in the given field, to predict the consequences of proposed legislation even if the matter has been given a most careful examination. In Sweden, when legislation is undertaken in such cases, it is customary to make the enactment provisional, to be in force, for example, for three or five years. It thus becomes necessary to examine the question again at the expiration of this time, and for this purpose the government orders a report on the operation of the law up to date in order to be able to make proposals for its improvement before its definite enactment. A case of this kind, for example, was the eight-hour-day labor law which was originally enacted for a period of three years, twice renewed for the same period, and finally definitely adopted as late as 1930.

The above brief description may be sufficient to make clear the

position of the Social Board and the influence it is able to exercise within the Swedish state. We may now pass to the organization of the Social Board and a more detailed description of the work of this department.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIAL BOARD

The Social Board consists of a general director and six bureaus, each with its special field of work. At the head of each bureau is a bureau chief who reports from his bureau to the general director when the Social Board is formulating a decision. Most closely associated with the bureau chiefs are their several secretaries. In addition there is a staff—attorneys, statisticians, bureau assistants, clerks, etc.—having special assignments or carrying on the routine work of the department.

THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL BOARD

BUREAU I

In Bureau I the following matters are handled:

1. *The labor market.*—There are 135 public employment offices distributed over the state, with paid employees. These offices are communal but receive subsidies from the state and are under the supervision of the Social Board. Bureau I distributes portions of the subsidy to the employment offices in conformity with statutory provisions, receives complaints, and undertakes a personal investigation of the same. According to a special statute the bureau provides funds for the transportation of applicants for work to new places of employment in case they are out of money. On the basis of reports regularly received from the employment offices as to positions which cannot be filled from the list of local applicants, the bureau prepares and prints every week a list of vacancies and sends it to the various employment agencies, labor organizations, etc. In this way the interlocal labor exchange is promoted, particularly among the more specialized occupations.

In addition to the public employment offices, whose services are free, there are a number of employment offices conducted as business enterprises. Special permission is required for this and these offices are obliged to observe certain regulations concerning their

charges for service. Reports are made to the Social Board from these offices.

On the basis of reports received, Bureau I is able to follow the movement of the labor market and, so to speak, prepare a "labor weatherchart" for that field. Every month a report on the labor situation is worked out and printed in the journal of the Social Board. Every quarter a report on the labor situation is printed, accompanied by more detailed statistical material.

In consequence of its close contact with the labor supply and demand problem, Bureau I gives particular attention to unemployment. In addition to state provision for assistance to the unemployed (in Sweden it is the practice of the state to provide work at a lower wage than is current—the so-called "reserve-work," e.g., road making), there is a special committee of five persons, the State Labor Commission, which has existed since 1914. The chief and one other member of Bureau I are appointed by the government as members of this commission.

2. *Labor conciliation.*—By a special law concerning the mediation of labor disputes the country is divided into seven districts. In each of these districts there is a conciliator appointed annually by the government whose duty is to call laborers and employers together in case of strikes or lockouts or threatened labor troubles with a view to reaching a collective agreement. These conciliators are under the direction of the Social Board. In Bureau I a particular employee has the duty of collecting copies of every collective agreement reached in the country, of bringing in reports of the development of negotiations carried on with reference to new collective agreements, and of observing the strikes and lockouts as they occur. He has to give information in this connection to the conciliator involved who may then offer his services with a view to reaching a collective agreement. In case of more important disputes over renewed collective agreements involving several districts, or the development of actual labor conflicts, the Social Board advises the government on the appointment of a special conciliation commission and the before-named employee acts as secretary of this commission. He has further to provide the conciliators with information concerning wage rates in the various industries, the various collec-

sible to remove the restrictions which had been imposed. Sweden was the first country after the war to do this and thus open the way for a new expansion of private initiative in the building field. During the years of the war a member of the staff of Bureau I had been designated to advise the government in connection with the housing problem.

7. *The alcohol problem.*—In six hundred cities and communities there are at present local committees called Temperance Juries which have the duty of promoting temperance, intervening with alcoholics, and, if their efforts are unavailing, of seeing that such drinkers as are a menace to the community or are unable on account of intemperance to take care of themselves and their families are brought before the county board with a view to internment in an institution for alcoholics. The Social Board has a certain supervision of these committees. Bureau I distributes a state subsidy among these committees, as is provided by a special regulation. An employee of the Social Board inspects these committees and promotes their organization and development. For the custody of alcoholics there is a system of institutions, some of which are organized and conducted as private enterprises. These receive state support on condition that they will conform with certain conditions of organization prescribed by the statutes or by the Social Board. Other private institutions receive support from the state at a higher rate on condition that they undertake to be at the disposition of the state in the care of alcoholics. There are further two institutions for alcoholics—one for men and one for women—organized and conducted by the state, and these are set aside for the more criminally disposed and hardened cases. This system is arranged in a differential way so that alcoholics can be distributed according to the more or less pronounced character of their criminal or unsocial dispositions among institutions where the conditions of custody are more and less severe. Bureau I has, according to law, the duty of supervising and inspecting these institutions, of deciding questions as to the transfer of alcoholics from one institution to another, of examining the complaints of alcoholics about the decision of the institution as to their release before the expiration of sentence, their requests for leave of absence, etc. Bureau I distributes to the pri-

vate institutions the funds provided by law, and takes the initiative in the organization of new institutions.

The bureau has at its disposal as expert in questions of alcoholism one of the most distinguished specialists in the country in the psychiatric field, Professor O. Kinberg. His knowledge and insight are also very important to the Social Board in the handling of the various problems in the other departments of the board.

The problem of vagabondage has become more serious in recent years. Bureau I has prepared two separate reports, one relating to male and the other to female vagabonds. In a proposal of a law concerning vagabondage, which has not yet been before parliament, it is provided that the Social Board shall have supervision also of this class of inmates of institutions.

8. As stated in the introduction, the Social Board has to give to the government opinions, accessible to the public, on all questions which come before the government for examination and which lie within the province of the Social Board. Bureau I has therefore to make reports on a great number of points relating to the group of problems enumerated above. But, in addition, a large number of important questions of general interest come up on which the government requires a report; for example, on the urgent question of the sterilization of habitual offenders and of mentally "degenerate" persons, concerning whom a law has been framed by a special committee but which has not yet been enacted. At present the bureau is participating in the preparation of reports required by the government on the following questions:

A report of a special committee on a law for the improvement of the condition of the blind.

A report of a committee on a law for insurance against unemployment.

An invitation from a foreign power to the Swedish state to participate in an international housing congress.

A request from a foreign power for information on certain aspects of emigration.

An application from a philanthropic society for state support to employ social custodians who will assist disabled and crippled persons.

A request from a number of private industrial organizations for state support in the establishment of an educational institution for the training of labor leaders in social and hygienic matters together with preparation for intelligent labor leadership.

A request from Swedish musicians for state intervention for the prevention of unemployment in their profession in consequence of the development of mechanical music (motion pictures).

BUREAU II

Bureau II handles questions relating to protection from accident and protection of health in the industries. By a special law the country is divided into nine districts. In each district there is a labor inspector paid by the state with an assistant and helpers, whose duty it is to inspect the conditions of work in the various factories and places of work, to investigate the causes of accident and work for better protection. The law recognizes the right of the workers to select a representative to present their wishes to the inspector, etc. The inspectors work under Bureau II which has to secure reports on all accidents in industry, to investigate their causes, and to take measures for their prevention. To this end the bureau gives advice and instruction and may also prescribe obligatory provisions. Up to 1930, the department has prepared, printed, and circulated instruction on protection against injury in the use of circular saws, on the use of spraying devices in painting, and on mechanical devices against injury by dust and chips.

A number of special inspectors for particular fields work under the direction of Bureau II. For example, there is an inspector for women in industry and their labor conditions, and the timber and floating inspector has, among other items, to inspect the living conditions of lumbermen and sailors. As in the case of the other bureaus, Bureau II has to formulate reports on questions referred to the Social Board by the government.

BUREAU III

Bureau III has responsibility in connection with the voluntary sickness associations, which give assistance to their members in time of sickness. These associations have a wide development in Sweden. The many private associations are registered in the bureau and receive support from the government in conformity with a special law. An employee of the bureau or an inspector sent by the bureau examines the operation of these associations, and the bureau has the duty of offering advice and criticism.

In conformity with a particular law, Bureau III has also to distribute state funds to those associations handling maternity cases.

This bureau has also the task of keeping a register of the various mutual aid societies—life insurance, burial insurance, etc. Only such associations as are registered at the bureau are legal “persons,” able to prosecute and defend before the courts. Registration is denied by a special law to those associations whose conditions are not found satisfactory by the bureau.

Bureau III has also to function when associations or societies cease to exist and the question arises as to the disposition of the funds on hand. In certain cases it appoints an arbitrator to compose the disputes arising.

BUREAU IV

Bureau IV has the handling of matters of the following character:

1. A statistical report based on materials collected by Bureau I on collective agreements, strikes, and lockouts is prepared and printed annually.

2. A continuous statistical record is kept on the development of the labor market, based partly on the reports of the employment agencies, partly on the records of the organizations of laborers on unemployment among their members, and partly on reports of employers of their experience with labor supply. These statistical records, which are the material on which Bureau I bases its judgments on the labor market, are published in *Sociala Meddelanden*, the journal of the Social Board. In this connection may be mentioned that on May 5, 1927, the bureau made a computation covering the whole land of the number of idle workers on that day, and the results have been printed in a special volume.

3. The bureau keeps a continuous statistical record of changes in the cost of living. It publishes a quarterly index of the cost of living as compared with the year 1913. The wages of state employees fluctuate in conformity with this index.

Periodically the bureau is commissioned by the government and parliament to work out a classification of communes in Sweden on the basis of their price levels. This is of fundamental importance in determining the wage level of state employees in the different communes.

The basis of the continuous statistics of the cost of living is partly

reports received monthly from special agents on the price of necessities and luxuries at different points in the land, and partly the bureau's exhaustive comparison of the household budgets of different population groups.

4. The bureau keeps a continuous statistic of the development of co-operative enterprises.

5. The bureau prepares for the press one issue monthly of the Social Board's journal, *Sociala Meddelanden*. This contains partly the current statistical series, partly the opinions of the department, partly information about work performed, and partly notes and abstracts on the development of social work in Sweden and in foreign countries.

BUREAU V

Bureau V has work of a purely statistical character. The following classes of statistics are collected:

1. *Farm-labor statistics*.—An annual statistical report is published on labor supply, labor demand, hours of work, wages for the agriculture of Sweden.

2. *Housing statistics*.—A statistical report is published every year on the building activities of the cities, towns, and villages of the kingdom. At intervals the bureau undertakes a more comprehensive statistical investigation, a so-called "rent reckoning," embracing the whole housing question, rent levels, building activities, hygienic and sanitary conditions, etc.

3. *Industrial wage statistics*.—The third continuous statistical series, which is prepared annually in the bureau, concerns the wage situation in the various industries. The data, obtained largely from employers, reveal wage development and the level of laborers' wages comparatively as between different parts of the country and between home and export industries, etc.

4. Bureau V has further to prepare reports on different issues when so directed by the government, often on the request of parliament. Among these reports, which are printed as special publications, may be mentioned:

Investigation of the less favorable housing conditions in certain Swedish cities (3 vols.).

Investigation of the social injury worked by alcohol.

Physical development of minors in Swedish industry.

Work and wages of business employees in Sweden.

Working conditions of hotel and restaurant employees in Sweden.

Working conditions of seamen in Sweden (2 vols.).

Working conditions of longshoremen in Sweden.

Swedish home industry (2 vols.).

Accessions to and retirements from state service between 1913 and 1918.

BUREAU VI

Bureau VI has the treatment of questions of the department's own administration and personnel, the management of the offices, etc. It also has charge of the library of the department, which, through exchange of publications with home and foreign libraries and through purchase, has become a considerable collection (at least 30,000 volumes) and is at present the largest library on social politics in the country. The personnel of Bureau VI has legal training, with the exception of the librarians, and its main function is to pass judgment on the legal questions referred to the department. In this respect it works in close relation with Bureau I.

Among the more important matters handled by Bureau VI may be mentioned the drafting of the eight-hour-day law. A special commission (Labor Council) exists for questions concerning the application of this law and for granting exceptions in certain cases—within definite limits prescribed by law. The chief of Bureau VI is a member of this commission.

Among other questions recently handled by Bureau VI are, for example, a law on business hours (closing time of shops), proposal of a law on vacation for laborers, proposal of measures for the supervision of pawnshops, from the standpoint of social welfare.

For the most part the questions referred to the Social Board which bear upon international co-operation through the International Labor Board are handled by Bureau VI. For maintaining co-operative relations with the International Labor Board the government has appointed a special commission, containing representatives of the Social Board, of employers, and of workmen. The director of the Social Board and the chief of Bureau VI are members of this commission. The present chief of Bureau VI has been the representative of the Swedish government with the international labor organization uninterruptedly.

AN INTERPRETATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH¹

L. L. BERNARD
Washington University

ABSTRACT

Comte initiated a research emphasis in sociology and used the data of history for purposes of induction. The Scotch school added observations from life to logic; Le Play attempted local studies; Quêtelet applied statistics to sociological problems; Buckle refined the anthropogeographic procedure; and Spencer emphasized induction from ethnographic data. All of these approaches to an inductive sociology have since been employed, but the use of quantitative data and procedures has dominated the field since 1900. The present emphasis is mainly upon techniques of measurement. Marked intolerance of factions calls for more generalization and synthesis.

The present major emphasis in sociology, as in all the other social sciences, is upon research. In fact, since the days of Comte, the sociologists have been much interested in research, but the type of research has varied from period to period. Comte was zealous of reworking the data of history, somewhat after the manner of Vico, to discover the true trends of human thought and the development of human societies. Comte was not really a sociologist in the modern sense of the term, but a philosopher who summarized and pushed to their logical conclusions the best observations and speculations of the eighteenth century regarding society. His investigations into the history of society and of science disclosed the logical necessity of a separate and unified science of society, or sociology, which would draw together the discrete and scattered fragments of thinking about social relationships and adjustments which had long found lodgment in theology, metaphysics, natural law, jurisprudence, moral philosophy, history, and the philosophy of history.

Like Vico and his own immediate predecessors in the philosophy of history, Comte saw in the history of institutions the chief sources of the data to be used in constructing the new science of sociology. His own attempt at a sociology, *The Positive Polity*, is therefore little more than a vast essay in the philosophy of history in logical continuity with his introductory treatise, *The Positive Philosophy*.

¹ This paper is the seventh section, somewhat revised, of a paper entitled "An Interpretation of Sociology in the United States" read before the American Sociological Society, December 29, 1930, at Cleveland, Ohio.

Contemporaneous with Comte, four other approaches toward an inductive sociology were being made, and to these a sixth inductive approach was soon added. The first of these, the Scotch moral philosophy school, represented best by Adam Smith, Paley, George Combe, and Thomas Chalmers, had its origins in the French-English-Scotch moral philosophers of the eighteenth century. The moral philosophers of the nineteenth century retained the social-psychological theories of the other group, especially their theories of the moral sentiments, and re-worked them in combination with a large amount of applied sociological content, dealing especially with problems of poverty and crime, of the family, of the administration of justice, the questions of slave and wage labor, and, latterly, of temperance and the moral control of large towns and cities. Although this approach to sociology had great influence upon political philosophy, political economy, and even upon theology on the disciplinary side, and upon the university curricula of the United States and Latin America, its observational procedure scarcely reached beyond that of informal statistics.

As a consequence of this fact and of its speculative interests and ethical and theological concerns, tending more to social reform than to social analysis, the Scotch school of pre-sociology has been more and more segregated into Christian ethics, Christian sociology, social ethics, social work, and journalistic reform. To a corresponding degree it has lost intimate contact with sociology. However, it must not be supposed that the Scotch or moral philosophy school was not committed to an interest in a factual basis. It simply did not develop its technique of discovering and generalizing data *pari passu* with its interest in the content and technique of reform.

What the Scotch school failed to do in the way of a sociological methodology the schools of Le Play and Quetelet accomplished, the one by the use of a survey technique and the other by means of statistical generalization. Both of these pioneers in sociological method, although by no means wholly original, found a quantitative and factual basis in contemporary social life for their sociological conclusions. It is true that neither of these approaches resulted immediately in a complete and well-rounded sociology, either in the hands of the founders of the methods or when used by their disciples.

In fact, not even in this day have these two methods succeeded in taking complete possession of the field of sociological investigation. The reason for this is that surveys are necessarily at first local and the process of building up a comprehensive body of data is a long and tedious one. Likewise, statistical generalization must wait upon the collection of a representative and abundant body of accurately tested quantitative data, an objective still far from realization in the field of social relationships and adjustment.

Other factors also contributed to the failure of the methods of Le Play and Quetelet to take complete possession of the field of sociological methodology. All social facts, like all other facts, are unique, but the time and space scatter of social facts is often so extreme that it is almost impossible at times and in some fields of behavior to secure typical situations and representative samples. The spread of the social process over time and space is apparently frequently so great that the unity and topography of the object-behavior under investigation eludes the investigator so completely that he is compelled to content himself with mere fragments and segments of the social processes as wholes. Along with these difficulties is the further one, scarcely less marked, of constructing a quantitative technique adequate to segregate, correlate, and measure the complex factors in the social process as a whole.

Although much is being accomplished toward the solution of these methodological difficulties, they present a constant temptation to the sociologist who desires to achieve results more rapidly to turn to the more concrete and "human" facts of visible social processes in the present and in the past, in advanced and in primitive societies, which he can generalize informally and approximately according to his previous experience without resorting to the arduous and often unsuccessful methods of quantitative definition and measurement.

It must have been with some such experience and anticipation in the backgrounds of their minds that both Buckle and Spencer attacked the problem of constructing a theory of society, each in his own way. It is certain that Buckle knew of the quantitative approach, for he definitely stated that it was his contact with statistical studies that confirmed him in the notion that society is, like in-

animate nature, governed by definite natural laws. He sought, through twenty years of painstaking study of history and geography, to discover inductively these laws of society. In all countries he had enthusiastic followers in this method. Sumner was first a disciple of Buckle, before he turned to the leadership of Spencer.

Anyone who cares to read carefully Huth's *Life and Writings of Buckle* and J. M. Robertson's *Buckle and His Critics*, or, better still, Buckle's works, including his miscellaneous essays and notes, will discover that much excellent sociological generalization is capable of being achieved by Buckle's procedure. Just as Buckle improved on the technique of earlier anthropogeographers, later social or human geographers have also added much to Buckle's technique, and have at the same time made no mean contribution to the field of sociology, despite the largely non-quantitative and informal inferential character of their techniques. If someone with the energy and singleness of devotion to this work that characterized Buckle would now enter the field of "human ecology," we might see this particular contemporary sociological approach rapidly take on a massive and well-integrated content.

Spencer, who, Canon Barnett said, knew so little of history and who was antagonistic personally to Buckle and his method, also turned to concrete facts as the basis of his sociological system. Spencer was, after Comte, the greatest protagonist of the inductive method in the nineteenth century. He spent his various inheritances employing assistants to collect data regarding the behavior of primitive and remote peoples to serve as a basis for his sociological generalizations. He did not initiate the practice of using anthropological and ethnological data as a basis for sociological inductions; and he had many contemporaries and successors who followed the same procedure. He is merely the typical representative of this procedure as it was followed in the last half of the nineteenth century. If he frequently found his data inadequate, and therefore filled in, with speculative guesses, the wide gaps which scarcity of data prevented him from filling inductively, still the surprise is, not that he did not succeed better, but that he did so well, considering the materials he had to work with. I have pointed out elsewhere² the shortcomings of the

² "The Development of Methods in Sociology," *The Monist*, April, 1928.

historical and anthropological approaches; but much of great value sociologically has been accomplished in this way, as the work of Hobhouse, of Westermarck and of Sumner, among others, amply testifies.

Our North American sociologists have employed all of these methods freely. Henry Hughes, like most southerners of his day, was much under the influence of the Scotch methodology, although he was also largely conditioned by the Comtean positivism which had already reached this country. Bishop at Miami, M'Guffey at Virginia, Smyth in Charleston, George Tucker at Virginia, Wayland in Providence, and many other men in the United States who were, before 1860, feeling their way consciously or otherwise toward sociology were following the lead of the Scotch moral philosophers. Lester F. Ward, the first of our sociological writers to be recognized abroad, was a thoroughgoing Comtean positivist and at first used the philosophic and informal statistical approach. Perhaps it was the predominance of direct observation and comparison used in his studies in paleobotany in the Smithsonian Institution which so confirmed him in a similar procedure in sociology and prevented him from following the lead of Le Play and Quetelet in his early work. Also the great British scientists, whom he so thoroughly admired, used a similar method, although they employed quantitative methods upon occasion in the laboratory. But the quantitative methods of the laboratory are for the most part quite different from those that must be employed in sociological analysis.

Small, on the other hand, used a combination of the methods of the moral philosophers and of the Comteans, but he remained much under the influence of the philosophers of history, especially of Hegel and the Neo-Hegelians. Giddings, who had closer contacts with the statisticians, made the transition from the methodologies of the Comtean positivists, of the Bucklean anthropogeographers, and of the Spencerian culture sociologists to the use of the statistical procedures represented in the second quarter of the nineteenth century by Quetelet. Giddings has been the most cosmopolitan of our sociologists, methodologically speaking, and has, in fact, been approached in this respect by no one except Ross.

Ross himself used much anthropological and ethnological mate-

rial in his early writings, and many traces of the Comtean positivism are also to be found in him. Latterly he has approached somewhat to the statistical method, but more especially on the informal than on the formal side.

Cooley, on the other hand, was more affected by the anthropogeographic approach than by the anthropological. Even more than Ross, he was touched by the moral philosophy approach, and, again like Ross, quite as much through the French as through the Scotch school. This Frenchward orientation was largely characteristic of most of the sociologists trained in the north rather than in the south. The ethical urge has been very strong in both Ross and Cooley, and also in Ellwood, who may be said to be of their school. This strength has been in part due, I think, to the cross-fertilization of the Scotch moral tradition in philosophy with the French analysis of social movements and collective phenomena. In Cooley it was reinforced by the French and Hegelian transcendentalism and emphasis upon the value of the human personality.

Quantitative method was well known in this country throughout the last three quarters of the nineteenth century, but it was applied much more freely to economic than to sociological problems. Decidedly its application to the latter lacked sufficient scope to constitute a sociology. George Tucker's statistical studies of the United States published in Hunt's *Merchants Magazine* in the eighteen-forties is the nearest early approach to a statistical sociology. The American Social Science Association after 1865, and the increasing emphasis upon social statistics in the American Prison Association after 1870, and in the National Conference of Charities and Correction after 1874, led naturally to the statistical sociological analyses of Amos G. Warner (1894), of Mayo Smith (1895), of Carroll D. Wright (1899), and of Adna F. Weber (1899). Survey work and budgetary studies were also under way in the eighteen-nineties. Although he did not himself make such studies, Charles R. Henderson had no inconsiderable influence in stimulating them through both his university and his wider advisory contacts.

By 1910 the quantitative procedure had definitely won the battle over the other contestants in the field, and one must play with statistics if he wished to be regarded as definitely in the sociological game. The reasons for this quantitative emphasis were many.

Sociology had never boasted of many friends in the other social sciences. Besides being an upstart, she was also a protestant, and the older subjects in their devotion to ritual suspected sociology of having an ethical and puritanical element in her creed. If such were true, she was bound to be a dangerous competitor to the ritualists, i.e., to those who worshiped the fact and believed in knowledge for fact's sake. History had worked out a highly technical procedure for verifying documents and testing data, and looked upon sociology as harboring her discarded grandmother, the Philosophy of History. Economics, feeling the competition most strongly, had begun to adopt the quantitative method, but had not yet found professional security (and, some would say, lost her soul) in schools of business administration. She often spoke of Sociology as having a theological bent and of sociologists as ex-ministers who are still preachers. For such reasons Sociology felt strongly the need to safeguard her generalizations by the most rigorous methods possible, and these seemed to be quantitative in character.

There were, of course, many exceptions in 1910 and after to this general trend toward quantitative procedures. Ross was expanding his general observational or informal statistical method to apply to an interpretation of modern cultures abroad. Cooley was analyzing the social process by means of "sympathetic introspection," which means, when interpreted, much the same as the method of Ross. Thomas was developing the application of the case method to social theory. This method made a powerful appeal to Park, who had been trained in journalism and who, after leaving journalism, had wandered for seven years in the wilderness of German philosophy seeking vainly for a logical method for the interpretation of social behavior. The anthropological approach also began to come back, but in a much modified and greatly enriched form. Instead of being the old comparative method of attempting to establish social uniformities by means of relatively uncritical informal statistical generalization, the contributions of sociology and collective psychology were beginning to be brought to bear in an interpretation of primitive behavior. Thus modern cultural sociology has become really a phase of social psychology on the one hand and of institutional sociology on the other.

The other phases of sociology have become increasingly quantita-

tive in character. This is particularly true of rural and urban sociology, of educational sociology, of social biology and of social psychology, as well as of human ecology. But all of these still use largely the informal statistical or observational procedure as applied to historical, anthropological, geographic, and contemporary behavior data. This is necessarily the case, for it seems to be clear that the time has not yet arrived when units of measurements and methods of generalization can be found adequate to cover all phases of human behavior and experience.

The present chief emphasis in sociological methodology is shifting from quantitative investigation to the study of methods of sociological measurement. For a long time the sociologists were so anxious to be recognized as users of the quantitative method that they gave more attention to their quantitative product than to specialized methods of securing it. But in recent years, following the earlier lead of psychology and education in particular, they have devoted themselves increasingly to working out instruments and devices for the collection, definition, and measurement of social data and phenomena. Most progress so far has been made in social psychology, educational sociology, and social biology or bio-sociology, including population and human ecological studies. Strangely enough, social work, largely because case work has developed primarily under the narrow compulsion of almsgiving rather than in the interests of a broad understanding of social welfare, has as yet failed to develop an adequate system of social tests and measurements. In the near future all sociology may be expected to become more interested in the problem of developing norms and devices for investigation and measurement than in the process of investigation itself. Signs of this trend in sociological methodology are everywhere manifest. Healthy as is the movement as an aid to investigation, it may have some decidedly abnormal features when developed as a fad or a craze. Methods of investigation should grow out of the problems to be investigated and should be definitely related to them. In a large measure each complicated problem of investigation must have its own methodology. But, on the other hand, the development of method inventions in advance of their application to specific problems of investigation may also have marked uses.

Thus it is that one phase of the investigational procedure succeeds another, while the advocates and devotees of the old procedure are still alive. Acrimonious personal controversies arise as to the relative values of approaches, viewpoints, and methods, largely because few sociologists have a sufficiently broad grasp of their subject to understand the development of the subject as a whole. In fact, just now the specialized workers who are unable to see over the tops of the pits they are digging for themselves—in which, incidentally, they will be buried alive by the next intellectual generation of methodological enthusiasts—voice great contempt for the general sociologist who attempts to stay above ground and observe and lend aid to the whole field of operations. Recently I heard a cultural sociologist who is studying the behavior of certain regional groups say to another sociologist who has long spent his time and his own money in every part of the United States collecting data for a particular piece of research, "Of course you are not interested in research." Thus research comes to mean, in the mind of the narrow specialist, his own type of research, while all other types of research are spoken of, or regarded contemptuously, as not research at all.

As a matter of fact, all forms of research continue to be carried on, and very properly so. No one particular method or group of methods of research ever can cover the field of sociology adequately. Some sociological facts can be measured and generalized quantitatively. Others, at present at least, can only be observed in the light of one's experience and vicarious acquaintance with the history and logic of social behavior. Such data must for the present be generalized by inference and by informal statistical methods.

It should not be forgotten, of course, that even the most carefully derived conclusions from quantitative data are not self-interpretative. They have meaning only in the logic of our experience and in our knowledge of the history of society and of comparative cultures made known to sociologists by their study of descriptive materials. Yet, the quantitative method is unquestionably the most valuable of all methods wherever and in so far as it can be applied. Likewise, contempt of one sociological specialism for another, of the specialist for the general sociologist, or vice versa, is indicative of personal or

of professional immaturity rather than of scientific profundity and intellectual catholicity. Such attitudes are, perhaps, after all more in the nature of compensations for inferiority feeling than opinions scientifically and objectively arrived at. The larger the number of sociological specialisms we can have, the better for the depth and extent of the development of our science, provided always, of course, there is a corps of general sociologists of first-rate ability who will undertake to see the various specialisms as a whole and interpret this unity to the specialists, thus serving as correlators and guides to their work. Just now we are not giving a great deal of encouragement to the general sociologists, perhaps because we still remember the eighteen-nineties. But this also will change as we come again to feel the need of more correlation and historical perspective.

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIO-LEGAL RESEARCH AT YALE¹

DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS
Yale University

ABSTRACT

Socio-legal research at Yale represents an attempt at evaluation and analysis of the social factors bearing on very specific legal situations. The study initiated by Charles Clark, in 1927, has sought: to bring together for purely normative purposes, in comparable form, all available information regarding court administration; to bring light to bear on technical problems in procedure but verging upon the sociological in interest; analysis of certain social data in their relation to the processes of court administration; the correlation of court administration data with data extrinsic to the records. Other major socio-legal projects include: William Douglas' study of legal in relation to economic and social factors involved in business failures; Underhill Moore's institutional approach to banking law—an attempt to establish the hypothesis that current decisions are more closely related to existing patterns of relevant behavior in the jurisdiction where the case originates than to any comparability with past decisions; study of socio-economic as well as legal consequences in motor vehicle accidents; study of the observability of social phenomena.

One of the most interesting developments in the Social Sciences at Yale is the involvement of the Law School in several major research projects which are intrinsically sociological in methods and aims while dealing with problems primarily legal in their implications. The development of this sort of program is in the nature of an innovation, since the separation of the purely legal from the other cultural and behavior factors which make up the subject matter of sociology has long been thought to be impossible in practice and theoretically undesirable and consequently no *rapprochement* has been made other than a philosophical one. A brilliant group of socio-legal philosophers has in fact developed a stimulating intuitive approach to the economic and social aspects of the judicial process, but, as Underhill Moore remarks, they have failed signally, over a period of more than two decades, "to do more than point out over and over again the very great probability of the very great significance of these factors."

The program, which I am describing, represents an attempt to evaluate the significance of these factors by an analysis—usually

¹ Paper read at Eastern Sociological Conference, New Haven, Connecticut, April 26, 1931.

statistical—of the relevant social data bearing on very specific legal situations. In the time at my disposal, I can do little more than indicate the problems, the methods of attack, and the implications of this approach for social science.

Early in the attempt to work out the interrelationships existing in the social and legal aspects of the judicial process, the paucity of fundamental data on the legal side was recognized. The sources of material on the administration of justice were rich and relatively complete, for in the ordinary court processes records of completed cases are made and filed. This material, however, had never been analyzed or brought forward in any comparable form for research purposes.

To remedy this defect, Charles Clark, in 1927,² worked out an experimental plan for such a collection and analysis of source material for civil cases in the courts of Connecticut. This has since been extended to other states, and to include criminal cases, and to date between forty thousand and fifty thousand cases have been examined. The objectives of this study are threefold. In the first place, the aim is to bring together for purely normative purposes, in comparable form, all available information regarding court administration. Thus a descriptive and analytical picture is presented of the actual business of the courts, what proportions different types of cases assume, what terminations these different types receive, the relative delays, and the use of special procedural devices (pleas, attachment, appeal, etc.). In the second place, this study examines, more specifically, certain of these groups of data to bring light to bear on rather technical problems in procedure, which, however, verge upon the sociological in interest. An example is the study of the efficacy of trial by jury. In about one-sixth of the first series of Connecticut civil cases, trial by jury was claimed but was had in only one-fifth of the cases claimed, presumably because of the withdrawal or settlement or bargaining in the other cases. A surprisingly high proportion of judgments for the defendants resulted in such cases, almost twice the proportion found in cases tried to the court.

The significance of these procedural comparisons is indicated by a

² See Charles E. Clark, "Fact Research in Law Administration" (July, 1928), *Connecticut Bar Journal*, II, 211-33 for the first report on this project.

recent analysis of the criminal cases tried in the federal courts in Connecticut for the past three fiscal years. Here the jury was had on slightly more than 1 per cent of the cases, indicating its almost complete lack of functioning as a procedural device in this field. A further interesting comparison in this federal series is between prohibition cases, which comprise 76 per cent of the total, and all other cases, particularly in regard to the disposition of the cases. Imprisonment results in only 15 per cent of the prohibition cases, as against 39 per cent of the other cases; probation in only 2 per cent of the prohibition compared with 21 per cent of the other cases. On the other hand, the fine, with or without other sentences, is incurred in 84 per cent of the prohibition cases, and only 32 per cent of the other cases. The fine plus suspended sentence occurs in 50 per cent of the prohibition cases and in less than 3 per cent of the others. Two facts are implicit in this comparison, first, that for prohibition cases the federal court has adopted procedures more similar to police courts than to those of the higher courts, and, second, that the bargaining process between prosecutor and defendant is markedly more prevalent in these cases than in other types in the same court.

In the third place, this procedure investigation comprises an analysis of certain social data in their relation to the processes of court administration.

The importance of studying the social aspects of the problem is obvious. The court processes cannot be considered as entirely automatic or mechanistic performances, unrelated to human variability. Judges, juries, lawyers, defendants, and plaintiffs interact in all proceedings. There is reason to suppose, furthermore, that this interaction will have different consequences with different types of cases, and different types of procedure. In some, the standardization will be so thorough that the chances of variation with regard to personal or social factors will be slight. Costs probably represent an example of this standardized procedure. In other features, however, procedure is less standardized, a high degree of tolerance is allowed, and we may legitimately look for relationships with personal and social factors. The awarding of the custody of children in divorce cases is an example of this sort.

The most serious problem in this connection is that of the ade-

quacy of the data contained in the court records for this purpose. To make such an analysis, we need information relating to the social and economic status of the individuals involved, their nationality, age, previous contacts with the court (for plaintiff and defendant), as a minimum, and, for a more complete and subtle analysis, data regarding their standing in the community as indicated by such factors as stability (occupational, residential, etc.). Obviously, the court records do not include even the minimum requirements for such an analysis. In cases generally, almost the only personal information available is the names of plaintiffs, defendants, attorneys, and judges. From the names, the sex of the parties can be inferred. It is possible, then, to make an analysis indicating whether certain attorneys receive disproportionately favorable decisions irrespective of judges, types of case, whether they are handling cases of defendant or plaintiff, and whether the defendant is male, female, a minor, or a corporation. It is possible to indicate whether judges or juries favor males or females or special types of cases disproportionately. The essential points of nationality, and social and economic status cannot be touched because the records contain no adequate data on these points.

Another aspect of this analysis involves the correlation of court administration data with data extrinsic to the records. It includes an analysis of the volume of business of different types year by year, the variation in the use of different devices over a period of time, etc., and a study of the relation of secular trend and cyclical and seasonal variation in these phenomena with indexes of general economic and social conditions in the communities involved. There is a pretty sound *a priori* basis for making some of these correlations. Previous studies have indicated relationships between the volume of various classes of criminal cases and the business cycle, between divorce cases and the business cycle, etc. The volume of litigation in regard to the classes of cases such as foreclosures might be expected to respond to economic influences.

The real difficulty with regard to such correlations is that data are not now available over a sufficiently long period of time to make such correlations valid, and it is recognized that cyclical correlations based on very short series may be quite misleading. An effort

will be made to get longer series of data for most of these factors before time correlations are made.

This rather ambitious study of procedure, then, is attempting to organize existing data for the purposes of developing norms and tracing associations, both within the court records and with other types of data. The other major socio-legal projects are less extensive and more definitely devoted to evolving techniques for collecting new data bearing on specific hypotheses.

The development of the business failures project under William Douglas's³ direction is a case in point. His preliminary studies of business failures liquidated through bankruptcy indicated the necessity of linking the legal antecedents of this process with a thorough review of the economic history of the organization and the social history of the individuals involved in the organization. Only by a study of the association of these factors could any realistic approach to the causation of failures involved in bankruptcy proceedings be obtained. Douglas' problem was enormously complicated by the fact that there was no clear definition of what the relevant data would be and no existing techniques for obtaining data from these groups. A schedule covering a wide range of items relating to organization, business practices, business experience, abilities, and the extent of social and economic strains, was evolved as an exploratory device. A federal judge co-operated to overcome the administrative difficulties of obtaining the information, and established a "clinic" in his court, through which each bankrupt passed automatically for examination by one of a staff of investigators.

The early part of this study was beset by administrative difficulties. The clinic was closed for political reasons after fifty-eight examinations and letters were sent out by the court directing the bankrupts to answer the inclosed questionnaire. Other bankrupts were approached merely through personal letters from the Yale staff, and still others through personal interviews by the investigators. While this situation seemed unfavorable to the production of ade-

³ See William Clark, W. O. Douglas, and D. S. Thomas, "The Business Failures Project I: A Problem in Methodology," *Yale Law Journal*, XXXIX (May, 1930), 1013-24, and W. O. Douglas and D. S. Thomas, "The Business Failures Project II: Methods of Analysis of New Jersey and Boston Bankruptcies," *ibid.*, XL (May, 1931) 1034-54.

quate data, it produced a by-product of great value to social research: it made possible not only a study of the adequacy of the questions involved in the worksheet as covering the relevant factors in bankruptcy; it also made possible a comparison of techniques of collecting data of this sort.

The study in this jurisdiction was regarded as wholly exploratory; the six hundred worksheets were analyzed question by question, to determine the extent to which they were producing complete and definite data, and statistical comparisons were made of the four techniques of data collection. The range of completeness of answers to specific questions was from 34 per cent to 100 per cent, with marked differences in the four methods. The court letter and personal letter were proved inefficient, regardless of the adequacy of the specific question on the worksheet. The clinic and personal interview were generally superior, but were shown to fall down on badly worded or too different questions.

On the basis of the results of this exploratory approach, the worksheet was completely revised and applied in a new jurisdiction where a method similar to the "clinic" could be employed. The new worksheet and the new method brought complete replies well over 90 per cent for most of the questions, and 100 per cent for a large proportion.

At this point, a detailed analysis of the data was commenced, and presumably "causative" factors were isolated. It was recognized, however, that causation could be inferred only by comparison of these factors in bankrupt cases with the same factors in going concerns. A worksheet was thereupon built around these factors, and is being tried out on a group of co-operating going concerns, comparable in certain respects with the bankrupt group. When sufficient data are collected from this group, and when the technique for approaching these firms is perfected, it is planned to apply the worksheets simultaneously to bankrupt and non-bankrupt groups in the same jurisdiction, thus obtaining a real control and a method of estimating the strength of the presumably causal factors. This study is particularly interesting as showing the extension of a problem from the purely legal to the purely socio-economic for purposes of evaluating the legal antecedents in their context.

A third example of what I have called socio-legal research at Yale is Underhill Moore's institutional approach to banking law.⁴ Moore criticizes the traditional legal approach which "predicts" current decisions from a review of past decisions in similar situations. The definition of similarity of situation in such research is based upon the very inadequate facts incorporated in the law reports of the principal cases. Moore's working hypothesis is that current decisions are more closely related to existing patterns of relevant behavior in the jurisdiction where the case originates than to any comparability with past decisions. He has made an attempt to test this hypothesis in a specific situation involving the behavior of a bank on the day of maturity of a customer's time note, which the bank had discounted and credited to his account. The question centers around whether the bank may deduct the amount of the note, without notice to the customer, and therefore fail to honor checks drawn by the customer to other persons against his balance. Three decisions have been made in regard to this situation, one in South Carolina in 1904, which held that the customer's balance could not be reduced by the amount of the note on the day of maturity without notice from the bank. These opposing decisions led to interesting possibilities for testing the hypothesis. But pioneers in research are faced with the problems of developing their own techniques and inventing methods of data collection, and finding no ready-made methods or data on hand, Moore had to determine the specific terms in which the relevant transactions between customers and banks could be recorded, and devise means of getting the data. Much of his effort in the past two years has been directed toward problems of method. In South Carolina, the administrative problem was perhaps easiest, for the very fact that the decision had occurred thirty years ago made the banks willing to open their books of that period to the investigators, and tabulations could be made of all relevant transactions. Unfortunately, however, certain aspects of these transactions could not be made apparent from the books, and certain banks refused access, so that

⁴ See U. Moore and T. S. Hope, Jr., "An Institutional Approach to the Law of Commercial Banking," *Yale Law Journal*, XXXVIII (April, 1929), 703-19, and U. Moore, and G. Sussman, "Legal and Institutional Methods Applied to the Debiting of Direct Discounts," *ibid.*, XL (January, 1931—June, 1931), 381-400; 555-75; 752-78; 928-53, etc.

an attempt had to be made to determine the practices in other ways. Bank officials were interviewed and asked specific questions with regard to the practices at that time. In Pennsylvania, the questionnaire alone was used to determine the practices, but the recency of the decision probably made the answers somewhat more valid. As a check on method, an attempt was made to organize day studies in another jurisdiction. Every relevant transaction occurring during a given day was recorded as it occurred, either by a Yale investigator or by the teller. This method proved so much more adequate for producing reliable data that it was carried over, with modifications, to the New York situation. The questionnaire method was used concurrently in a number of banks in this jurisdiction.

The collection of these data in the three jurisdictions has made possible a statistical analysis of the frequency of various patterns. The institutional (i.e., most frequent) patterns in each jurisdiction have been determined and related to the decision. Again, as in Douglas' study, this approach has been considered largely exploratory. The different methods of data collection have been a disadvantage from the point of view of the immediate results, but an advantage in affording a reasonable basis for determining future procedure. It is planned to extend the project in the future to study twenty-five recent decisions in the commercial law field, within a very short period of time, and by means of daily records of relevant practices.

Other researches in the socio-legal field cannot be described in detail. In a study of motor vehicle accidents, consequences of a socio-economic as well as legal nature are being investigated. After co-operating in a large scale project, designed to produce information on numbers of cases in a short time, the Yale Law School has taken these results as a starting-point for investigating certain detailed aspects of hardship and losses, and for devising techniques for getting and means of checking these classes of information.

Still another project, fostered jointly by the Institute of Human Relations and the Law School, is represented by the researches of myself and my associates on the observability of social phenomena,⁵ with particular reference to evaluating the reliability of observation

⁵ D. S. Thomas *et al.*, *The Observability of Social Phenomena with Respect to Statistical Analysis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931; in press).

came from these communities. Even from among them, however, 40.8 per cent of the girls were committed on first arrest. Sixty-six per cent from urban communities without probation officers were sent to the school on first court appearance and almost the whole number from rural communities.

The study of individual histories indicates that a girl's former court appearance often weighed in the decision to send her to correctional school. If she had been on probation and had violated the terms of it, that might be stated as a factor in her commitment. But it is of greater significance that such a large number were committed without a chance at this alternative treatment. For our correctional school group, therefore, previous court experience does not seem to be a particularly important item.

The individual's deviating behavior likewise confronts the court. Of these institutional delinquents 75.4 per cent had records of sex irregularity. Over 40 per cent of the total number had been promiscuous, and approximately 40 per cent had a history of venereal disease.

While sex delinquency was the most frequent offense, running away, truancy, and stealing occurred in many of the cases. The larger portion showed only one offense, while 38 per cent had two or more named.

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Bad companions"

were involved who were committed to the institution at the same time or one shortly after the other. In a few cases an older woman was involved in the delinquency of the younger. Taking the 75.4 per cent of the cases showing man companions and the 8 per cent with girl companions only, we arrive at a total of 83.4 per cent of the cases having the companionship factor.

Both among sex and non-sex delinquents we find examples of running away, of chronic truancy, of stealing, by twos and threes and fours. Here are many overt acts that run decidedly and obviously contrary to community standards and are of a kind about which community agents would wish to do something drastic.

It is difficult to unearth the attitudes that show the influence of companionship affairs in the treatment of delinquent behavior, although it is clear from a reading of the records that the courts showed interest in this aspect of the girl's career. For the most part, there appear more often than not other complicating factors. One constantly encounters in the histories the statement that a girl has "gotten in with a bad crowd." This is sometimes regarded as an extenuating circumstance in deciding on her treatment, sometimes as all the more occasion for taking her under court supervision and changing her environment. Where it is asserted that she has, with companions, gone contrary to parental wish and discipline, it appears to represent to those handling the situation "incurability" on her part which requires, by other agencies than her home, but so as well.

For a long time it has been demonstrated that the structure occurs more frequently in the general population than in the general population.

Table I shows that

population,* we find one-fourth of the homes broken as compared with two-thirds for the Wisconsin girl delinquents.³

When, as is frequently the case, there are other complicating factors in a broken home affecting the child's supervision and education, these would naturally enter into the court's estimate of the home.

Among such elements are the social defective tendencies in the family. The phrase refers to traits of health, habit, or personality which bear on the question of whether the home is a wholesome, normal place in which to bring up a child. The traits counted are

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF WISCONSIN GIRL DELINQUENTS ACCORDING
TO COMMITMENT FROM BROKEN AND UNBROKEN HOMES

Broken and Unbroken Homes	No.	Per Cent Distribution
<i>All cases</i>	252	100.0
Total broken.....	160	63.5
Death.....	101	40.0
Separation.....	12	4.8
Divorce.....	29	11.5
Desertion*.....	10	3.9
Parent in institution..	8	3.3
Unbroken homes.....	92	36.5

* Two of these were desertions by the mother.

found listed in Table II. The girls' records are not included in this Table.⁴

We find that there are 443 traits in 189 families. An average figure would not be indicative of the true situation, for the traits tend to cluster. For example, a separate count made of delinquent records for members of the same family—father, mother, and siblings, including the girl—showed 30.4 per cent of the families to have more than one delinquent member with 10.9 per cent having three or more. This 10.9 per cent, however, had a total of ninety-nine delinquent members, and while it represents slightly over one-tenth of the families in the total sample, it has one-fourth of the delinquent persons.

The classification of social defective tendencies according to home

³ E. H. Shideler, "Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy in the United States," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, VIII (1918), 712.

⁴ If we did include the girls' records here it would increase the court and correctional record by over 300, the sex irregularity item by 190, a large number would be added to the mental defect item, and so on.

structure indicates also the clustering of traits. While 82.5 per cent of broken homes showed such traits, only 61.9 per cent of unbroken homes did. Moreover, the 82.5 per cent of broken homes had two-thirds of all the social defective tendencies found.

There appears to be an economic situation characteristic of the background of the children who come in this correctional school sample. For one thing, there is a high degree of occupational homo-

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL DEFECTIVE TENDENCIES IN FAMILIES OF GIRL DELINQUENTS
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO BROKEN AND UNBROKEN HOMES, AND BY THE NUMBER OF CASES WHICH DO AND DO NOT SHOW SUCH TENDENCIES

SOCIAL DEFECTIVE TENDENCIES	TOTAL		UNBROKEN HOMES	BROKEN HOMES
	No.	Per Cent		
<i>Total</i>	443	100.0	128	315
Alcoholic.....	82	18.5	26	56
Epileptic.....	6	1.4	1	5
Mental defect.....	42	9.5	14	28
Mental disease.....	13	2.9	3	10
Sex irregularity.....	54	12.2	13	41
Suicide.....	2	0.4	..	2
Tubercular.....	27	6.1	5	22
Heart.....	31	6.9	15	16
Cancer.....	6	1.4	2	4
Veneral disease.....	17	3.8	5	12
Court, penal* and correctional institutions..	134	30.2	32	102
Unclassified.....	29	6.7	12	17
<i>Total cases</i>	252	....	92	160
Cases showing social defective tendencies....	189	....	57	132
Cases showing no social defective tendencies..	63	....	35	28

* This does not include the court record sending the individual to the correctional institution.

geneity. In estimating occupational status, the Barr rating scale was applied to the type of work of the chief wage earner of the family; the seven general divisions of the scale were used.⁵ Fifty-two different occupations were represented in the sample.

The data in Table III show that approximately 95 per cent of the families belonged to the wage-earning class, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled, and that 53.6 per cent fall within Barr's groups 1 and 2, the unskilled classes. In the general population, on the other hand, King's study shows the wage-earning group to be only a little more than half of the total number of persons gainfully employed.⁶

⁵ Frank Elmer Barr, *A Scale for Measuring Ability in Vocations and Some of Its Applications*, Master's Thesis, Leland Stanford Junior University.

⁶ W. I. King, *The National Income and its Purchasing Power*, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1930. Pp. 47-62, Tables I, IV, V, VI. Figures are taken for 1920.

In eleven instances the mother was the chief wage earner. In many more she shared in family support. Over 25 per cent of the mothers worked out of the home part or full time; in most instances they did so to supplement family income. Their occupations were predominantly of the unskilled type—day work such as cleaning and scrubbing, with a number engaged in hotel and restaurant work. All of their occupations rate low on the scale.

TABLE III
OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF GIRL DELINQUENTS CLASSIFIED BY
BARR OCCUPATIONAL RATING SCALE GROUPS

BARR OCCUPATIONAL RATING SCALE GROUPS	TOTAL*		FATHERS		MOTHERS†	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
<i>Total</i>	237	100.0	226	95.4	11	4.6
1.....	2	0.9	2	0.9	..	...
2.....	125	52.7	115	48.5	10	4.2
3.....	46	19.4	45	19.0	1	0.4
4.....	50	21.1	50	21.1	..	...
5.....	13	5.5	13	5.5	..	...
6.....	1	0.4	1	0.4	..	...
7.....	...	...	...	...	..	...

* In fifteen cases occupation is not given.

† Where mother is chief support and father's occupation not given.

Furthermore, many of the girls themselves had begun work careers when they were committed to the institution. Of the group fifteen years of age and under, 33 per cent had been gainfully employed, whereas for the same age group in the population of Wisconsin the percentage was 3.1. For the sixteen- and seventeen-year-old classes, 76.8 per cent of the delinquent girls had worked, while in the female population of Wisconsin the percentage was 30.2.⁷

These facts point not only to the economic level of the families but to the significance of child labor in delinquency. With such an entirely disproportionate number of working children among these girl delinquents we must be dealing with one of the indirect influences which sometimes figure in the making of delinquent careers.⁸

Not only were these girls recruited predominantly from one eco-

⁷ 14th U.S. Census, (1920), Vol. IV, *Occupations*, chap. v, p. 514, Table 15, and chap. iv, p. 442, Table 16.

⁸ The figures for the delinquent group do not represent full-time employment for all. Some had worked only during summer vacations. A number worked all but the time taken off for Continuation School one day a week. A few worked only afternoons and Saturdays. But their employment was out of the home and for wages.

nomie class, but there are indications that many of them were from homes having distinctly unfavorable economic conditions. We have one such indication when families have sought community assistance of one kind or another.

Table IV shows that 63.9 per cent of the families had social agency contacts. A separate tabulation was made for Milwaukee County

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF CONTACTS WITH SOCIAL AGENCIES FOR FAMILIES OF GIRL DELINQUENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPES OF AGENCIES FOR MILWAUKEE COUNTY AND OTHER COUNTIES, AND NUMBER OF CASES WHICH DO AND DO NOT SHOW SUCH CONTACTS

TYPES OF AGENCIES*	TOTAL		MILWAUKEE COUNTY CASES	OTHER COUNTIES†
	No.	Per Cent		
<i>Total</i>	595	100.0	456	139
Family and Child Welfare.....	187	31.4	139	48
Health‡.....	236	39.7	209	27
Orphanages and Homes for Dependents§.....	45	7.6	24	21
Departments of Public Outdoor Relief.....	41	6.9	27	14
State Aid.....	20	3.4	7	13
Boarding Homes for Girls.....	16	2.7	8	8
Religious Missions, etc. (e.g. Salvation Army).....	14	2.3	10	4
Miscellaneous.....	36	6.0	32	4
<i>Total cases</i>	252	100.0	101	151
Cases showing contacts.....	161	63.9	87	74
Cases showing no contacts.....	91	36.1	14	77

* Court contacts are not included in this table.

† It should be pointed out that only a few communities in Wisconsin have Confidential Exchanges where cases are registered. I obtained direct from the counties information regarding families in this sample who had received public outdoor relief or mother's pensions.

‡ While health contacts were the most numerous the number of families showing health contacts only was negligible.

§ In this item the industrial school girl's contacts are included.

because of its large number of organizations and its active Confidential Exchange, and because such a large percentage of the girls came from that county. There, 86 per cent of the families had been under care of a social agency at one time or another.

We may assume that homes having two or three negative factors would usually present a more unfavorable picture from the community standpoint than those showing none. At the same time, any attempt to evaluate their influence is confronted with another factor already referred to, the girl's behavior.

In the cases of flagrant sex offenders, and in certain types of behavior considered crimes in adults, such as forgery, it is easy to see

how this conduct, whether or not found in conjunction with economic disadvantage or poor home conditions, might result in court commitment to a correctional school. These offenses are obvious as well as being obnoxious to the community. But when we encounter the minor deviations, and there are many instances of them even among sex offenders, the influence of the girl's behavior on her commitment is not so apparent.

Table V attacks this question by analyzing the number of times three sets of unfavorable home factors appear for "major" and "minor" offenders. "Major" offenses have been taken to include

TABLE V
WISCONSIN GIRL DELINQUENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO UNFAVORABLE HOME FACTORS AND "MAJOR" AND "MINOR" OFFENDERS

UNFAVORABLE HOME FACTORS*	TOTAL	OFFENDERS	
		Major	Minor
<i>Total</i>	252	182	70
None present.....	25	24	1
One present.....	48	34	14†
Two present.....	87	61	26
Three present.....	92	63	29

* Refers to the three sets of factors, broken homes, social defective tendencies, and contacts with social agencies.

† Nine of these cases represented broken homes or homes with social defective tendencies, and one other, according to the judge, was really a "neglected" child.

promiscuous or repeated sex offenses, sex irregularity with venereal disease, repeated court appearance, several offenses of different kinds, forgery, habitual stealing, persistent vagrancy. "Minor" offenses refer to all others including some sex irregularities that would not come under the "major" class.⁹

We find that four-fifths of the minor offenders were from homes

⁹ The writer does not imply in the analysis undertaken here that good and sufficient reasons can always be found either in behavior or home conditions for the commitment of these girls to the industrial school. Other influences than these are, of course, at work: A few girls did have intelligence tests before commitment, and institutional training was recommended by the clinic; judges did seek alternative forms of treatment, but community facilities were inadequate; some judges did appear to have a predisposition in favor of correctional school treatment once a child appeared in court. The selective influences which were active in the first place in bringing the girl to court certainly must play an indirect as well as a direct part in commitment. Moreover, if we were concerned with "good" reasons, it would be a different matter, for all children sent to correctional school have by no means received the form of treatment best adapted to their case requirements. But the fact is, they have been sent, and we are dealing here simply with certain of the factors that appear active in this regard.

with two or more unfavorable factors as compared with two-thirds of the major offenders; also that only one minor offender came from a home showing no unfavorable factors, whereas a goodly number of the major offenders did. These facts point to some preponderance of unfavorable factors in the homes of minor offenders. Yet even if the factors were equally numerous in the two sets of homes, with the behavior element anything but equal, the evidence indicates a real difference in the relative importance of unfavorable home influences for commitment.

In conclusion, then, we find a large majority of these delinquents' homes showing deleterious elements—19 per cent in one respect, 34.5 per cent in two, and 36.5 per cent in three. Two-thirds of the homes were broken by disorganization and death, and in almost one-half there were step-parents, foster parents, or relatives. The number of broken homes in this sample was very much larger than is found in estimates for the general population. Social defective tendencies further complicated the situation: they were present in 82.5 per cent of the broken homes as compared with 61.9 per cent of unbroken, and this 82.5 per cent of broken homes had two-thirds of all such traits. Of this correctional school sample 95 per cent came of the class recognized as least advantaged in income and opportunity, and about two-thirds of these particular homes had been given community assistance of one kind or another.

At the same time, we cannot conclude that where unfavorable home influences occurred they were similarly potent in every commitment. For one thing, the "type of offense" factor entered to modify the situation. On the side of major offenders, the girls came from homes with several negative factors and from homes showing none; and however favorable or unfavorable their home backgrounds might be, once they have appeared in court, their misconduct would very probably loom larger than any other single aspect of their history. But for the minor offenders, who constitute one-fourth of the sample, deleterious influences assume larger proportions: they are decidedly present in most of the homes, and only one minor offender is from a home showing no such elements. It would appear, then, that in the commitment of this minor offender group, at least, unfavorable social conditions act as a significant factor.

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILIES OF DELIN- QUENT BOYS IN WISCONSIN¹

MORRIS GILMORE CALDWELL

Ashland College, Ashland, Ohio

ABSTRACT

This article treats of the economic conditions of the families of 492 delinquent boys who were committed to the Wisconsin Industrial School at Waukesha, Wisconsin. These conditions are analyzed in the following respects: (1) rating of parental occupations; (2) family income; (3) employment of the mother outside the home; and (4) the work contacts of the delinquent boy. Two-thirds of the occupations of parents are unskilled occupations, according to the Barr Occupational Rating Scale. There is a slight tendency for the intelligence of children to be correlated with the occupational status of parents. Approximately 50 per cent of the families of a selected group of Wisconsin delinquents are receiving family incomes below the health and decency standard of living level of Paul Douglas. Nearly one-fourth of the mothers work outside the home either whole or part time. Slightly over 50 per cent of the boy delinquents are employed in economic enterprises of one sort or another before commitment. An analysis of these conditions show that economic factors exert an important influence in the causation of juvenile delinquency.

Economic conditions have always exerted a profound influence on family life in all societies from primitive times down to the present. Especially is this true in our own society, where nearly all values are measured in the monetary unit. The economic aspect of family life not only is shown in the physical means of family subsistence but is reflected in the educational, cultural, and social life of the family as well. These observations are borne out in this study of institutional delinquent boys in Wisconsin, where economic conditions in the home appear to be causative factors

in the study to analyze the various economic conditions of institutional delinquent boys and to

percentage distribution of the occupations of the parents in the delinquent-boy group. The mother's occupation is rated in those cases in which she is the only means of support. In five cases both parents are dead or unknown. The bulk of the occupations fall in Group II, unskilled, and Group III, semiskilled. Group II comprises 33.4 per cent of the cases, and Group III contains 32.7 per cent. Only 25 per cent of the cases fall in the skilled occupations listed under Group IV. A mere handful of the occupations of the parents fall in the higher occupational groups. None of the parents of the delinquent-boy group have occupations rated in Group VII. The occupations of the parents in this sample are predominantly inferior

TABLE I
OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF BOY DELINQUENTS, WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL
SCHOOL, CLASSIFIED BY BARR OCCUPATIONAL RATING SCALE GROUPS

BARR OCCUPATIONAL RATING SCALE GROUPS	TOTAL		FATHERS		MOTHERS	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total.....	492	100.0	449	91.3	38	7.7
I.....	5	1.0	5	1.0	..	...
II.....	164	33.4	136	27.7	28	5.7
III.....	161	32.7	156	31.7	5	1.0
IV.....	123	25.0	118	24.0	5	1.0
V.....	28	5.7	28	5.7	..	...
VI.....	6	1.2	6	1.2	..	...
VII.....	..	...	..	...	..	...
Both parents dead	5	1.0	..	...	..	...

occupations in view of the fact that 67 per cent fall in groups below the skilled occupations.

Table II is a comparison of the occupations of the Wisconsin boy and girl delinquents. The occupations of the parents of the girls are more varied than those of the boys. Seventy-three per cent of the occupations of the parents of the girls fall in the unskilled occupations, while 67 per cent of the occupations of the parents of the boys fall in the unskilled occupations.

skilled as compared to 25 per cent for the parents of the boy delinquents. It is apparent, then, that a larger percentage of the occupations of parents of boy delinquents are unskilled and a smaller percentage skilled than the general population.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF BOY DELINQUENTS AND GIRL DELINQUENTS, WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, CLASSIFIED BY BARR
OCCUPATIONAL RATING SCALE GROUPS*

BARR OCCUPATIONAL RATING SCALE GROUPS	BOY DELINQUENTS		GIRL DELINQUENTS†	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	492	100.0	237	100.0
I	5	1.0	2	0.9
II	164	33.4	125	52.7
III	161	32.7	46	19.4
IV	123	25.0	50	21.1
V	28	5.7	13	5.5
VI	6	1.2	1	0.4
VII . . . . .	...	...	...	...
Both parents dead . . .	5	1.0	...	...

* Katharine D. Lumpkin, *Social Situations and Girl Delinquency: A Study of the Commitments to the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls, July 1, 1925, to December 31, 1927* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1928). This research is a companion study to the present one on boy delinquents. Frequent comparisons are made throughout this article to show the likenesses and differences in the economic conditions of the homes of boy and girl delinquents.

† *Ibid.*, p. 82.

TABLE III
OCCUPATIONS OF PARENTS OF BOY DELINQUENTS, WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE GENERAL POPULATION OF WISCONSIN, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO BARR OCCUPATIONAL RATING SCALE GROUPS

BARR OCCUPATIONAL RATING SCALE GROUPS	BOY DELINQUENTS, WISCONSIN		GENERAL POPULATION* WISCONSIN	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	492	100.0	813,184	100.0
I	5	1.0	9,426	1.2
II	164	33.4	96,176	11.8
III	161	32.7	322,416	39.6
IV	123	25.0	261,022	32.1
V	28	5.7	95,985	11.8
VI	6	1.2	16,094	2.0
VII . . . . .	...	...	12,065	1.5
Both parents dead . . .	5	1.0	.....	.....

* *Fourteenth Census of United States* (1920), "Occupations," IV, 1042-46.

The intelligence quotients of the delinquent boy group are compared with the occupations of parents according to Barr in Table IV. In 249, or approximately 50 per cent, of the cases, the parents who have occupations below the skilled group have boys in the in-

dustrial school with intelligence quotients below normal. Nearly all parents who have occupations in Groups V and VI have boys with normal intelligence. There is a correlation of $+.153$ with a P.E. of

TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF THE I.Q. OF DELINQUENT BOYS, WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, WITH OCCUPATION OF PARENTS, ACCORDING TO BARR OCCUPATIONAL RATING SCALE GROUPS

I.Q.	TOTAL	BARR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS						
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Total.....	487*	5	166	160	123	27	6	..
Below 50.....	8	..	6	2	..	..	..	..
50-59.....	16	..	6	6	4	..	..	..
60-69.....	79	2	26	29	22	..	..	..
70-79.....	135	3	50	45	30	6	1	..
80-89.....	109	..	37	37	22	12	1	..
90-99.....	40	..	12	15	9	3	1	..
100 and over...	16	..	4	2	9	..	1	..
Not given.....	84	..	25	24	27	6	2	..

* In five cases both parents are dead.

TABLE V
DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME OF DELINQUENT BOYS, WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

Family Income per Week	Number	Percentage
Total.....	105	100.0
Under \$10.....	9	8.6
\$10-\$14.....	5	4.7
\$15-\$19.....	4	3.8
\$20-\$24.....	15	14.3
\$25-\$29.....	18	17.1
\$30-\$34.....	19	18.2
\$35-\$39.....	9	8.5
\$40-\$44.....	13	12.3
\$45-\$49.....	4	3.9
\$50-\$54.....	5	4.7
\$55-\$59.....	1	1.0
\$60-\$64.....	3	2.9

$\pm .033$ between the intelligence of children and the occupational status of parents. There is thus seen to be a very slight tendency for the lower I.Q.'s to be associated with the less skilled groups.

FAMILY INCOME

Table V presents the family income per week for a selected number of families of the delinquent boy group. Paul Douglas has

worked out two standard of living levels.³ The "minimum of subsistence" level ranges from \$1,100 to \$1,400, and the "minimum of health and decency" level ranges from \$1,500 to \$1,700. When these two levels are applied to the wage data in the sample, the following results appear: 17.1 per cent of the families have incomes below the subsistence level; 31.4 per cent have incomes ranging in the limits of the subsistence level; 18.2 per cent have incomes in the health and decency level; and 33.3 per cent of the families have incomes above the health and decency level.

TABLE VI
DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME OF WISCONSIN BOY DELINQUENT
GROUP AND THE AVERAGE FOR ALL FAMILIES IN THE
UNITED STATES FOR 1924 BY INCOME GROUPS

INCOME GROUP	FAMILIES OF WISCONSIN BOY DELINQUENTS		UNITED STATES,* ALL FAMILIES	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total.....	105	100.0	12,096	100.0
Under \$900.....	18	17.1	332	2.7
\$900-\$1,200.....	15	14.3	2,423	20.0
\$1,200-\$1,500.....	18	17.1	3,959	32.7
\$1,500-\$1,800.....	19	18.2	2,730	22.6
\$1,800-\$2,100.....	9	8.5	1,594	13.2
\$2,100-\$2,500.....	17	16.2	705	5.9
\$2,500 and over.....	9	8.6	353	2.9

* U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Cost of Living in the United States* (1924), Table I, "Sources and Amounts of Family Incomes in One Year by Income Groups," p. 4.

Table VI is a comparison of the families of Wisconsin boy delinquents and all families in the United States on yearly income. According to the figures, 48.5 per cent of the families in the selected group from Wisconsin are living on incomes below the health and decency level of Douglas; whereas for the United States as a whole, there are 55.4 per cent living on such incomes. Approximately 7 per cent more of the families in the United States than the Wisconsin group are living below this level. However, this difference may be more apparent than real, because the distribution of income for families in the United States is unduly weighted, especially at the lower levels, by the comparatively low incomes of families in the southern states. The economic status of families of Wisconsin boy delinquents may even be slightly inferior to that of all families in

³ Douglas, *et al.*, *The Worker in Modern Economic Society*, pp. 283 ff.

the nation as a whole. Evidence for this view is indicated by the fact that 17.1 per cent of the families of boy delinquents in Wisconsin and only 2.7 per cent of all families in the United States have incomes under \$900 per annum.

THE MOTHER WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME

Table VII presents the facts relative to the employment of mothers. Of the mothers, 23.2 per cent are working outside the home either whole or part time; 17.5 per cent helped in the family support; and 5.7 per cent are the only support. These facts are an index of low economic status.

TABLE VII

DISTRIBUTION OF BOY DELINQUENTS, WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, ACCORDING TO WHETHER THE MOTHER WORKED OUTSIDE THE HOME OR NOT

Mother working outside the home	Number	Percentage
Total.....	492	100.0
Mother <i>not</i> working outside the home.....	323	65.7
Mother working outside the home.....	114	23.2
Helped in support.....	86	17.5
Only support.....	28	5.7
Mother dead, insane, or unknown.....	55	11.1

In 11.1 per cent of the cases the mother was either dead, insane, or unknown, making a total of approximately one-third of the mothers absent from the home, thus depriving the plastic child of the maternal care and guidance necessary in the formation of socially acceptable behavior patterns.

Table VIII is a comparison with Lumpkin on the amount and kind of work in which mothers are engaged. Of the mothers of delinquent boys, 23.2 per cent, and of the mothers of delinquent girls, 29.3 per cent work outside the home. A glance at the table reveals that a large percentage of the jobs performed by mothers of both boy and girl delinquents belong to the unskilled occupations, thus indicating inferior economic status.

WORK CONTACTS OF THE DELINQUENT BOY

Table IX shows that 51.5 per cent were employed and 48.5 per cent never employed before commitment. This table also shows the

distribution of those employed between the occupations of trade and transportation, manufacturing, agriculture, and casual labor.

TABLE VIII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS OF MOTHERS OF 114 BOY DELINQUENTS AND 74 GIRL DELINQUENTS, WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, WHERE MOTHERS WORKED OUTSIDE THE HOME AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE FAMILY SUPPORT EITHER IN WHOLE OR IN PART

KIND OF WORK	BOY DELINQUENTS			GIRL DELINQUENTS*		
	Total Support	Helped in Support	Only Support	Total Support	Helped in Support	Only Support
Total.....	23.2	17.5	5.7	29.3	28.1	1.2
Worked out (undesig- nated work).....	1.0	0.8	0.2	3.2	2.4	0.8
Scrubbing-cleaning....	5.1	4.7	0.4	11.8	11.8	...
Hotel-restaurant.....	3.9	3.5	0.4	5.1	5.1	...
Housework.....	2.5	...	2.5	1.2	1.2	...
Laundry.....	0.4	0.2	0.2	1.2	1.2	...
Clerk in store or office..	1.8	1.6	0.2	0.8	0.8	...
Factory.....	3.7	2.9	0.8	2.8	2.8	...
Seamstress.....	0.6	0.6	...	0.4	0.4	...
Takes in washings....	2.8	2.2	0.6	1.6	1.6	...
Dressmaking at home..	0.2	0.2	...	0.4	0.4	...
Rooming and boarding- house.....	1.0	0.6	0.4	0.8	0.4	0.4
Nurse.....	0.2	0.2	...	....	....	...

* Lumpkin, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

TABLE IX

DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENT BOYS, WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL,
ACCORDING TO AGE AND TYPE OF WORK

AGE	TYPE OF WORK						
	Total	Never Employed	Employed				
			Total Employed	Trade and Transportation	Manufacturing	Agriculture	Casual
Total.....	492	239	253	70	45	108	30
7.....	3	3	...	...	...	...	...
8.....	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
9.....	13	12	1	1	...	...	...
10.....	19	15	4	1	...	3	...
11.....	30	27	3	2	...	1	...
12.....	35	24	11	2	1	4	4
13.....	59	37	22	10	1	9	2
14.....	87	42	45	14	4	22	5
15.....	127	49	78	15	12	37	14
16.....	97	25	72	16	23	30	3
17.....	21	4	17	9	4	2	2

Table X is a comparison of the boy delinquent group and the male population of Wisconsin, ages ten to seventeen, as to the total percentages employed and the percentage distribution for each industry. From this table it appears that about the same percentages are engaged in agriculture in both cases. The general population shows 16 per cent more engaged in manufacturing than the delinquent group, but the boy delinquents register 19 per cent more engaged in trade and transportation than the general population. On

TABLE X

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENT BOYS, WISCONSIN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL,
AND MALE POPULATION OF WISCONSIN, AGES TEN TO SEVENTEEN,
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AGE AND TYPE OF WORK*

TYPE OF WORK	TOTAL EMPLOYED†		AGE									
			10-13		14		15		16		17	
	D‡	W§	D	W	D	W	D	W	D	W	D	W
Total.....	100.0	100.0	15.3	4.2	18.0	8.0	28.8	17.0	31.1	30.0	6.8	40.8
Agriculture.....	48.6	51.1	7.6	2.2	9.9	4.1	16.6	9.2	13.5	16.0	0.9	19.5
Manufacturing.....	20.3	36.7	0.9	0.2	1.8	2.5	5.4	6.1	10.4	11.1	1.8	16.8
Trade and transportation.....	31.1	12.2	6.8	1.8	6.3	1.4	6.8	1.7	7.2	2.9	4.1	4.5

* *Fourteenth United States Census (1920), "Occupations,"* IV, 593-95.

† Two hundred and twenty-two boy delinquents and 33,321 general population.

‡ Wisconsin boy delinquents, data taken from Table IX.

§ Male population of Wisconsin, ages ten to seventeen.

the whole, the boy delinquents are engaged in lighter occupations than the general population.

In all the age groups, except age seventeen, there are larger percentages of boys employed in the delinquent group than in the general population, which means that the boys in this study are employed at a younger age than the same age groups of non-delinquents in the state as a whole. The general population registers a larger percentage of boys employed at seventeen years old because approximately 92 per cent of the boy delinquents are committed at age fifteen or younger. The excessive employment shown in the boy delinquent group at a very young age may be one of the causative factors contributing to their delinquency.

SUMMARY

The facts seem to indicate that the boy delinquents in this study are recruited mainly from the lower economic classes. It will be recalled that 67 per cent of the occupations of the parents of the delinquent boy group are below the skilled occupations, which is approximately 15 per cent more than the general population.

There is a correlation of $+.153$ with a P.E. of $\pm .033$ between the intelligence of children and the occupational status of parents, indicating a very slight tendency for the lower I.Q.'s to be associated with the less skilled groups.

In comparison on family income it appears that 7 per cent more of the families in the United States are living below the health and decency level according to Douglas than the families of boy delinquents. As pointed out before, this should not be interpreted to mean that the families of boy delinquents in Wisconsin are necessarily receiving more income, because the distribution of income for families in the United States is unduly weighted by the low incomes of families in the southern states.

Of the boy delinquents, 51.5 per cent are gainfully employed outside the home before commitment, and approximately 25 per cent of the mothers are so employed. The foregoing facts present a picture of the total economic situation of the homes of delinquent

THE VALUE OF SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE TRAINING OF THE DEFECTIVE CHILD

FLORENCE N. BEAMAN
Montefiore Special School, Chicago

ABSTRACT

On the whole, special education has been successfully meeting the academic, vocational, and physical needs of the mentally defective child. The greatest problem, that of training for personality or for effective social participation, has been ignored. An experiment in socializing the defective child was conducted in the public schools of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. The essential methods and materials used include: introducing new material containing socializing influences; providing appropriate group activities; using only such academic materials as bear upon the real needs of the children; careful check of academic progress by means of standardized tests. In the adjustment of the personality and of the emotional life of the pupils which resulted, came increased facility in academic skills and increased mental activity. A similar experiment being conducted in the Montefiore Special School in Chicago is in too early a stage to draw conclusions but so far is evidencing much the same results.

During the last twenty-five years education has emphasized the development of the individual. The emphasis placed upon individual differences revealed through standardized tests called attention specifically to the great range of mental abilities found within the room of the average public school. One of the most outstanding experiments in the realm of mental differences has been the attempt to deal with those mentalities at the low end of the normal curve, or with those children of so-called

There are many definitions of the mental defective child. For purposes of clarity it may be well to take the defective child as he is found in the public schools. We are necessarily concerned here with the mental defects. The defective child in the

achievements with all the attending evils of personality difficulties formed in the years of failure.

The psychologist is then called upon to help solve the case. In the administration of intelligence tests it is discovered that the pupil has a mental age far below his chronological age—so far below that he falls within the range of the definitely feeble-minded scale devised by experts in the mental field. The disposition of the child who is so far below the average pupil of his age in school attainments is then left to the special classroom where pupils whose I.Q.'s are between 50 and 75 are segregated for instruction.

It was a great step, this segregation of the underprivileged child for more careful study, and it is fairly accurate when it is said that the last twenty-five years of experimentation has revealed those facts and deficiencies which are now to be remedied in present-day methods of instruction in the special classes. The prevalent practice, in educational technique, in special classes is to employ the established elementary-grade-school curriculum with such deletion of material as involves reasoning ability and complicated judgment. In other words, the children of the special classes are being given smaller "doses" of the same curriculum material as the normal child, with more time spent upon drill and each unit of work. Now, appalled at the ever increasing problem of the mentally defective child in society, other methods of instruction should be sought since, whether we will or no, the defective child in the special classes must take his place in the social unit or we are faced with the problem of providing institutions for an increased proportion of our population.

In order to determine more adequately the type of training which the special-class child needs, objectives for special education must be stated. In the main they are:

1. To realize physical well-being for each child.
2. To further each child's academic ability to his mental capacity.
3. To train vocationally in such specific skills as may be needed in later life.
4. To secure social consciousness or the ability to live with people in a happy and in an acceptable way.

The next step in determining the training for the defective child is the analyzing of his life-activities so that we may know upon what material to draw. Studying the needs of the child in the four fields, we find very meager needs in the first three fields.

His physical needs are:

1. An increased ability in the sensory fields so that he will respond rapidly and accurately to visual, tactile, and auditory stimuli.
2. The ability to safeguard his life from the hazards of civilization, traffic, and disease.
3. The knowledge which will help him to so organize his home life that it will contribute to hygienic living.
4. The knowledge that will enable him to seek those institutions and factors which will remedy disease and accident once he has come in contact with them.

In the academic, or the mental field, the needs are correspondingly few. The special-class child needs:

1. The ability to read the simple material which falls within his everyday experience: street signs, grocery advertisements, etc.
2. The ability to perform the simple arithmetical operations necessary to make change.
3. The ability to perform such simple governmental duties as may influence his immediate life.

His vocational needs are:

1. The ability to use simple tools easily.
2. The ability to follow directions easily and accurately.

Most of the classes designed for defective children have taught the foregoing skills and knowledge well. Much irrelevant material has been introduced in the attempt to gain the ends but, on the whole, the process of special education in the academic, vocational, and physical fields has been far from a failure. The great stumbling block has been the ^{lack of} training for personality or the training for effective social participation on the part of the underprivileged child.

As long as texts and precedent could dictate the paths of endeavor, special education has succeeded rather well, but once measure the results from a social standard and the work has been far from successful. The reason for the failure to provide adequate social education has been threefold:

1. The lack of understanding of the processes through which an individual passes in order to become a part of the group.
2. The supposition on the part of the teacher that social training is essentially a part of the subject matter in the present-day curriculum.
3. The defective child is an isolated individual during much of his life.

Few people take the trouble or find it necessary to examine others for deficiency in the three R's, yet everyone comments upon the

lack of self-control, upon the emotional unbalance, and upon the personal unhappiness of individuals in the everyday walks of life. In the application of this fact to the defective child, we find that the moron usually finds a job suited to his own abilities, makes a living upon his own scale, and provides his own wants. He has little need for the complicated academic curriculum advanced by most schools, but he does have a need for the social training which will fit him to adjust in his own sphere. Thus, the greatest problem in the education of the underprivileged child is the problem of personality integration and emotional balance achieved through the stabilizing influence of group participation.

Consider for a few moments the personality traits of the mentally defective child. Retarded in his early development, from the time he is an infant in his mother's arms and his mother pathetically explains that "he's different" until he enters school and finds that he cannot solve the mysteries of skipping quite so rapidly as his playmates, his life is a life apart. Just a few months of doing duties after others and he is labeled, not only in the minds of the other children as a "dumb-bell," but also in his own mind. He withdraws more and more from active social participation. By the time this child is ten years old, he has in his personality make-up those traits which we find undesirable both from an individual and from a social standpoint. Those asocial traits that are most often observed in special-class children are:

1. Feeling of inferiority
2. Extreme fears and suspicions
3. Instinctive fighting responses
4. Oversuggestibility in attitude
5. Portrayal of nervous mannerisms (giggling, etc.)
6. Oversensitivity
7. Extreme introversion
8. Destructiveness
9. Inertia
10. Stubbornness and temper tantrums

These traits are productive of unhappiness for the individual and for the community. The traits must be controlled or changed to desirable traits through a correct program of socializing activities in order that the pupil will find a satisfactory rôle in life.

An experiment in socializing the defective child who exhibited

these asocial traits was carried on in the public schools of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, between the years of 1923 and 1928. A brief survey of the methods and the history of the class may serve to show the methods and the materials employed.

1. The traditional program was abandoned in favor of material which was thought to contain socializing influences.
2. The time schedule was abandoned in favor of group activities to be supplied at the time and the moment the child needed them.
3. Academic material was not introduced which did not bear upon the real needs of the children. It was not introduced until the child asked for it in the sixth month of the experiment.
4. Careful check of academic progress was kept by standardized tests administered at the beginning and the end of each year.

The experiment started with a group of twelve mentally defective children, ranging in chronological age from twelve to fourteen years and in mental age from six to ten years. They were distinctly asocial in attitude as is evidenced by their attitude the first day when they stormed into the schoolroom, shouting, "It's a jail; try to keep me here." They were suspicious of any overtures of friendship. They met them with "My ma's going to take me out of this dummy-room." No attempt was made to restrain them within the room. They were allowed to move about and to explore, to talk and to manipulate objects. After a few hours they suggested of their own accord that "maybe this teacher wasn't so good; that she had better make them set down and do some 'rithmetic."

Here was the teacher's chance to set them on the path toward group activity. She suggested that the room looked very bare and that perhaps the tables and chairs, which were very old, could be painted to be made into a more attractive clubroom for themselves. A few quarts of paint for tables, a few yards of bright curtaining for the windows, and the room was essentially their own clubroom; in fact, they abandoned the old shack at the edge of town in favor of the school. Often one of the boys would touch a curtain and say, "Pretty, hey?" The first step had been achieved: a set toward working together and the acceptance of the teacher as a member of the gang. In the hours of sandpapering and painting together she had accepted suggestions as well as they. They had also acquired a measure of self-respect in making something which they termed good.

The next step was to place in operation those avenues of social activity which have been instrumental in the development of the social heritage of the race. If these children had resisted and floundered in the sophisticated life of the community, might it not be well to apply and place within their experience a background of the social activities experienced in the beginnings of social growth? It was a dangerous proceeding, this introduction of elemental social activities found in story, game, song, and dance. But the joy of the first few folk games—even such simple ones as “Jenny Jones,” “Thorn Rosa,” and “Looby Loo”—erased any doubt in the mind of the instructor. These pupils belonged in a circle doing things together. A period of four or five months went rapidly through the most elementary activities and by this time they had reached the stage of more highly organized activities.

These activities, the instructor introduced on the playground within the hearing of the other boys. Before long the boys of the special class were being sought to “be on our team.” A year and one-half of activities based upon the simple social experiences found in folk games, stories, songs, dramatics, and then it was noted that in their social bearings the boys were adolescents—no longer interested in children’s play. They wanted to paint scenery for plays, to make articles for home use in manual training, in short, to be manly.

It was then decided to move them to an adequate social atmosphere, that of the junior high school, keeping them for academic work under the supervision of the one teacher. Here they flourished socially; joined clubs, even served as president in a few of them; furnished programs for assembly; organized their own parties; and in no way seemed unadjusted to the junior high school social program.

Thus far the socialization had been achieved. They were happy, co-operating individuals in a school and neighborhood community. With these results had come another which has led to a second experiment in special education. In the adjustment of the personality and the emotional life of the subnormal pupils there had come an attending value—that of increased facility in academic skills and that of increased mental activity. Under yearly examination by standardized achievement tests many were working so far above their mental level as to warrant their placement in slow-speed groups

of junior high school classes. With careful instruction they achieved the results noted in standardized tests.

With the foregoing experiment and the results as a background, in the fall of the year of 1929 a similar experiment was started in the Montefiore Special School of Chicago in the hope of gaining more light upon the problem:

"Does the development of the complete personality of the mentally defective child by means of correct group activities increase the mental activity of the child as well as producing a more adaptable citizen?"

The experiment is much too new to warrant any conclusions as to its results. The following points may be noted in connection with the work thus far:

1. That the pupils are exhibiting much the same tendencies in mental and emotional make-up.
2. That the same activities are demanded and accepted in much the same order.
3. That the freedom given results in much the same stages in securing social poise.
4. That corresponding increase in mental activity has been noted in the one year.

The only tangible results besides observation of the social responses of the boys are those which are given in the psychologists' report. The boys were given the following standardized tests at entrance and eight months later. The results are as follows: (Woody-McCall Arithmetic; Chicago Spelling; Stanford Achievement Forms A & B).

Case	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Pro. M.A.	8-9	7-9	7-10	8-8	8-4	7-7	10-8	9-9	8-10
R.A. Oct.	8-9	7-5	6-0	6-9	6-0	6-0	7-10	8-10	7-2
R.A. Apr.	9-4	8-4	6-3	8-9	6-3	6-9	9-2	9-11	8-9
S.A. Oct.	7-9	6-9	6-0	6-9	6-0	6-0	7-3	8-9	7-0
S.A. Apr.	8-3	8-0	6-0	7-6	6-9	6-9	7-9	8-9	7-9
Arith. A.	8-8	8-8	6-6	9-0	6-0	6-0	8-9	8-5	6-0
Arith. B.	8-0	7-4	7-6	9-7	7-6	7-6	8-1	8-6	6-0

There will still be cases which will not adjust socially; there will still be much stumbling in the methods of dealing with defective children, but since the paths of social education may yield much, it is worth while experimenting in these fields.

THE PSEUDO FAMILY¹

LOWELL S. SELLING

Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago

ABSTRACT

Group family relationships among girls in correctional institutions seem to grow up as a natural substitute for the family group which the institutional mechanism cannot supply. These relationships constitute a complete family outline. They rest on a natural psychological and physiological basis. In addition to the more permanent, stable families, which are woven through all the cottages, are secondary families in single cottages which exist for only short periods. When considered in light of other types of relationships among girls—individual homosexuality (Lesbianism and pseudohomosexuality) and friendship—the pseudo-family relationship is seen to be a non-pathological example of relationship between the two sexes.

That institutional life is abnormal is universally conceded, and, in an attempt to evade this condition, most modern institutions are organized into familial groups. This basic concept of having families in institutions, particularly in corrective institutions for girls, rests in the fact that primary groups have always shown themselves to be needed, and statistical studies have revealed that problem individuals occur less frequently in non-disorganized families. It is expected, therefore, that, in an institution for delinquent girls wherein the organization was built up by having so-called house mothers in charge of cottages, this would be sufficient to supply family life. Administrators of this type of school generally are able to persuade visitors that by living together in small groups with a more or less elderly lady in charge, who is called "Mother" the essential need for family life is satisfied.

Individual homosexuality.—In studying the problem of homosexuality in an institution of this kind, an interesting type of phraseology and relationship in the group was elicited. A problem which has been very annoying to the administration of this school has been that of intimacies growing up between two girls, one of whom is frequently colored and the other white. Because of the fact that these girls have for years addressed each other as "honey" when meeting or talking over the telephone, the relationship is known as

¹ Studies from the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Paul L. Schroeder, M.D., director, Series C, No. 177.

"honies." The usual behavior of the girl consists in putting her arm around her "honey," occasional kissing, and some fondling. Investigation of some two hundred girls who had "honies" failed to reveal that white girls desired any physical contact with the colored girls, but obscene notes were passed, and girls sent each other messages and presents. That the relationship was more largely a social one than an emotional one was shown by two facts:

1. When a white girl and a colored girl constituting "honies" were given permission to be together, the white girl was shocked and apparently disgusted and insisted quite vehemently that she did not desire any such contact or opportunity.

2. A study of the background showed that in many cases girls desired not to have a "honey" while in the institution, but they were ridiculed by others in their cottages and were forced to take up the semblance of a relationship of this kind, which consisted merely in sending a love message by word of mouth.

The "honies," however, when studied revealed that there was an active and a passive member in each group, although the active member in one affair, should there be a change of personnel, might become the passive member in the next. These "honies" refer to each other as "my man" and "my woman," "my wife" and "my husband." Most of these relationships, where they are not forced by convention, particularly where actual bodily contact was desired, could be looked upon as pseudohomosexuality, according to Hirshfeld's terminology.

Group family relationship.—Another series of relationships which were found were those of a complete family outline, independent of the so-called cottage mother. Here, a girl had a mother who was another inmate and this mother might have a mother of her own who would be called "grannie" by the first girl to complete the picture. Mother and daughter relationships, numerous family ramifications, could be uncovered.

It was found (1) a girl might be a mother to one girl, (2) a daughter to another, (3) a sister to a third, (4) an aunt to a fourth, as in any normal family, but, in addition, might be father to fifth, because she was "honey" of the fifth girl's mother. The terminology used for these relationships were affectionate names used for rela-

tives in the outside world rather than the sober ones which the institutional system had imposed upon the inmates, such as "Mother," and these terms were—for mother, "Mumsy"; for grandmother, "Grannie"; and for father, "Popsy."

These relationships were studied completely in one family and were checked sufficiently in several others to indicate a marked similarity. It was observed through these families that those members having dominant positions such as mother and grandmother were physical and psychological types obviously suitable for such positions. The sister relationship was not as deeply rooted and the term for this was usually just "sister." Masculine types were called "Uncle Dudley" and "Uncle Louie" (her name was Louise), but no amount of investigation could elicit the fact that either of these was the dominant individual in homosexual contact or that they were intrinsically connected with the actual family relationship; that the terms rather more expressed their masculinity was indicated by their carriage, short hair-cut, deep voices, and large frames. In one case, only, was there an active masculine type in the family relationship, and when this girl was admitted to the institution she was wearing boys' clothes and had been doing so for a considerable period of time. She admitted that she had been uncomfortable when first committed to the institution because she didn't like the sensation of wearing a skirt and also admitted the decidedly masculine sadistic reaction of liking to make the other girls cry. She was large, strong, had a striding gait, and when first admitted had a very short hair-cut. She apparently is very dictatorial and a leader in many things; in dancing and acting she assumes the masculine rôle. This is the girl "Popsy" in the accompanying diagram (Fig. 1).

The rôle which the girls play in these families is recognized all over the campus, several girls being called "Mumsy" and "Grannie" by almost all of the girls, although some of these girls may not consider themselves in the immediate family.

Secondary families.—In addition to these families, which are interwoven throughout all of the cottages and are comparatively stable, are secondary rather evanescent families which arise to supply a more immediate need. These families, occurring in a single cottage, may exist for a week or several months, depending upon the con-

geniality of the individual members, the aptness of the rôles that the members are taking, and the time that the more important members stay in that cottage. In some cases, these temporary families become permanent, and, even after girls are transferred out of these cottages, they will still refer to the other girls as their "Mum-sy," reserving for the family relationship which they adopt in the

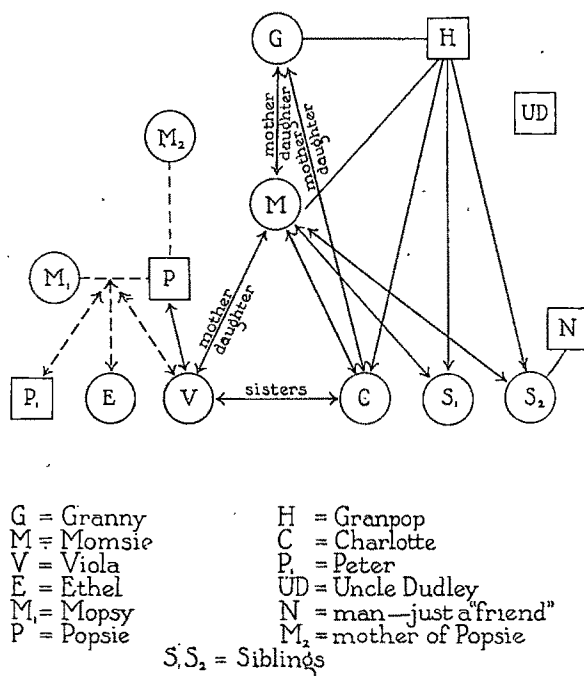


FIG. 1

new cottage joking pet names such as "Mopsy," "Dadsy," "Cotton-tail," etc. The origins of these families have not been deliberate. Individuals have not gone about gathering up others to form a family. Instead, girls living together have suddenly found themselves in this mother-daughter relationship and, gradually, as the psychological characteristics of the individual have made themselves known, the family has increased in size to the usual extent of a grandmother, mother, and from two to five daughters.

Study of a single family.—To study the family relationship of a single girl, the accompanying diagram will be revealing. This girl,

whom we shall know as "Viola" can be seen to be a member of two complete families; the one with the dotted lines exists in her own cottage entirely. This is the unstable combination which at the time of the investigation was only three weeks old and had been named, fantastically enough, after the Peter Rabbit story, and the persons in it were called, "Mopsy," "Popsy," "Flopsy," "Cottontail" (Viola), and "Peter." It might be asked what the relationship of "Peter" was to this group, whether there was any homosexual relationship. The girl's name was Peterson and she had been called "Peter" even by matrons. She is a very small girl, very young, and physically and ideationally may be considered asexual. "Popsy" is the girl above referred to, who is also called "Uncle Louie." However, it was found that, several months before, the girl "Uncle Louie" had a "Mumsy" in a stable family relationship and this pseudo mother considered this girl as a daughter and not as a son. The girl who is the base of this study, "Viola," has two mothers, a sister, and brother in one family, and one sister in another. The sister in the Rabbit family is rather a nonentity and represents no more than does Viola in the picture. The "Mopsy" is the most motherly person in the cottage, but scarcely stands out for her motherliness. None of these girls have "honies" and "Mopsy" and "Popsy" are not "honies."

The mother.—A study of the stable family in which this girl takes part gives some idea as to the basis of the relationship. The girl's mother, "Mumsy," is a large, Teutonic, full-bosomed, silent individual, who represents the mother type almost as much as the southern Mammy. In all of her mannerisms she is matronly, even though she is only a year or two older than her "daughter." At one time she was ill in the hospital and immediately sent for her daughter to come up to talk to her. When they are unobserved, they kiss, but, as they say, "it's like you would kiss your own mother and not the way you would kiss a man." When "Viola" and "Charlotte," the sisters in the stable family, get in trouble or do not hear from home or are worried for some other reason, they will tell their troubles to their mother or grandmother and will be comforted, and "Mumsy" states that there are many girls on the campus who like to come to her with their troubles, thus recognizing her inherent maternal

makeup. "Mumsy" has no "honey" and when asked why not, she answered, "They don't interest me, they are too much trouble," which indicates, possibly, that she is sublimating her sexual feelings into her daughter rather than into a fantasy husband. She calls the girl "Grannie," "Mumsy."

The grandmother.—This latter girl is less of the maternal type than her so-called daughter, but is probably five years older than the others, is very alert, and admits that she enjoys straightening out other girls' difficulties for them. The girl, Charlotte, is considered a daughter of "Grannie" but not a sister of "Mumsy" because "Mumsy" also considered her her daughter, showing another double relationship. This girl lives in the same cottage as the grandmother but not the mother, which probably accounts for this special attitude, while she is intimately tied up with the family system which exists through three cottages. "Grannie" has a "honey" but this probably is a social protection and not a representation of an inherent homosexual makeup, inasmuch as she has been on parole twice and each time has gotten into sex delinquency with men necessitating her return to the institution. Her "honey" is called "Grandpop" when speaking about her, although "Mumsy" and "Viola" do not know this girl (colored) by sight. About four months previous to this study, there was a fifth member of this family who was known as "Mumsy's sister," but she betrayed one of the other girls in the family when carrying a note to her colored "honey," thus bringing down upon her the wrath of the group and being as thoroughly cast out as if she had a real family which disapproved of her acts. However, as a rule, the structure of the family seems to exist continuously until one or another essential member is discharged from the institution, when it may or may not re-form, leaving out that person. Sometimes these girls are as much grieved by the leaving of such a one as though they were really blood relations, and, whenever possible, members of the same family tend to console one another at such times of bereavement.

There are two other relationships between girls on this campus. There are about ten girls out of five hundred who definitely find each other in an overt homosexual existence. They are usually shrewd enough to conceal this relationship from the authorities, but

almost all of the girls are aware of the Lesbianism which is going on between them. These girls are considered pariahs and very much looked down upon by others and even when two of them get together for their relationship, they are not classed as "honies" and certainly do not exist on the family plane.

A fourth relationship is what might be called a natural one, so that if girls become fond of one another without reference to the social situation in the school, mutually reacting one upon the other and apparently having no psychological makeup such as would make one the "mother" of the other, they call each other "friend," and this does not seem to be any different from friendship existing without the institution.

Conclusion.—In conclusion, it may be pointed out that this family relationship apparently represents:

1. A natural substitute for the family group which no institutional mechanism is able to give.
2. It rests on a natural psychological and physiological basis.
3. If homosexuality can be considered in four stages—(a) Lesbianism, (b) pseudo-homosexuality, (c) mother and daughter relationship, (d) friendship—it can be seen that the pseudo-family relationship is a non-pathological example of relationship between the two sexes.

QUALITATIVE SELECTION IN CITYWARD MIGRATION

WILSON GEE AND DEWEES RUNK
University of Virginia

ABSTRACT

Study of rural-city migration in a sample in Albemarle County, Virginia, representing three social classes—upper, middle, and lower—shows that the upper group sustained decidedly the largest proportionate loss to the cities, the middle group the next heaviest, and the lower group the least. The educational training of the possible migrants among the upper group is strikingly higher than that of the middle and lower groups, which also show a marked difference in this respect. Similarly, those from the upper group, and to a less extent in the middle group, enter mainly the business, professional, and clerical occupations, while the migrants from the lower groups concentrate in occupations calling for unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled labor. The attitudes of parents in the three groups with regard to their sons' following farming, in considerable measure, parallel the direction of preponderant migration in the particular group.

No phenomena connected with rural life have received more attention than those involved in the persistent migration of people from the country to the cities. The problem was discussed by Greek and Roman writers many centuries ago, and so extensive has been the recent literature concerning the matter that, in the popular mind, the population movement cityward has often been considered synonymous with the entire agricultural problem. Yet, as is so often true of basic concerns in human society, with all of the comment that has been made, the fundamental character of the set of phenomena concerned is very inadequately illumined.

The gross expression of this migratory movement has been rather accurately determined. Its selective nature as to sex proportions and age groups is fairly well understood. But it is not known clearly what kind of people are leaving the country most largely and what is to be the resulting effect upon the present and future structure of rural society.

More than a decade ago, Ross¹ discussed "folk depletion as a cause of rural decline" in certain parts of New England and the Middle West. His general conclusion is in line with the opinion he

¹ E. A. Ross, "Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline," *Publications American Sociological Society*, Vol. XI (March, 1917).

met at every turn, to the effect that the communities were not up to their former standard. The seriousness of the loss of leadership involved in the depletion is indicated by the statement:

My own observation is that frequently the loss of even the best tenth will cut down by 50 per cent the effective support the community gives to higher interests. The continual departure of young people who would in time have become leaders results eventually in a visible moral decline in the community.

The view of Ross is the prevailing one and has been considered by almost every interpreter of rural life as one of our most serious problems. Much of the discussion has been in the nature of opinion based upon more or less casual observation. However, with the further development of the rural sociological field in recent years, an increasing amount of objective evidence is being accumulated as a basis of determining scientifically the validity of the existing views, pro and con.

In his excellent study of the movement of farm population in New York State, Young says:

Seventy-seven per cent of the men who had attended college, 35 per cent of the men who had attended high school, and 27 per cent of the men who had attended elementary school, had gone into occupations other than farming.²

Lively and Beck, in an extensive investigation of the same problem in Ohio, say:

A half more of those children who had started for themselves with a year or more of high school training than those with no high school training left the farm for other occupations. Children who went into farming had on the average less formal education than those who worked as unskilled laborers. It was found, however, that 75 per cent of those who had gone into occupations other than farming were laborers, 60 per cent being engaged in unskilled labor.³

Gee and Corson, analyzing rural depopulation in tidewater Virginia, conclude:

So far as educational training is a measure of superior ability, ambition and character, rather uniformly the results indicate a selective migration distinctly

² E. C. Young, "The Movement of Farm Population," *Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bull. No. 426*, p. 35.

³ C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, *Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio* (Progress Report, "Ohio State University, Rural Sociology Mimeographs," No. 3 [January, 1928]), pp. 35-36.

in favor of the city. This is true in the higher percentage among the migrants who have reached the college and business training school levels of education. It is also the case among those attaining the seventh grade, but not with those of the high school level. Also, in the lower grades, the percentage is greater among the non-migrants than with the migrants.⁴

Among the general conclusions concerning selectivity of migration as reached by Sorokin and Zimmerman the following is of much importance and interest:

There is no valid evidence that migration to the cities is selective in the sense that the cities attract in a much greater proportion those from the country who are better physically, vitally, mentally, morally or socially, and leave in the country those who are poorer in all these respects.⁵

For them, on the whole, the city selection is chance selection. They view the process in the light that,

the probability of picking up the innately talented persons of the rural parts by the city are almost as great as the respective probability of picking up the dull or mediocre persons from the rural population (relative to their prevalence in the population).⁶

This contention is qualified by the statement that "in some particular localities such may happen."⁷

There is a conflict with the fundamental position of chance selection in the generalization of Zimmerman to the effect that

The cities attract the extremes and the farms attract the mean strata in society. The meaning of these conclusions is that the average types of persons tend to stay in agriculture, whereas, on the whole, the extremely competent and the extremely incompetent tend to go more to the cities.⁸

Such a process can scarcely be called chance selection.

A more recent article by Zimmerman and Smith⁹ seeks to test the hypothesis of chance selection in migration from agricultural regions

⁴ Wilson Gee and J. J. Corson, *Rural Depopulation in Certain Tidewater and Piedmont Areas of Virginia* ("Monographs of University of Virginia Institute for Research in the Social Sciences," No. 3 [Century Co., 1929]), p. 102.

⁵ P. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*. Henry Holt and Co., p. 582.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 582.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 583.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 574.

⁹ C. C. Zimmerman and Lynn Smith, "Migration to Towns and Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI (July, 1930), 41-51.

to cities for Minnesota. These writers find that farm families hold to their children longer than urban families, and that those children who remain in the country receive less formal education than those who do migrate. The contention is made that the extent of formal education may not be used as a valid measure of the quality of population in testing this type of selectivity. The article reports that there is no evidence of a net selectivity unfavorable to agriculture.

The issues concerned are among the most vital in American life today, and any additional light thrown on them is eminently worth while. There are ways rather accurately to measure whether "folk depletion" is occurring in our rural sections. And the situation must be determined in a considerable number of widely differing areas within the same state and throughout the nation. The considerable contrasts between the situation in the area of Virginia described in this paper and the results of the similar study in Minnesota point to the necessity for much wider study before broad generalizations can safely be made.

THE SAMPLE AND APPROACH

In the rural South, class distinctions are tacitly recognized perhaps more than almost anywhere else in the United States. Consequently, through an approach to carefully determined members of the upper group who have lived for a long time in their respective communities, it is possible to select rather accurately a sample (random in this instance and distributed over practically an entire county), consisting in part of fairly well defined "upper," "middle," and "lower" groups. Such a classification is by no means merely an economic one, but also takes cognizance of cultural backgrounds, often for a number of generations. The method is confessedly an arbitrary one, such matters not lending themselves readily to statistical measurement, but there would be abundant testimony to the reasonable accuracy of this procedure by one who understands the culture patterns with which this study deals.

Historic old Albemarle, a Piedmont Virginia county, furnished the materials for the present investigation. The city of Charlottesville is located in it, the population of the county and city separately numbering in the 1930 census 26,925 and 15,154 inhabitants, re-

spectively. During the past decade the city grew about 42 per cent, and the county 3.5 per cent. It will be noted that the area is still predominantly rural.

All of the data were secured as a result of careful field investigation. The sample consisted of 120 families comprised of 30 in the upper group, 60 in the middle group, and 30 in the lower group. Only white families were considered, as desirable as it would be to have a cross section of the similar social processes taking place among the Negroes. However, it would be much more difficult, if not altogether impossible, to arrive at such a classification among the Negro population.

It is believed that the sample is sufficient in size to represent what is taking place among these groups in the area considered. If the writers had been able to find the time and resources to canvass intensively a large enough area of the entire population to determine the proportions of upper, middle, and lower in its normal composition, a more desirable distribution of the sample as to groups, and a greater completeness would have been the result. Such an undertaking represents one of much magnitude, and, in the absence of such guiding information, equal weight was given to the upper and lower groups, and twice that emphasis was accorded the middle group.

Older families were selected in which all of the children as nearly as practicable had completed their education. In round numbers, there were four children per family in the upper group, five in the middle group, and an average of six per family in the lower group.

The upper group are 100 per cent owner-operators. Ten per cent of the middle group are tenants, while 40 per cent of the lower group work other people's land.

THE AMOUNT AND DIRECTION OF THE MIGRATION

If we consider as "possible migrants" all those of fifteen years of age and above who have either finished their education by graduation from public school or college, whichever the case may be, or those who have left school without completing an entire formal course, there are, in the upper group, 104 possible migrants; in the middle group, 237; and in the lower group, 132. Table I gives in detail the sex composition of the possible migrants, and the distribu-

tion of this total among "migrants" and "non-migrants." In this study a "migrant" is considered as one who has left his or her parental home and is seeking to gain a living removed from that place of earlier abode. A "non-migrant" is one living at the parents' home and dependent upon it, or helping to make a living for his or her father's family.

TABLE I
CLASSIFICATION OF SAMPLE ACCORDING TO POSSIBLE MIGRANTS,
NON-MIGRANTS, AND MIGRANTS

GROUP	POSSIBLE MIGRANTS			NON-MIGRANTS				MIGRANTS			
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	No.	Total Per Cent	Male	Female	No.	Total Per Cent
Upper.....	53	51	104	23	22	45	43.27	30	29	59	56.73
Middle.....	138	99	237	68	41	109	45.99	70	58	128	54.01
Lower.....	69	63	132	24	17	41	31.06	45	46	91	68.94
Total....	260	213	473	115	80	195	41.23	145	133	278	58.77

The data are also given in percentage figures, for the sake of brevity omitting the sex classification. From these figures it will be observed that 278, or approximately 59 per cent, of a total of 473 possible migrants have left their parental homes and started on their own responsibilities. The highest percentage of this form of mobility is discovered in the lower group, where approximately 69

TABLE II
THE DESTINATION OF MIGRANTS

Group	Total to Country	Total to Urban Centers	Total Number of Migrants	Per Cent to Country	Per Cent to Urban Centers
Upper.....	11	48	59	18.64	81.36
Middle.....	31	97	128	24.22	75.78
Lower.....	41	50	91	45.05	54.95
Total.....	83	195	278	29.86	70.14

per cent have migrated. The next highest is the upper group with around 57 per cent, and the least in the middle group where 54 per cent have left their original home. Clearly, the greatest mobility is in the lower group.

If the destination of the migrant as between settling on a farm other than his parents' or moving to town or city is considered, some rather striking figures are the result. About 81 per cent of the total migration from the upper group is to the urban center. Approximately 76 per cent of that in the middle group is similarly directed. The

least tendency of this sort, about 55 per cent, is exhibited in the lower group. Many reasons may be advanced for this heaviest migration cityward from the upper group, some of which will be mentioned in succeeding sections of this article.

TABLE III
SEX DISTRIBUTION OF THE MIGRATION

GROUP	TOTAL POSSIBLE MIGRANTS		To COUNTRY		To URBAN CENTERS	
	Male No.	Female No.	Male No. Per Cent	Female No. Per Cent	Male No. Per Cent	Female No. Per Cent
Upper.....	53	51	5 9.4	6 11.8	25 47.1	23 49.0
Middle.....	138	99	19 13.8	12 12.1	51 37.0	46 46.5
Lower.....	69	63	24 34.7	17 27.0	21 30.4	29 46.0
Total.....	260	213	48 18.5	35 16.4	97 37.3	98 46.0

It is interesting to note the sex characteristics of this migratory movement. Table III indicates that in the upper group a somewhat higher proportion of the possible female migrants than of the males tend to migrate both to other farms and cityward. In both the middle and the lower groups, markedly so in the latter, a larger proportion of the males than of the females migrate to farms other than their parents'. The cityward movement proportionally is much higher among the females than among the males in the middle group, and especially is this the case in the lower group.

TABLE IV
PROPORTIONS OF TOTAL POSSIBLE MIGRANTS
WHICH MOVE CITYWARD

Group	Total Possible Migrants	Total Migrants to Urban Centers	Per Cent to Urban Centers
Upper.....	104	48	46.1
Middle.....	237	97	40.9
Lower.....	132	50	37.9
Total.....	473	195	41.2

A further refinement of the data under consideration shows that the proportion of the total possible migrants which have moved cityward is 46.1 per cent in the upper group; 40.9 per cent in the middle group; and 37.9 per cent in the lower group. On this basis, which represents the summation of the total losses to the cities from the three groups, the heaviest inroad is made upon the upper group, the difference relatively of 8.2 per cent between the upper and lower

groups constituting one of sufficient magnitude to have significance in this connection. Certainly, the results do not indicate a preponderantly drawing influence of the cities for the extremes and of the country for the mean in the population composition. The data cannot well be taken to support the argument that the selective influence from all of the groups is about equal, and hence is of a chance nature. The accuracy of small samples is sometimes quite great, and if such is the case in this instance, the results indicate that the cities draw most heavily proportionally from the upper group, next most heavily from the middle group, and least from the lower group in the area of Virginia represented by the sample under consideration.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF THE GROUPS

The upper group represents strikingly higher levels of educational training than characterizes either of the other two groups. In this highest group, approximately 55, or 53 per cent, have attained to the grade of college training, either partial or complete, as contrasted with 46, or 19.4 per cent, of the middle group, and only 1 or 0.7 per cent for the lower group. The middle group registers the highest proportionate figure, 113, or approximately 48 per cent, with only a high-school training, followed by the upper group with 43, or around 41 per cent, and the lower group with 24, or about 18 per cent of the possible migrants equipped with a partial or complete course in the high school. One hundred and seven, or approximately 81 per cent of the lower group, did not proceed beyond the grammar-school grades. The corresponding figure for the middle group was 78, or around 33 per cent, and for the upper group 6, or about 6 per cent. Thus there is clearly indicated a striking relationship between the educational attainments and the levels of the three groups. The cultural attainments of the upper group are conserved from generation to generation. Parents who attain to college and high-school levels covet for their children equal or better educational advantages than they themselves received and strenuously exert themselves to see that opportunities for such equipment are provided.

Some interesting facts are revealed in a careful study of Table V, dealing with the education of the migrants in relation to the

direction of the population movement. Among such findings is that in the upper group, the preponderant movement in each educational level is to the towns (less than 2,500 population) and cities combined as contrasted with the migration to farms other than the parental ones. A somewhat similar situation exists for the middle group. In the lower group, the larger proportion of those with only a grammar-school training remain in the country.

TABLE V
EDUCATION OF MIGRANTS IN RELATION TO DIRECTION OF MOVEMENT
(On Percentage Basis)

Group	Grade Attained	To Country	To Towns	To Cities	Total
<i>Upper:</i>	Grammar School	33.33	33.33	33.33	5.08
	High School	34.78	17.39	47.83	38.98
	College	3.03	6.06	90.91	55.94
	<i>Total</i>	16.95	11.86	71.19	100.00
<i>Middle:</i>	Grammar School	39.47	23.68	36.84	29.69
	High School	18.75	20.31	60.94	50.00
	College	15.38	42.31	42.31	20.31
	<i>Total</i>	24.22	25.78	50.00	100.00
<i>Lower:</i>	Grammar School	51.95	18.18	29.87	84.62
	High School	7.69	30.77	61.54	14.29
	College	0.00	0.00	100.00	1.09
	<i>Total</i>	45.05	19.78	35.17	100.00

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES ENTERED

The accompanying Table VI indicates the occupational destination of the migrants. In the upper group, the preponderant emphasis, about 80 per cent of the total migrants, is upon the business, professional, public service, and clerical classes of occupation among the males; that is, these migrants enter the higher-grade occupational levels. Among the females in this group, 79 per cent have married and about 21 per cent are in clerical or professional occupations.

Approximately 50 per cent of the male migrants in the middle group enter these same occupations, while 39 per cent go into the ranks of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor. The remaining 11 per cent went into farming. Approximately 78 per cent of the females in the middle group had married, the remaining 22 per cent entering only the clerical employ, business, and professional occupational classes.

In striking contrast to the preceding groups, only about 7 per cent of the males in the lower group enter the higher occupational classes, while 62 per cent are to be found in the unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled classes of labor. It is in this group that the highest proportion of any of the three groups continue farming as an occupation. A somewhat smaller proportion of the females in this group are married. Among the women, about 9 per cent have found their way into the clerical and professional classes, 11 per cent into unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled labor, and 9 per cent into domestic service occupations.

TABLE VI
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES ENTERED BY MIGRANTS
(On Percentage Basis)

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	UPPER GROUP		MIDDLE GROUP		LOWER GROUP	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Farm work.....	20.00	.....	11.43	.....	31.11	.....
Unskilled labor....	0.00	0.00	7.14	0.00	42.22	6.52
Public service.....	10.00	0.00	7.14	0.00	2.22	0.00
Skilled and semi-skilled.....	0.00	0.00	31.43	0.00	20.00	4.35
Clerical employ....	6.67	13.79	11.43	5.17	2.22	6.52
Business class.....	36.67	0.00	11.43	3.45	0.00	0.00
Professional.....	26.66	6.90	20.00	13.79	2.22	2.17
Domestic service...	.....	0.00	.....	0.00	.....	8.70
Married.....	.....	79.31	.....	77.59	.....	71.74
Total.....	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

OPERATORS' ATTITUDE TOWARD SONS' WORK

Almost everyone will admit the potency of psychological attitudes in any phase of human behavior. Also, anyone who has attempted work in the field of measuring such attitudes will readily agree that it is one of the most difficult and uncertain of approaches.

It is of interest here to determine, as far as possible, just what were the operators' attitudes toward their sons' future work and location of residence. The question was asked the head of each family visited, "Do you want your son to become a farmer?" In ten cases, there were no sons in the family; consequently, the figures for each group do not equal the total number of schedules for that group.

For those answering "no" to the foregoing question, the reason most frequently given was to the effect that "there is no money in farming today and my sons can make a better living at some other

occupation." Of those who answered in the affirmative, the reason usually offered was that "a farm life is an independent one, and my sons know farming better than anything else."

As regards those who wished their sons to become farmers, in the aggregate for all groups, approximately 47 per cent answered "yes," and 53 per cent "no." The upper group showed the lowest proportion (35 per cent) with "yes" as an answer, and the lowest group gave the highest percentage (57 per cent) of affirmatives. The reverse is found for those answering in the negative. Here we find approximately 65 per cent in the upper group answering "no" and only 43 per cent in the lower group. In the middle group, the differences in reply are more nearly evenly balanced. In approximately 52 per cent of the cases for that group the answer was "no" as against 48 per cent with "yes" as a reply.

Whether this attitude of father toward son is a partial cause of the migration or an attempt at a happy reconciliation over what has occurred, it is next to impossible to say. However, whether cause or effect, or partly both, the psychological attitudes by groups of the fathers toward their sons correlates rather well with the proportionate destination of these to the farm or cityward.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study do not indicate a chance selection in the cityward migration in Albemarle County, Virginia. Nor do they support the position that the cities attract the extremes in the population and the country the mean. The sample was chosen upon the basis of three classes, and the upper group sustained decidedly the largest proportionate loss to the cities. The next heaviest loss was from the middle group, and the least from the lower class. These findings support the long-prevailing attitude on the part of many students of the matter to the effect that the cities tend to attract from the rural areas in largest proportions the best of their population.

The educational training of the possible migrants among the upper group is strikingly higher than that of the middle and lower groups. A marked difference occurs between the middle and lower groups in this respect. The differences in educational levels are suf-

ficiently great to indicate a considerable measure of correlation between the grade of educational equipment and the class level in the social order. Also, these same variations are strongly reflected in the occupational levels of the migrants, those from the upper group, and to a less extent in the middle group, entering mainly the business, professional, and clerical occupations; while the migrants from the lower groups concentrate in the occupations calling for unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled labor. Whether cause, effect, or partly both, the attitudes of parents in the upper, middle, and lower groups with regard to their sons' following farming in considerable measure parallel the direction of preponderant migration in the particular group.

ARE RURAL SERVICES OBSOLESCEMENT?

VICTOR A. RAPPORT

Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station
Storrs, Connecticut

ABSTRACT

Survey of the folkways and mobility of the rural population in six Connecticut towns substantiates the theory that the importance of the rural town in provision of services is decreasing and that rural residents are drawing more and more heavily on the facilities of available urban districts.

Rural sociology steadily feels the influence of the urban center in two significant ways. The first of these is the pull exercised by the city in drawing men and women from the farms. The second is no less important; it is the effects of more or less frequent visits of the rural residents to a more populous region for shopping, professional, or entertainment services.

These two influences apply with particular force in Connecticut, owing to the small size of the state, its density of population, the proximity of urban centers to rural districts, and a far-reaching system of hard roads. It is in the latter of the two—the visit of the farmer to an urban center—that these conditions operate most strongly, and with which this article will be concerned.

The material which follows is drawn from a survey of the folkways and the mobility of the rural population in six Connecticut towns, made by the Department of Rural Sociology of the Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station. Inquiry was made as to where the co-operators and their families went to obtain medical, dental, banking, and legal service, to purchase working clothes, "better" clothes, and groceries, and to attend elementary school, high school, motion pictures, and parties and dances.

Preliminary to surveying the frequency of farmers going to urban centers, it would be pertinent to indicate the number of farm families operating motor cars. This information is given in Table I. With more than three-quarters of the families owning some form of motor vehicle, and with a well-ramified steam, electric, and motor

TABLE I
PER CENT OF FAMILIES IN SEPARATE TOWNS OWNING PLEASURE CAR, AUTOMOBILE TRUCK, OR BOTH

	CHESHIRE		KILLINGWORTH		ORANGE		ELLINGTON AND EAST WINDSOR		GOSHEN		ALL TOWNS	
	P.C.	A.T. Both	P.C.	A.T. Both	P.C.	A.T. Both	P.C.	A.T. Both	P.C.	A.T. Both	P.C.	A.T. Both
Commuters:												
Farmers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Part-time Farmers	8	2	11	0	6	3	7	1	7	1	8	1
Non-Farmers	16	1	3	0	21	0	10	0	6	0	12	1
Sub-Total	24	3	14	0	27	3	17	1	13	1	20	2
Non-Commuters:												
Farmers	7	5	16	2	13	3	23	2	19	0	14	3
Part-time Farmers	2	1	14	0	4	0	10	1	9	2	7	1
Non-Farmers	2	0	1	0	8	0	9	1	4	1	4	0
Sub-Total	11	6	31	2	25	3	42	4	32	3	25	4
Retired	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Grand Total	35	9	47	2	54	6	59	5	46	4	46	6
	75		75		81		82		79		76	

bus transportation system, it is evident that the rural resident easily finds means of reaching the urban centers to satisfy his wants.

How many of the families, then, leave their town for any of the eleven services named? It was found that 94 per cent of the families left for the most frequent service, and only 1 per cent for the least frequent. With the exception of attending parties and dances, high school, and elementary school, in all but one case more than half of the families left town to procure the desired service. In all towns combined, only eight families did not leave town for any of the eleven services; each family went outside of its town for an average of 6.14 services. The data relative to the percentage of the families in each town who leave town for these services, and the number of services for which they leave, are presented below in Tables II and III.

Was it necessary for these rural families to leave town in order to procure the desired services, or what had their own town to offer? Some of the towns have apparently adequate means of providing for the wants of their inhabitants, while others lack in several or many of the services. Table IV shows the facilities which the several towns possess.

Cheshire has one graded school which prepares for high school; its high-school students go by trolley to several nearby towns. Orange employs bus facilities to carry children to its graded school and to approved high schools in neighboring towns. Killingworth has only district schools. Goshen has four graded schools; it transports high-school students by bus to a neighboring town. Ellington has nine school districts up to the eighth grade and provides transportation for high-school students to a contiguous town. East Windsor has five graded schools; its advanced students attend high schools in two nearby towns.

It appears, however, that the residents do not consider sufficient the resources of their towns. In the counts which follow, a service which is obtained by the same family in two or more towns has been counted as many times as the number of towns to which co-operators went for it. That is, if family X in Cheshire goes to Meriden, New Haven, and Waterbury to purchase "better" clothing, three counts are recorded for "better" clothing purchased outside of town.

This was done to derive the full number of contacts which the rural resident has with an urban center. The few cases in which this occurs do not materially increase the total counts.

TABLE II
PER CENT OF FAMILIES LEAVING TOWN FOR VARIOUS SERVICES*

	Goshen	Killingworth	Orange	Cheshire	Ellington and East Windsor	Weighted Average per Cent
Medical service.....	72	89	107	23	76	66
Dental service.....	87	84	102	83	100	90
Banking service.....	77	76	99	77	85	82
Legal service.....	63	58	62	61	57	60
Buy work clothes.....	87	70	102	89	101	89
Buy better clothes.....	89	75	98	102	103	94
Attend movies.....	73	52	87	75	81	73
Parties and dances.....	4	9	5	6	12	7
Attend elementary school..	0	0	1	2	0	1
Attend high school.....	12	2	18	15	13	12
Buy groceries.....	84	71	107	54	65	73

* Explanation of items over 100 per cent will be found at bottom of page 268.

TABLE III
NUMBER OF FAMILIES LEAVING TOWN FOR NUMBER OF SERVICES

No. of Services	Cheshire	Total Services	Killingworth	Total Services	Orange	Total Services	Goshen	Total Services	Ellington and East Windsor	Total Services	All Towns	Total Services
0.....	3	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	8	0
1.....	2	2	3	3	0	0	2	2	1	1	8	8
2.....	6	12	6	12	0	0	0	0	1	2	13	26
3.....	15	45	13	39	1	3	4	12	3	9	36	108
4.....	25	100	12	48	1	4	3	12	6	24	47	188
5.....	38	190	21	105	7	35	9	45	10	50	85	425
6.....	50	300	18	108	14	84	8	48	16	96	106	636
7.....	38	266	22	154	30	210	19	133	27	189	136	952
8.....	21	168	21	168	45	360	29	232	23	184	139	1112
9.....	6	54	2	18	12	108	3	27	7	63	30	270
10.....	0	0	2	20	1	10	2	20	1	10	6	60
Inc.....	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0
Total.....	204	1137	122	675	112	814	82	531	96	628	616	3785
Ave.....		5.57		5.53		7.33		6.48		6.61		6.14

The purchase of "better" clothing was the service for which the greatest number of rural families left town. In all towns combined, 581 of the 616 co-operators went to another town for this purpose. Dental service was second, with a count of 551. The other services, with the number of families leaving town for them, were: purchase of working clothes, 548; banking service, 504; attendance of motion pictures, 449; purchase of groceries, 447; medical service, 405; legal

service, 370; attendance of high school, 75; attendance of parties and dances, 44; and attendance of elementary school, 5.

The ranking above by means of total services obtained out of town was one of the methods employed in deriving the rank of the most common service for which the rural families travel to another center. Another method was to range the services by the same method but by the separate towns. The services were then ranked according to the number of families within the towns which went elsewhere for the services. The median and the arithmetic averages of these ranks were taken. Still another method of ranking was by means of the per cent of co-operators in separate towns who left town for the eleven services. The results of these rankings were then compared,

TABLE IV
SERVICES IN SEPARATE TOWNS

TOWNS	NUMBER OF DOCTORS	NUMBER OF DENTISTS	BANKS	LAWYERS	NUMBER OF Working Clothes	"Better" Clothes	SELLING Groceries	MOTION PICTURE THEATERS
Cheshire.....	3	1	1	1	0	2	4	0
Orange.....	1	3	0	6	0	0	2	0
Killingworth...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Goshen.....	0	0	0	1	3	0	3	0
Ellington.....	1	1	0	1	1	1	5	0
East Windsor...	2	0	1	0	1	1	8	1

and a final rank for each of the services was assigned. The results are presented in Table V.

Where do the rural residents go to obtain the desired services? Some journey to a relatively distant city, others to nearby cities or villages. As has been indicated earlier, Connecticut's small size makes its urban centers easily accessible to the rural dweller. The state is practically rectangular, approximately 90 miles from east to west and 50 miles from north to south; its total land area is slightly less than 5,000 square miles. It has eleven cities of over 25,000 population (1930 census), and fourteen cities or boroughs of between 5,000 and 25,000 population. These are scattered over the state; no rural district is at a great distance from one or more of them. The 204 co-operators who live in Cheshire draw on thirteen cities and towns for the 1,197 services for which they leave town. These places range in distance from contiguous towns to large cities nearly 100 miles away. The 111 co-operators of Orange go to nine

cities or towns for their 875 services procured out of town; the farthest city is approximately 65 miles distant. The 122 co-operators of Killingworth seek a total of 719 services in twelve outside cities and towns, the farthest of which is about 100 miles away. Eighty-two co-operators in Goshen go to a total of only six cities and towns for the 531 services for which they leave town. The most distant city is approximately 125 miles from Goshen. In Ellington and East Windsor, 95 co-operators draw on twelve cities and towns for the 658 services sought outside their towns; the farthest city is over 50 miles away. Several of the cities to which the residents of

TABLE V
SERVICES RANKED BY VARIOUS METHODS

	Median of Ranks	Arithmetic Average of Ranks	Rank for Total Services	Rank of the Average Per Cent of Families Leaving for Services	Final Rank
Medical service.....	6½	5	7	7	7
Dental service.....	3	2	2	2	2
Banking service.....	4	4	4	4	4
Legal service.....	8	8	8	8	8
Buy work clothes.....	2	3	3	3	3
Buy better clothes.....	1	1	1	1	1
Attend movies.....	6½	7	5	6	6
Parties and dances.....	10	10	10	10	10
Attend elementary school...	11	11	11	11	11
Attend high school.....	9	9	9	9	9
Buy groceries.....	5	6	6	5	5

the six Connecticut towns travel for services are located outside the state in the adjoining states of New York and Massachusetts.

It is obvious that the co-operator would not make as many trips during the year for legal service, for example, as for the purchase of groceries. This would assume significance in an attempt to measure the urban contacts which the rural resident receives. It was found impossible to get from the co-operators even an approximation of the number of trips annually for the separate services, and thus no measure of their total contact with urban centers could be made. The fact that the modal number of services for which the family left town was 8, and the average slightly over 6, indicates that however few trips might be made for each separate service, there is little question but that the average rural family frequently journeys to the city. The family would also perceive some aspects of urban cul-

ture through such other means as summer boarders, tourists, neighboring summer residents, or golf clubs, motion pictures, and so forth.

The preceding data raise the question of whether the present resources of the rural district are adequate to satisfy the wants of its residents. Through the urban contacts suggested above, the rural dweller would doubtless be introduced to some things which the limited facilities of his home town could not supply. Where transportation and good roads are at hand, he will avail himself of them to go to a near urban center. It is possible that with this new attitude toward going to a city for wider selection or, perhaps, for better quality, the rural resident will soon develop a desire to go to a still larger, though more distant, city. Consideration must also be given to the growing tendency toward concentration of the schools of several rural towns with automobile bus transportation for the pupils. This would remove one of the last and strongest services which the rural district is virtually alone in providing.

That the importance of the rural town in provision of services is decreasing and that rural residents are drawing more and more heavily on the facilities of available urban districts have been stated often. This inquiry presents factual substantiation for generalizations such as those above, and serves as a measurement of the prevalence of the tendencies. A need exists for accurate data similar to the preceding from which inductions may be drawn rather than pointing to the existence of tendencies along with the valueless statement that they are present in "great" or "small" degree.

FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS, 1855-1931

The death of Franklin Henry Giddings occurred at his home in Scarsdale, New York, on Thursday, June 11, 1931.

Professor Giddings was the third president of the American Sociological Society, serving for the two years 1910-12.

Professor Giddings was born in Sherman, Connecticut, March 23, 1855. He was a graduate of Union College in 1877, receiving his Master's degree in 1899 and an honorary Ph.D. degree in 1897, from the same institution. In 1929 he received an LL.D. degree from Columbia University.

His early career, from 1877 to 1883, was devoted to journalism. From 1888 to 1894 he was professor at Bryn Mawr College, and from 1891 to the time of his death served on the faculty of Columbia University, first as lecturer in sociology, later as professor of sociology, and then as professor of sociology and history of civilization. At the time of his retirement he was made professor emeritus in residence, a new academic title, with an increase instead of a decrease in his salary.

He was a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, serving as vice-president and as editor of the *Annals* 1890-94. From 1891 to 1893 he was editor of the publications of the American Economics Association, and from 1896 to 1897 the vice-president of this organization. In 1913 he was president of the Institut International de Sociologie. He was also a fellow of the American Statistical Association, a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, a trustee of Union College, and a member of the Board of Education of New York City from 1915 to 1917.

NEWS AND NOTES

To the Editor of the American Journal of Sociology

SIR: The present decade has been characterized by increasing emphasis upon the need for co-operation for cross-fertilization, in the social sciences. The ethnological field worker is in peculiar need of such assistance. His is an equipment for active work; he has had a lengthy preliminary training in the technique of field work, of handling native languages, native categories of thought or of kinship, of establishing a fruitful rapport with primitive peoples. He often goes to regions which will possibly be studied but once, and attempts to make as thorough and as rounded a study as possible. But because his work demands that most of his time be spent in the field, he has not the time to keep in touch with new developments in every branch of the social sciences, still less to orient his work to preliminary and unpublished researches. Meanwhile, there is no type of social study in which the research worker must not, from time to time, feel the need of a control, of check material, of testing his hypothesis by comparative studies. The field ethnologist is trained to record these control cases, if his attention is directed to the particular point which some other investigator wishes illuminated.

In the absence of any formalized set of leads to research, in which the problems in need of comparative study would be listed in detail, I wish to ask for specific suggestions which could be utilized in my forthcoming two years' field work in New Guinea, where I shall be dealing with two untouched Melanesian groups. Although it is impossible to promise in advance that any point will lend itself to ready investigation in a given primitive society, I can assure those investigators who are good enough to formulate those aspects of their own problems which need comparative verification, of giving them careful attention whenever possible.

Problems which can be investigated most satisfactorily in ethnological work are those of the effect of the social environment upon the individual. These vary from the formation of motor habits to the development of a social conscience, from simple problems like sleep habits, excretory habits, results of early or late weaning or the treatment of left-handedness, to the organization of the family and the effect which varying stylizations of the parental rôles have upon the development of the children. In in-

numerable cases, the ethnologist finds ready-made control conditions which the social investigator could not construct under any circumstances. It would seem desirable that these should be utilized as fully as possible.

In framing research queries, the following limitations should be borne in mind. Statistical researches are impossible, and only those problems can be investigated in which social homogeneity and small numbers of cases can be accepted in lieu of social heterogeneity and large numbers of cases; exact ages, exact family histories, precise conditions of birth, cannot be had; problems involving the establishment of comparative norms are impossible because of the small number of cases.

Ethnological field work should be the servant of dynamic and suggestive theory, the laboratory in which new hypotheses, framed within the confines of our own society, may be put to the test. Will not those who wish to give their theories a wider and firmer basis than that given by one set of social conditions, provide myself and other ethnological field workers with research leads which will increase the general usefulness of our work?

MARGARET MEAD

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF
NATURAL HISTORY

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the July issue and up to July 15 are as follows:

Allard, Lucile E., 7 W. 65th St., New York
Allee, R. H., R.F.D. No. 1, Ithaca, N.Y.
Cohen, Cynthia, 100 S. Hamlin Ave., Chicago
Collins, Judge Cornelius F., 32 Franklin St., New York
Congdon, Wray Hollowell, 4001 University High School, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Fariss, Charles D., 6848 W. 32d St., Berwyn, Ill.
Janousek, Dr. Bohumil, Prague II.-375, Czechoslovakia
Keen, Harold Rittenhouse, Dublin Road, Greenwich, Conn.
Loeb, Dorothy Sydney, 243 Beach 74th St., Arverne, Long Island, N.Y.
Luebke, B. H., Room 22, Hitchcock Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago
McLean, George Alonzo, 5466 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago
Mallison, Dallas, 201 Cox Ave., Raleigh, N.C.
Marsh, May Case, 65 University Place, New York
Merriam, Leslie J., 240 Washington Building, Madison, Wis.
Mills, W. H., Clemson College, S.C.
Mozorosky, Edith, 71 W. 47th St., New York

Prosser, Don D., Stage Coach Tavern, Coshocton, Ohio
Rogers, Ethel, 244 W. Rittenhouse St., Germantown, Pa.
Sachse, Earl G., 2353 N. 44th St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Shephard, Lillie, Uptown Y.W.C.A., 74 W. 124th St., New York
Simpson, Olivena L., 7021 Elmhurst Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Smith, Catherine L., 211 Rock Way, Wauwatosa, Wis.
Stephan, Walter, Bunker, Mo.
Titterington, Adria, 5525 Kimbark Ave., Chicago
Yoder, Fred R., State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.
Young, Charles H., 5538 Ellis Ave., Chicago

American Association for the Advancement of Science.—The eighty-eighth meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was held in Pasadena and Los Angeles, California, on June 15 to 20, 1931. The Pacific Coast Committee of the Social Science Research Council held its sessions, in conjunction with Sections K and L (Social and Economic Sciences), on June 17 and 18. Round-table conferences were held on such subjects as the following: quantitative methods in the social sciences; geographic factors in Pacific Coast history; relation of the natural and social sciences; Filipino immigration; the relief of unemployment by public expenditures; the problem of special assessments; the conservation of historical material on the Pacific Coast; the progress of the old-age pensions movement in the United States; the co-operative movement in California agriculture; zoning and the spot-zoning problem.

Chicago Academy of Criminology.—The Chicago Academy of Criminology was organized on May 14, with Professor Edwin H. Sutherland, department of sociology, University of Chicago, President, and Professor Arthur J. Todd, department of sociology, Northwestern University, Vice President. The sciences of neurology, psychiatry, psychology, sociology, pathology, toxicology were represented at the first meeting, as well as the law, crime detection, and prison administration. It is the hope of its founders to make the academy the authoritative body in the Middle West on the subject of criminological science. According to an announcement issued by the group, it will begin a unified study and treatment of the crime problem in the Chicago area. It will concern itself with the causes and scientific diagnosis, prevention, and management of delinquency, crime, and mal-behavior.

Conference on the Teaching of the Social Sciences.—On April 3 and 4 a conference on the teaching of undergraduate courses in the social sciences was held at Northwestern University. One hundred and twenty-seven

instructors in economics, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, sociology, and anthropology were in attendance, representing fifty-three colleges in the Middle West.

There were two general sessions, the first devoted to a consideration of Freshmen courses in the social sciences, with papers by Dean Aleida J. Pieters of Milwaukee-Downer College and Professor Raymond C. Miller of the College of the City of Detroit; the second dealing with the relation between teaching and research in the undergraduate college, with papers by Professor Mandell M. Bober of Lawrence College, Professor Sterling T. Williams of Lake Forest College, and Dr. Laura F. Ulrich of Northwestern University.

On the afternoon of April 3, the conference met in five round tables. In the section on sociology and anthropology, the topic for discussion was "For Purposes of College Instruction—What Is Sociology?" Papers were presented by Professor A. H. Woodworth (Hanover College), Professor Carl Strow (Knox College), Professor L. E. Garwood (Coe College), Professor W. B. Bodenhafer (Washington University), Professor E. B. Harper (Kalamazoo College); Professor Louis A. Boettiger (Lawrence College).

The members of the conference were the guests of Northwestern University at a dinner on April 3, at which Dr. Robert L. Kelly, executive secretary of the Association of American Colleges, spoke on "The Place of the Social Sciences in a Liberal Education."

The committee in charge of arrangements consisted of the following members of the faculty of Northwestern University: A. R. Ellingwood, chairman, I. J. Cox, Franklin Fearing, E. H. Hahne, E. L. Schaub, A. J. Todd.

Eastern Sociological Conference.—The second annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Conference was held at New Haven, Connecticut, April 25 to 26, with 165 persons in attendance. The following is the program of the meeting:

First session—General Subject, "The Nature and Scope of Sociology"

Papers by: Professor Theodore Abel, Columbia University; Professor Maurice R. Davie, Yale University; Professor Pitirim Sorokin, Harvard University

Second session—Annual Dinner; Chairman, Professor H. P. Fairchild

Presidential Address, Professor F. H. Hankins

"Occupational Balance," Professor T. N. Carver

"The Measurement of Civilization," Professor Ellsworth Huntington

Third session—Mr. R. S. Lynd, Chairman

- "Investigation of Social Backgrounds," Dr. Mildred Parten
 "Some Aspects of Social-Legal Research," Dr. Dorothy Thomas
 "The Family and Personality Adjustments," Mr. Lawrence Frank
 "Sociological Aspects of the Investigation of Pioneer Areas," Professor C. A. Dawson.

The following were elected as officers of the Eastern Sociological Society: President, H. P. Fairchild, New York University; Members of the Executive Committee, Professor R. M. MacIver, Columbia University, for a term of three years; Professor M. C. Elmer, University of Pittsburgh; Professor P. A. Sorokin, Harvard University; Professor H. A. Phelps, Brown University.

New York City was selected as the place for next year's meeting.

International Institute of Sociology.—The twenty-five addresses at the Congress of the International Institute of Sociology, held at Geneva, October, 1930, on the general theme "The Sociology of War and Peace," will be published as Volume XVI of the *Annals of the International Institute of Sociology*. For subscription to this volume, address M. Giard, Editor, 16 rue Soufflot, Paris, Ve.

The next Congress of the Institute will be held at Geneva in 1933 and will have for its general theme: (a) the sociological survey; (b) the human habitat. Correspondence regarding this meeting should be addressed to the permanent secretary of the Institute, 6 Cours de Rive, Geneva.

Russell Sage Foundation.—John M. Glenn, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation since its inception twenty-four years ago, has resigned that post, but will continue to serve as one of the trustees of the Foundation. Shelby M. Harrison, director of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Foundation since 1912 and vice-general director in recent years, will succeed Mr. Glenn as general director. Mr. Glenn's resignation and Mr. Harrison's appointment become effective on September 1.

After September 1, Mr. Glenn will undertake preparation of a history of the first twenty-five years of the Russell Sage Foundation. The Foundation was established in 1907 by the widow of Russell Sage, who put at the Foundation's disposal, as a memorial to her husband, a fund of \$15,000,000 with the sole provision that the income of this fund be used to improve social and living conditions in the United States.

The activities of the Foundation, under Mr. Glenn's direction, have been carried on along two general lines—the making of grants of money to support work by other organizations with kindred aims, and maintain-

ing of a permanent staff, engaged in the study of current social and community problems, which in these times of rapid change and increasing complexity of community life require new information and knowledge to be understood and dealt with.

The total amount appropriated by the Foundation to work under other agencies is in the neighborhood of four million dollars. One of the first of these grants was to the series of investigations into living conditions in the great industrial district of Pittsburgh, known as the Pittsburgh Survey. In addition upward of \$1,000,000 has been put into the work of the New York Regional Plan Committee.

Through its own staff and under the close supervision of Mr. Glenn, the Foundation has carried on research over an extremely wide range of subjects, including, for example, child marriages, unemployment, employees' representation in coal mines and steel works, work accidents and the law, and social diagnosis. The Foundation has accumulated the most complete social work library in the country, containing 30,000 volumes and 100,000 pamphlets.

The direct work through the Foundation's staff has included activities aimed to improve industrial and labor conditions; in behalf of the progress of school children through the grades; more adequate provision for all forms of wholesome recreation; improved methods of dealing with dependent, neglected, delinquent, and defective children; raising standards of family welfare work and to better co-ordinate all social service; to protect, through a campaign of education, small borrowers from extortion; to raise the standards of statistical practice in social work; and to develop effective methods of spreading information of social value. The Foundation also developed Forest Hills Gardens, Long Island.

Social Science Research Council, Research Fellowships in the Social Sciences: 1930-31.—

The seventh annual awards of Research Fellowships were announced in February, 1931. Twenty-four new Fellows were appointed for 1931-32, and two extensions of 1930-31 fellowships were made. The total amount involved in these awards approximated \$75,000. Since the inception of the fellowship program in 1925, a total of 139 persons have been awarded Research Fellowships, with stipends aggregating over \$435,000.

As in previous years, the major objective of these fellowships continues to be the development of more adequately trained research investigators rather than the immediate execution of specific pieces of research. The basic stipend attached to these fellowships for a period of twelve

months is \$1,800 for a single, and \$2,500 for a married, Fellow, with adjustments upward in case there are dependents. Supplementary allowances are granted to cover travel and incidental expenses as needed.

The Research Fellowships are open to both men and women of American or Canadian nationality provided (1) they are not over thirty-five years of age, and (2) they are the holders of the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent in terms of other types of training and experience. In rare instances, the formal requirements stated above may be waived.

The closing date for making application for 1932-33 is December 1, 1931, the awards to be announced not later than March 1, 1932. Further information and application blanks may be had by addressing the Fellowship Secretary, Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City.

The following were appointed to Research Fellowships for the year 1931-32:

Blumer, Herbert (Ph.D., Chicago), instructor in sociology, University of Chicago. Subject of study: "The History of Fashion in France as an Index to the Changes in Social Customs." Study in France.

Childs, Harwood Lawrence (Ph.D., Chicago), professor of political science, Bucknell University. Subject of study: "The Influence of Industrial and Labor Organizations on German Government and Politics." Study in Germany.

Clark, Marjorie Ruth (Ph.D., California), associate professor of economics, University of Nebraska. Subject of study: "Organized Labor in Mexico." Study in Mexico.

Dollard, John (candidate for the Ph.D., Chicago). Subject of study: "Contemporary European Theory and Research Relating to 'Culture' and 'Personality.'" Study in France and Germany.

Dougall, Herbert Edward (Ph.D., Northwestern), assistant professor of economics, Northwestern University. Subject of study: "The Post-War Relations between French Railways and the French Government." Study in France.

Downes, Randolph Chandler (Ph.D., Ohio State), instructor in history, University of Pittsburgh. Subject of study: "The Political Origins of New American Communities from 1787 to 1860." Study in the United States.

Foster, Robert Geib (Ph.D., Cornell), regional agent for eastern states, United States Department of Agriculture. Subject of study: "Training in the Methodology and Technique of Studying Family Relationships." Study in the United States.

Gluck, Elsie (Ph.D., Wisconsin), assistant editor, *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Subject of study: "Labor and co-operative Movements in Palestine." Study in Palestine.

- Grant, J. A. Clifford (Ph.D., Stanford), assistant professor of political science, University of California at Los Angeles. Subject of study: "The Bearing of the American Federal System upon Constitutional Guarantees Relative to Self-incrimination, Illegal Searches and Seizures, and Double Jeopardy." Study in the United States.
- Hartshorne, Richard (Ph.D., Chicago), assistant professor of geography, University of Minnesota. Subject of study: "A Geographic Study of the Upper Silesian Boundary." Study in Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.
- Huges, Everett Cherrington (Ph.D., Chicago), assistant professor of sociology, McGill University. Subject of study: "The Catholic and 'Christian' Trade-Unions, Co-operatives and Political Parties of Germany in Their Relations to Secular or 'Neutral' Organizations Serving the Same Ends." Study in Germany.
- Kellogg, Winthrop Niles (Ph.D., Columbia), associate professor of psychology, Indiana University. Subject of study: "The Influence of Human Environmental Factors upon the Behavior of the Anthropoid Ape." Study in the United States.
- Leong, Yau Sing (candidate for the Ph.D., Columbia), research fellow, Brookings Institution. Subject of study: "A Statistical Analysis of the Items in the Equation of Exchange for the United States." Study in the United States.
- Myers, Margaret G. (candidate for the Ph.D., Columbia), research associate, Council for Research in the Social Sciences, Columbia University. Subject of study: "The Paris Money Market, with Special Reference to Its Position and Development as an International Money Market." Study in France.
- Parten, Mildred B. (Ph.D., Minnesota), research assistant, Yale Institute of Human Relations. Subject of study: "Research Problems Involved in Social Survey Procedures." Study in England.
- Patterson, John H. (Ph.D., Cornell), instructor in economics, Washington Square College, New York University. Subject of study: "Recent English Monetary Theories." Study in England.
- Perry, Charner M. (Ph.D., Chicago), adjunct professor of philosophy, University of Texas. Subject of Study: "Fundamental Concepts in the Social Sciences." Study in the United States and England.
- Ploscowe, Morris (LL.B., Harvard), research assistant, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. Subject of study: "A Comparative Study of European and American Preliminary Procedural Processes in Criminal Prosecutions." Study in France and Germany.
- Rudin, Harry R. (candidate for the Ph.D., Yale), Instructor in History, Yale University. Subject of study: "German Imperial Policy in the Kamerun." Study in Germany and Kamerun, Africa.
- Russell, James Thomas (candidate for the Ph.D., Chicago), fellow in psychology, University of Chicago. Subject of study: "A Study of Political, Social, and Economic Problems, with a View to Measuring Trends in International Attitudes." Study in the United States.

- Stouffer, Samuel A. (Ph.D., Chicago), assistant professor of social statistics, University of Wisconsin. Subject of study: "The Statistical Treatment of Small Samples of Sociological Data." Study in England.
- Vold, George B. (Ph.D., Minnesota), assistant professor of sociology, University of Minnesota. Subject of study: "The Application of Behavior Prediction Techniques to the Problems Involved in the Differential Treatment of Criminal Offenders." Study in the United States.
- Wallace, Donald Holmes (candidate for the Ph.D., Harvard), instructor and tutor in economics, Harvard University. Subject of study: "The Aluminum Industry in Germany." Study in Germany.
- Wilson, Francis Graham (Ph.D., Stanford), associate professor of political science, University of Washington. Subject of study: "The Rôle of the International Labor Organization in the Development of World-Government." Study at Geneva, Switzerland.

The following two 1930-31 Fellows were re-appointed for 1931-32: Carter, Harold Dean (Ph.D., Minnesota). Subject of study: "The Heredity of Mental Traits Based upon a Study of Twins." Study at Stanford University.

Salter, John Thomas (Ph.D., Pennsylvania), associate professor of political science, University of Wisconsin. Subject of study: "The Ward Leader: A Study of the Republican Party Organization in Philadelphia." Study in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Social Science Research Council, Grants-in-Aid: 1930-31.—During 1930-31 the Social Science Research Council awarded 33 grants-in-aid from 85 applications. The total amount involved in these grants is approximately \$23,000. Since the inception of its grants-in-aid program in 1927, the Council has allocated over \$90,000 to 127 individual research projects ranging over the fields of economics, history, political science, sociology, social psychology, anthropology, law, statistics, and education.

The grants-in-aid are open to mature scholars without reference to age, whose ability to do productive research has been clearly demonstrated. The project for which aid is sought must be well under way and promise significant results. Ordinarily the maximum grant does not exceed \$1,000. Wherever possible, institutions to which applicants are attached are expected to contribute financially or with other special support. Grants may be used to defray such items as the investigator's living expenses while in the field, the costs of travel, clerical or statistical assistance, photostating, printing, and stationery; but ordinarily not for the purchase of books or manuscript materials. A small portion of the Committee's budget for grants may be allocated to aid in the publication of significant manuscripts not of commercial value.

Further information and application forms may be had by addressing the Secretary of the Committee on Grants-in-Aid at the Council's New York City office, 230 Park Avenue.

Among the grants awarded during 1930-31 of interest to the readers of the *Journal* are:

William Anderson (University of Minnesota) to aid in making a statistical study of the existing "Units of Local Government in the United States."

Michael Hermond Cochran (University of Missouri) to aid in the completion of a study of "German Public Opinion on Foreign Affairs from 1900 to 1914."

Clara Chassell Cooper (Richmond, Kentucky) to aid in the publication of a manuscript on the "Relation between Morality and Intellect in Selected Groups."

Cortez A. M. Ewing (University of Oklahoma) to aid in the making of a study of "American Impeachment Trials."

Frank Loxley Griffin (Reed College) to aid in the completion of a study of "Mathematical Analysis as Applied to the Biological and Social Sciences."

Joy Paul Guilford (University of Nebraska) to aid in the completion of a study of the "Consistency and Intercorrelation of Certain Traits of Behavior Said to Belong to the Extrovert and Introvert Pattern of Personality, in Normal and Pathological Subjects."

Robert Burnett Hall (University of Michigan) to aid in the completion of a study of the "Morphology and the Limits of Type Distribution of Rural Settlement in Specific Areas of Japan."

Alfred Irving Hallowell (University of Pennsylvania) to aid in the completion of a study of the "Interrelationship between the Kinship Terms and the Social Organization of Cree-speaking Bands in the Environs of Lake Winnipeg."

Abram Lincoln Harris, Jr. (Howard University), to aid in the completion of a study of the "Relation of Negro Finance Institutions to Business Enterprise."

Louis C. Hunter (Smith College) to aid in the completion of an "Economic and Social History of Steamboat Transportation on the Western Rivers of the United States."

Louis Knott Koontz (University of California at Los Angeles) to aid in the completion of a "History of the American Colonial Frontier."

Richard L. Morton (College of William and Mary) to aid in the completion of an "Economic and Social History of Virginia, 1851-80."

Frank W. Pitman (Pomona College) to aid in the completion of a study of the "Economic and Social Structure of British West Indian Society, 1763-1866."

Walter Cade Reckless (Vanderbilt University) to aid in the completion of a study of the "Changes in the Problem of Commercialized Vice in Chicago since the Closing of the Segregated District."

David J. Saposs (Brookwood Labor College) to aid in the completion of a study of the "Organization, Policies, and Methods of American Trade-Unions."

Bernhard J. Stern (*Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*) to aid in the completion of a study of the "Contribution of Lester F. Ward to Sociology."

Norman Joseph Ware (Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut) to aid in the completion of a "History of the Labor Movement in the United States since 1895."

Social Science Research Council, Fellowships for Southern Graduate Students: 1930-31.—The second annual awards of fellowships to southern graduate students in the social sciences were made on March 30, 1931. From 225 applicants, distributed throughout the South, 17 students were appointed Fellows for 1931-32, and 3 renewals of 1930-31 fellowships were granted. Of the 17 new Fellows, 14 are men and 3 women. Four of the group are Negro students.

The southern fellowships are of two types: (1) junior fellowships, for first-year graduate students, with stipends ranging from \$600; and (2) senior fellowships, for more advanced graduate students, with stipends ranging from \$750. Each Fellow is expected to spend a year studying in a graduate school approved in advance by the Committee. The fellowships are open to men or women, white or Negro, who are graduates of accredited southern colleges and universities. Preferential consideration is given to candidates not over thirty years of age.

Applications for 1932-33 may be entered up to January 1, 1932, with Mr. Will W. Alexander, chairman of the Committee on Southern Fellowships, 703 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia. The next awards will be announced about March 15, 1932.

The list of appointments for 1931-32, where the field of study is sociology are:

Jerome Alton Connor, A.B., University of Florida; Lewis Wade Jones, Fisk University; John Miller MacLachlan, Jr., A.B., Millsaps College, University of North Carolina; Nadine Roberts, Fisk University; Henry Jared McGwynn, A.B., Virginia Union University, graduate student, Columbia University; Newton Clifford Young, A.B., Millsaps College, graduate student, University of North Carolina.

Social Science Research Council Southern Grants-in-Aid: 1930-31.—As a result of an appropriation recently made to the Council by the Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago, a special series of small grants-in-aid of research, to be awarded in a regional competition to members of the social science faculties of southern colleges and universities, has been established. It is hoped that these grants, which are to be administered by the Council's Southern Regional Committee, will not only facilitate the completion of significant pieces of social research already under way by southern social scientists but will also stimulate the development by southern institutions of more favorable conditions and more liberal facilities for the carrying on of social science research.

Without regard to age or graduate degrees, all social science teachers in southern colleges and universities whose capacity to do creditable research has been demonstrated will be eligible to apply for these grants-in-aid. In considering applications, special account will be taken (1) of the applicant's willingness to forego summer or extension teaching so as to have more free time to devote to his research problem, and (2) the willingness of his institution, if it seems desirable, to lighten his regular teaching load without any reduction in his salary.

Information regarding the time and procedure of making application for 1932-33 may be had by addressing Professor Benjamin B. Kendrick, chairman, Southern Regional Committee, North Carolina State College for Women, Greensboro, North Carolina.

The recipients of grants for 1931-32 include two projects of sociological interest:

Alex M. Arnett, North Carolina College for Women, study of social and economic situations in North Carolina in their relation to the career of Claude Kitchin; Mildred R. Mell, Shorter College, study of social changes in Georgia as reflected in social attitudes.

Social Science Research Council, Fellowships in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology: 1930-31.—For the fourth successive year fellowships have been awarded by the Council to graduate students in the fields of agricultural economics and rural sociology. Twenty appointments for 1931-32, involving stipends which aggregate \$28,500, were voted by the Committee in March. The newly appointed Fellows will spend the academic year 1931-32 in graduate study at the universities indicated below.

With these awards the total sum expended on agricultural fellowships since their establishment in 1928 reaches \$120,000. As a result, in part at least, of the opportunities afforded by these fellowships, the increasing demand for adequately trained research workers in the fields of agricultural economics and rural sociology is being more fully met.

These fellowships are open to all properly qualified graduate students or members of staffs of agricultural experiment stations who are interested in carrying on further graduate study. Additional information and application blanks can be had by addressing Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the Committee on Fellowships in Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Institute of Economics, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C., or the Fellowship Secretary of the Council at its New York City offices.

The recipients of agricultural fellowships for 1931-32, with their present connections (in parentheses) and the institutions at which they will probably study, are listed below:

Joseph Ackerman (University of Illinois), Harvard; Ronald C. Bentley (Iowa State College), Harvard; Elmer W. Braun (University of California), Columbia; Ralph H. Cole (University of Nebraska), Harvard; C. W. Crickman (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), Harvard; Harold F. Dorn (University of Wisconsin), Wisconsin; Virgil D. Gilman (Montana State College), Minnesota and Harvard; Roger F. Hale (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), Columbia; Harold Hedges (University of Nebraska), Minnesota; John A. Hitchcock (Cornell University), Cornell; Robert R. Hudson (University of Illinois), Harvard; Edgar B. Hurd (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), Harvard; Charles P. Loomis, (North Carolina State University), Harvard; Broder F. Lucas (University of California), California and Harvard; John W. McBride (Princeton University), Cornell and Ohio State; Ronald L. Mighell (Massachusetts Agricultural College), Harvard; Henry R. Moore (Ohio State University), Northwestern; Merton D. Oyler (Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station), Chicago; William H. Rowe (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), Harvard; Oris V. Wells (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), Harvard.

Special Committee on Sociological Research of the American Sociological Society.—A significant trend in the social and humanistic sciences during the past decade has been the centralization of responsibility in the research councils for the stimulation and guidance of research. This trend has not escaped criticism within and without these organizations. In 1930, the Social Science Research Council requested each of its constituent societies to appoint a special committee to examine the problems and needs of research in its field. It was hoped that these committees would bring about some decentralization of responsibility upon the societies themselves; in particular, they were asked in each case to advise the Society and the Council regarding the relationships between the two in the development of a comprehensive program of research in the particular field concerned. The committee of the American Sociological Society has held meetings in Washington and New York and will present a preliminary report to the Society at its next annual meeting, in December. In this report, primary attention will be given to questions concerning sociological source data and the possibilities of their improvement. All members of the Society will shortly be asked to participate in the Committee's inquiries by expressing judgments concerning these possibilities, based upon personal experience, and by providing information concerning the source data employed in their own researches. The committee is composed of Ernest W. Burgess, Neva R. Deardorff, Hornell Hart, J. H. Kolb, Howard W. Odum, Malcolm M. Willey, and Stuart A. Rice, chairman.

University of Chicago.—World-unemployment was considered by a score of experts headed by three internationally known economists in the

eight institute of the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation at the University of Chicago, June 22 to July 2.

John Maynard Keynes, English economist, Karl Pribram, professor of economics and political science, University of Frankfurt, and E. J. Phelan, chief of the diplomatic division, International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland, delivered the public lectures of the institute.

Among those participating in the round-table discussions were: Edward Eyre Hunt, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.; G. Frank Beer, member, Board of Control, Maritime Provinces Trade Commission, Toronto, Canada; John Bell Condliffe, Research Secretary, Institute of Pacific Relations; Henry Sturges Dennison, president, Dennison Manufacturing Company, author of a profit-sharing plan for employees; Herbert Feis, economic adviser of the State Department, Washington, D.C.; Mary B. Gilson, expert on labor problems; Leifus Magnusson, American representative, International Labor Office; Carter Goodrich, professor of economics, University of Michigan; Alvin H. Hanson, professor of economics, University of Minnesota; Selig Perlman, professor of economics, University of Wisconsin, and Bryce Stewart, of the President's Emergency Commission for Unemployment.

The Harris Foundation was established in 1923 for "the promotion of a better understanding on the part of American citizens of the other peoples of the world, thus establishing a basis for improved international relations and a more enlightened world-order."

Cornell University.—New appointments in the department of rural social organization, New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University, include Dr. W. A. Anderson of North Carolina State College, as assistant professor; Howard W. Beers, who has held a Social Science Research Council Fellowship at the University of Chicago, as instructor; and Mildred B. Thurow, professor of home economics, McPherson College, Kansas, and Leland B. Tate, who has held a Dupont Fellowship at the University of Virginia, as assistants.

The Tompkins County (New York) Conference of Public and Welfare Agencies has published a *County Handbook*, giving a directory of all county organizations, officials, schools, and churches. It was edited by Mr. A. M. Paxson of the department of rural social organization, Cornell University.

Two recent publications of the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station from the department of rural social organization are: Bulletin 523, *The Sociology of a Village and the Surrounding Territory*, by Bruce L. Melvin; and Bulletin 524, *The Communities of Schuyler County, New York, in 1927*, by Ray E. Wakeley.

Harvard University.—Dr. C. C. Zimmerman is appointed an associate professor of sociology. C. A. Anderson, E. Schuler, and N. L. Whetten are appointed for one year as part-time tutors and instructors in the department of sociology.

The University of Minnesota Press recently published Volume II of *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* by Sorokin-Zimmerman-Galpin.

Besides the German translation, Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories* appeared in a Chinese translation.

Harvard Law School.—In the fall of the present year (1931) the Institute of Criminal Law of the Harvard Law School is establishing a two-year curriculum for specialized training in the administration of penal and correctional institutions and the work of departments of probation and parole boards. The curriculum consists of criminal law, criminal procedure and evidence, criminology and penology, various courses in the field of government, courses in the fields of sociology, social pathology, and social ethics, anthropology, normal and abnormal psychology, psychopathology and mental hygiene, the measurement of intelligence, the philosophy and technique of social case work, and the technique of social research.

The course is open to properly qualified college graduates. Provision is being made for enabling students to obtain practical experience in courts, clinics, correctional institutions, and parole boards during the summers.

The faculty consists of Dean Roscoe Pound (ex officio), Professor Francis B. Sayre, Director of the Institute of Criminal Law, Professor Sam B. Warner and Professor Sheldon Glueck, representing the Law School, and a large staff of instructors offering pertinent courses in other departments of the University.

College graduates interested in registering for the curriculum should communicate with the Director, Institute of Criminal Law, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

University of Kentucky.—Professor Harry Best, since the year 1928-29, when he had leave of absence for study and research in this country and Europe, has given part of his time to teaching at the University of Kentucky. At present he is engaged in a revision and enlargement of his work on the blind. In this new work much greater attention is to be given to the matter of the possibilities of the prevention of blindness. It is being published under the auspices of the Perkins Institution for the Blind in Boston, the New York Institution in New York City, and the Pennsyl-

vania Institution in Philadelphia, and of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. It is to appear by way of celebration of the centennial of the beginning of work for the blind in the United States.

Mr. Merton Oyler, instructor and research worker in rural life problems, will be on leave of absence during the scholastic year 1931-32 doing graduate work at the University of Chicago. Mr. Fred Boyd, who for the past two years has been doing extension work in rural sociology for the University of Missouri, has been appointed to carry on the work in Kentucky during Mr. Oyler's absence.

University of Louisville.—Dr. Margaret K. Strong, formerly of the University of Chicago, came to the professorship of social work in the College of Liberal Arts in September, 1930. During the past year she has offered courses in social case work to regular students and to a large number of social workers in service in the city. Significant articulations have been made between the University and the various social agencies of the city. Dr. Frances E. Price resigned as acting head of the department, and Dr. Strong has been elected in her place. Mr. Robert I. Kutak, now completing his Doctorate at Columbia, has been elected assistant professor of sociology. The name of the department has been changed to "Sociology and Social Work." The department has been admitted to the Graduate School.

University of Minnesota.—During the spring quarter Dr. E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin offered the course in "Population."

Miss Elinor Black of the University of Liverpool (England) offered courses during the spring quarter in exchange with Miss Elizabeth Gardiner, assistant professor of sociology at Minnesota and supervisor of medical social work.

Appointments for the academic year of 1931-32 include Ira G. Adams (of A. and M., Texas) and C. R. Wasson (of Cornell University) as instructors in sociology, Isaac Hoffman (of Minnesota) as a teaching assistant, and E. F. Steeble (Pennsylvania) and Dorothy Hosford (Minnesota) as assistants.

Irene Barnes Taeuber and Conrad Taeuber, of Minnesota, have received appointments in the department of economics and sociology at Mount Holyoke College.

Dr. George B. Vold has been granted leave of absence for 1931-32 and will be away on a Social Science Research Council Fellowship. He will be in Massachusetts doing work in the field of criminology. Dr. Elio D. Monachesi has been appointed to the staff to take over Dr. Vold's work in his absence.

The Sociological Press (Hanover, N.H.) has just issued *Prediction Methods and Parole* by Professor George B. Vold.

Professor Malcolm M. Willey was on leave during the spring quarter, continuing his work for the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. Dr. Willey spent the summer in England, as one of a group sent to Europe by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Professor W. D. Wallis is teaching at the summer session of the University of Colorado.

The Employment Stabilization Research Institute is established by joint contributions of the Rockefeller Foundation, which is interested in investigation of causes of unemployment, by the Carnegie Corporation, which is interested in the problem of diagnosing individual unemployed persons with reference to their placement and retraining, and by the Spelman Fund, which is interested in developing public employment exchanges to replace unemployed persons. The whole enterprise is under the general direction of Dr. R. A. Stevenson, dean of the School of Business Administration. Professor A. H. Hansen of the department of economics is in charge of the first project, Professor Donald G. Paterson of the department of psychology is in charge of the second project, and Professor W. H. Stead of the School of Business is in charge of the third project. The whole enterprise will run over two years. Professor F. Stuart Chapin is a member of the planning committee which is in general charge of the first two projects and is also chairman of the Committee on Publications of the Institute and a member of the Diagnostic Case Conference of project two. Mrs. Ann Fenlason, assistant professor of sociology, is supervisor of the case workers who will obtain the case histories of the unemployed persons whose cases are diagnosed in the clinic.

New York University.—A *bon voyage* luncheon was held on May 2 in honor of Enoch George Payne, assistant dean and head of the department of educational sociology, School of Education. Dr. Payne is director of narcotic education of the World Conference on Narcotics which will be held May 18 to 27 in Geneva. He and Mrs. Payne sailed for Geneva on May 6. On the occasion of this luncheon his colleagues and students presented him with a life-membership in the American Sociological Society.

State College of North Carolina.—C. Horace Hamilton, assistant rural sociologist of the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, has been appointed as associate in rural sociology in the department of agricultural economics, to take effect September 1. Mr. Hamilton will have charge of the teaching and research in rural sociology.

Northwestern University.—Ginn and Company announces the publication of *American Standards and Planes of Living* by Thomas D. Eliot, professor of sociology.

Municipal University of Omaha.—After January 21, when the University of Omaha became the Municipal University of Omaha, the Department of Sociology and Social Work was made one of the eight leading departments of the institution. Dr. T. Earl Sullenger (Ph.D., Missouri, 1929) who has been with the former institution for seven years, was made head of the department. He will also direct local social research projects.

University of Pennsylvania.—The University of Pennsylvania Press has just published *University Education for Business* by Professors James H. S. Bossard, of the department of sociology, and J. Frederic Dewhurst, now of the United States Department of Commerce. The volume represents the nation-wide study of American business and higher education for business made by Professors Bossard and Dewhurst.

Another volume, *Man and His World*, of which Professor Bossard is editor and co-author, has been announced for publication by Harper and Brothers. This later volume is to appear during the summer of 1931.

Professor Stuart A. Rice has been granted leave of absence for the year 1931-32 for a study of social statistics under the President's Social Trends Committee.

Simmons College.—Five graduate students working under the direction of Dr. Lucile Eaves, in the Research Department of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, have been organized as a co-operative group, not only in the investigation of topics of immediate practical interest, but also for participation in activities where the results of their research are utilized.

The first project of the year dealt with the "Administration of Old Age Assistance." The students tabulated data about 1,115 aged persons now receiving outdoor relief from the Boston Overseers, and visited and prepared sketches of 228 of the old people. They helped arrange three conferences, each attended by about a hundred social workers, and presented summaries of their data at one of these meetings. They appeared also at the hearing on old-age assistance bills before the Joint Committee on Pensions, of the Massachusetts legislature, and prepared summaries of their data for the use of the legislators.

Another project begins with a conference of officials from banks who are co-operating in the study dealing with "Stabilization of Home Ownership." The business crisis has brought many foreclosures of mortgages

in Massachusetts, as in other parts of the United States. The research students, with the advice of an able group of consultants, will study the situation and present results at a second conference in order to obtain experienced assistants in the interpretation of findings.

Smith College.—Dr. Howard Becker, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed as associate professor in the department of sociology.

University of Tennessee.—Work in rural sociology at the University of Tennessee is conducted in the Department of Agricultural Economics. A number of research projects in rural life problems are supported by the Experiment Station with Purnell funds. Those in active process at present, under the immediate supervision of Philips B. Boyer, are concerned with "Farm Taxation and County Government in Tennessee," and "The Influence of Industrial Development on Rural Welfare in Tennessee." Publication of a bulletin on the latter project is contemplated at an early date. Tentative plans are under consideration for active participation in the study of the "Economic and Social Conditions and Problems of the Southern Highlands," being directed by Dr. L. C. Gray, of the Division of Land Economics in the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics. A recent address by Professor C. E. Allred, head of the department, entitled "Inadequacy of Cost-of-Living Figures as Measures of Standard of Living," is available for distribution in mimeographed form.

PERSONAL NOTES

Professor Leopold von Wiese of the University of Cologne will be traveling in India, Burma, and Malaysia during the fall and early winter of 1931 for the purpose of gathering material for his forthcoming *Bio-Sociology*, one of the series of detailed sociological studies outlined in and complementing his *General Sociology*. He will be in Ceylon and southern India during October, and will then go by way of Bombay to northern and northwestern India and then to Burma, arriving in Malaysia early in December, where he will stay until his return journey from Singapore shortly before Christmas. He is especially desirous of meeting any American sociologists who happen to be in the same or adjacent regions during the periods named; exchange of scientific views and establishment of personal acquaintance would be welcomed. Letters sent to the *Forschungsinstitut für Sozialwissenschaften* at the University of Cologne will be forwarded if so marked.

BOOK REVIEWS

Les Causes du Suicide. By MAURICE HALBWACHS. Paris: Libraire Félix Alcan, 1930. Pp. 520. 70 francs.

Le Suicide. By EMILE DURKHEIM. Paris: Libraire Félix Alcan, 1930 (new edition). 45 francs.

Professor Halbwach's study was begun as a supplement to Durkheim's book which was first published in 1897. An independent volume developed, however, and was published simultaneously with a new edition of Durkheim.

From the chapter headings it is evident that Professor Halbwachs treats the fields customarily covered by studies of suicide—trends in rates in different countries, urban and rural rates, marital status, religion, homicide, political and economic crises, alcoholism, and psychopathic states. The treatment, however, is unique; for Professor Halbwachs makes no attempt to amass new statistics from the original records. His task is, rather, to re-examine critically the statistical tables which have previously been published, especially by Durkheim, Morselli, and Krose, and which have formed the basis of most generalizations about suicide. By bringing into juxtaposition factors not previously thought to be related and studying trends in one set of factors in terms of the other, he disturbs some of the old theories and is able to advance new ones. The statistical analysis is everywhere very simple. For the genius of Professor Halbwachs lies not in the use of elaborate and intricate mathematical formulas but in an imagination which enables him to forego seemingly acceptable theories and to re-examine the underlying data.

One of the most interesting new hypotheses of the book concerns the high rate of suicide among men as compared with the rate for women. This difference in rates is usually accepted as indicative of some sex difference. Although Professor Halbwachs does not have conclusive data, he offers data which show that when both attempted and successful suicides are taken into consideration women seem to show as great a tendency toward suicide as do men. He then examines the methods used by men and women and finds that whereas men choose rather sure methods of killing themselves, women choose those which are often less sure to cause death. The methods chosen also affect the rates in other ways.

Thus the ratio of attempts to suicides decreases with age, apparently a corollary in part of the fact that the methods used by older people have a greater degree of surety.

The trend in rates over a period of years, Professor Halbwachs shows, must be viewed in relation to the population growth and the changing predominance of old or young people, for the suicide rate is much higher among old than among young people. Although the rates in most European countries are increasing, the increase has been at a decreased rate, an indication that a point of stabilization may be reached. Each country, however, maintains its own rate and will probably reach a stabilization point peculiar to itself.

The chapter on suicide and psychopathic states is also of interest. No statistics are offered here. Rather, this chapter is an attempt to formulate a theory of causation of suicide which will avoid the dual approaches of the psychiatrist and the sociologist. The psychiatrist typically has attributed suicide to mental disorders, that is, to an organic difficulty. The sociologist has tended to attribute it to social conditions. Professor Halbwachs maintains that two such theories, with fundamentally different bases, cannot be accepted. He finds but one cause for suicide—isolation of the person from society. For example, the person who has lost his fortune or who has committed a crime loses his prestige and status and finds himself thrust out of the social group in which he lived. Likewise, the person who commits suicide when a loved one dies finds that a small intimate society of which he was one of two members has disintegrated. Psychopathic states have the same effect, for people with depressions and those with persecution complexes alike alienate themselves from the social group and are isolated. It seems to matter little whether the isolation has its roots in an abnormal mental condition or in some external condition, the result is very much the same in its effect upon the person. While the effect of integration into religious and familial groups cannot be clearly demonstrated in the case of psychopathic people, Professor Halbwachs is of the opinion that inclusion in such groups does exert some force in preventing suicide, in the same way, but not to the same degree, that it operates with normal people.

The book is, naturally, of most interest to those who are concerned with trends and differential rates of suicide. But because of its methods of study and the relation of suicide to urban growth, to social crises, and to integrative factors, it deserves to reach a wider group.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

Krieg und Kriminalität in Deutschland. By PROFESSOR DR. MORITZ LIEPMANN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xiii + 170.

This volume is one of the more recent studies made possible by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace which sponsors the series, edited by Professor James T. Shotwell, "The Economic and Social History of the World War."

Unfortunately the author of this study, Professor Liepmann, died before its completion. His co-workers completed and prepared the manuscript for publication in keeping with the views of Professor Liepmann.

The study is arranged in four parts: the problems of method, crimes against the state, persons and property, offences committed by youthful offenders and women, and a short summary. The major portion of the study describes and interprets the statistics on crime gathered before and particularly during and after the war period. The data concerning various groups of offenders and kinds of crime are presented. The crime curves are not quite similar for all classes of persons or offences, but as a rule do indicate a decrease in the number of convictions from 1913 to the end of 1916 and then a gradual increase from 1917 to 1923, followed by another reduction in the total number of convictions down to 1926.

The author seeks the explanation of this bimodal curve in the form of German life at the close of the war and the period of inflation immediately following. The general statistical results, no matter what class of crime or criminals is studied, lead to the same general conclusion. So striking is this statistical picture that Professor Liepmann declares that crime in Germany during this period is war crime. ("Kriegskriminalität ist Kriminalität der Kriege-und Nachkriegszeit," p. 4.)

The economic, social, and moral life of Germany was shaken almost to its foundations after and as a result of the war. Fortunately, much crime data were gathered. If this data were properly interpreted, the relations between the tremendous increase in crime and the disturbed social order could be better understood. Professor Liepmann is careful to point out the unreliability of interpretation, the abysmal lack of knowledge concerning the causal factors. He also points out some of the chief sources of error in these statistical data.

In the first place, no record is available of the number of minor offenses committed during and after the war, nor is there record of the violations of city ordinances. Secondly, the treatment of crime and criminals has been juridical in character. Professor Liepmann holds, as do critical

criminologists throughout the world, that no valid interpretation of the causes of crime or of the treatment of criminals is possible without an understanding of the backgrounds of criminals.

For this reason intensive case studies must supplement the general conclusions drawn from statistical analysis. It is not denied that criminal statistics in supplanting subjective impressions mark a very important step forward in the development of the science of criminology. It is, however, maintained that the statistics must be properly weighted by including what in the nature of the problem cannot be statistically tabulated as yet, namely, the attitude of the criminal and the underlying environmental factors responsible for such attitudes.

The author's reputation as one of the outstanding criminologists in Germany is fortified throughout this work by his insistence upon methodological rigidity. Although most of the present research is devoted to the description of the criminal statistics gathered in Germany throughout the war period, its importance lies in this emphasis upon the need for method in the investigation of crime and the treatment of criminals.

The American reader will be pleased to learn of the tribute which Professor Liepmann pays to the series of case studies published by Dr. William Healy, Miriam Van Waters, the Gluecks, and P. W. Garrett. He may be less pleased to note that Professor Liepmann, along with other students in this country, feels that intensive case studies by themselves are valueless without a valid knowledge of general causes of crime. The lack of this knowledge both in Germany and the United States, and for that matter anywhere, makes criminology a science only by grace of language.

NATHANIEL CANTOR

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

Realism in Romantic Japan. By MIRIAM BEARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 521. \$5.00.

Japan's Economic Position. By JOHN E. ORCHARD. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1930. Pp. 504. \$5.00.

Those interested in securing reliable information concerning social and economic conditions in modern Japan will welcome the publication of these two volumes. Miss Beard's sympathetic interpretation of changing Japan reveals a knowledge of Japanese life and thought seldom achieved by the Westerner unfamiliar with the language of the people. Her broad acquaintance with history and world-affairs has enabled her to see the

significance of the changing Japanese scene and set forth the customs and traditions of the people in their proper perspective. Especially illuminating is her portrayal of the modern Japanese woman, student life in Tokyo, modernized Buddhism, the struggle of the masses for a livelihood, and the tangled web of forces that determine the destiny of political Japan. The whole volume is characterized by real insight into things Japanese and possesses a literary charm that would make the book distinctive even if it were less authoritatively written.

Professor Orchard's study of Japan deals entirely with the economic situation and provides a valuable analysis of industrial conditions and problems. The author, a member of the faculty of the School of Business in Columbia University, carried out this study under the auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. The book is based on a first-hand investigation in Japan, which included the inspection of more than a hundred industrial establishments, conferences with manufacturers and labor leaders, and the collection of much unpublished material. Among the topics discussed are the pressure of population, emigration policies, the possible expansion of agriculture, the rise of Japanese industrialism, the development of industrial centers, the problem of raw materials and fuel resources, the changing status of labor, and foreign trade.

The book presents a convincing array of facts showing the absurdity of regarding Japan either as a future militaristic menace or as a yellow industrial peril. The poverty of Japan in raw materials, the precariousness of her financial position, and her dependence upon trade with the United States, make impracticable the adoption of aggressive militaristic policies that might lead to war with other nations. Moreover, Japan's possibilities for industrialization are limited, and since there seems to be no prospect of attaining a position of major importance as a manufacturing nation, her expanding population and low wage rates do not present a real threat to Western industry and commerce. With their country poorly endowed with natural resources and handicapped by their late entry into the struggle for world-markets, the Japanese face unusually serious difficulties in their efforts to maintain a strong position in the world.

Professor Orchard's discussion of Japan's economic situation is well fortified with statistical materials, and is made more vivid and attractive by a large number of illustrations depicting both the old and new methods of work in the leading Japanese industries.

J. F. STEINER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Chinese Farm Economy. By J. L. BUCK. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xii+476. \$5.00.

The book is largely a statistical report of a series of surveys of Chinese farms undertaken between 1921 and 1925 by students of the University of Nanking and assistants under the supervision of the author, who is professor of farm management at the University. It covers 2,866 farms in seventeen localities of China. The study is made largely from the standpoint of individual economy, that is, to regard farm management as a kind of business enterprise and to find out whether or not the present system of farm management in China is a profitable business. The book contains an immense amount of factual data, and is richly illustrated by charts, tables, and diagrams.

One of the most interesting points in the study is the differences between North China and East Central China. According to the survey, farms in North China show larger farm area, larger crop area, larger number of large farms, larger amount of animal-work units, and larger percentage of farmers who own their own land. On the other hand, farms in East Central China show larger amount of farm capital, higher value of land and buildings, better farm equipment, higher farm receipts, higher farm expenses, higher farm wages, higher density per unit of cultivated area, lower percentage of household expenses devoted to necessities of life, higher commercialization of agriculture, and, on the whole, a higher standard of living. The author has seen the need for emphasizing this contrast, for China is a large country, and the various parts of China differ widely in social, economic, and political conditions.

The author has given a number of valuable suggestions for possible ecological explanations of the varying social and economic conditions in parts of North China and East Central China. The relative immobility of the Chinese society may be illustrated by the fact that inheritance is the method by which 90 per cent of the farm area is first acquired. The lack of economical and dependable transportation facilities hampers the development of agriculture; and so prices of farm products are necessarily kept low. A study of comparative prices for several commodities common to both China and the United States shows a surprisingly small difference in value per unit, notwithstanding the fact that China has intensive farming and cheap labor. In regard to crops, North China has greater diversification of crops than East Central China because of soil conditions and the desire of Northern farmers for greater economy. On the whole, Chinese farmers usually are growing crops best suited to local conditions,

and by a trial-and-error method they usually have found out which are the most profitable.

Transportation influences farm consumption also. The survey shows that in China the farm is the chief direct supply of food of the farm population, largely because of the lack of adequate transportation. Distance from markets has more or less influenced the amount of food purchased by farmers from the outside.

The study shows that in some sections of the Yangtse Valley Northern farmers have immigrated and settled down and these immigrants live side by side with native farmers. But the two groups maintain their own habits and refuse to mix socially to any extent. Northern farmers work harder and live more cheaply; but native farmers consider themselves socially superior. Thus there is an example of race prejudice in a country where race prejudice is supposed to be more or less unknown.

This volume furnishes abundant illustrations of how population pressure influences farm management and social development. Because of dense population the size of farm business in China as measured by crop area is small, and the amount of farm capital is so meager that a net return of 10 per cent on the investment would give an average profit of only \$177 per farm. The average farm receipts amount to only \$376 per farm per year. Labor is the chief expenditure, amounting to nearly two-thirds of all expenses, and yet the actual wages paid for farm laborers amount to only \$58 per year on the average. Farmers have to eat the inferior grain and sell the high-grade products. At the same time, the study shows that an increased size of farm gives greater returns. Why do the Chinese farmers not have larger farms? Mr. Buck says, "The over-supply of farmers is the answer. Other occupations in which farmers can engage are so limited that the farm has to be divided according to the farm population." The amount of infanticide seems to be determined by pressure of food limitation, and emigration is usually caused by crop failure, high taxation, and banditry. Yet in China there seems to be simultaneously a pressure for greater population. The peculiar ways of living on the part of Chinese farmers, such as securing large percentage of food energy from seeds and their produce, have enabled them to secure a living from a very small amount of land, and consequently a maximum population can be accommodated in a limited area. Indications are that the populations under discussion are of the progressive type in spite of high density, and the size of family increases with the size of farm.

The book is not free from inaccuracies. The survey covers only seventeen localities in seven provinces, with an area of about 21,000 acres

and a total population of approximately 17,000. It is questionable whether these localities are even good samplings. All localities but two are accessible to railway facilities. Each survey covers only one year, sometimes a year of rather abnormal happenings. The proportion between the total number of farm families in the villages and the number of farm families included in the study is very irregular. For instance, in one village 124 out of 150 families have been surveyed, and in another village only 2 out of 84 have been surveyed. Some provinces which would be regarded as exceedingly important to China's rural economy by most students of rural life in China, such as Kiangsi, Hupeh, Hunan, Szechuan, Fengtien, and Kuantung, are left entirely out of the picture. The division of two major areas, North China and East Central China, seems to be somewhat arbitrary.

In showing the sources of data by villages (Table II, pp. 6-7) the column for the "total number of farm families" gives only round figures in great numbers of villages and no figure at all in great numbers of others. This indicates that the surveyers do not have accurate population data. The study of the standard of living is entirely based upon answers from the farmers. As these farmers answer questions from their general memory and do not have the habit of being exact, the reliability of the data is questionable. It is said that the capital investment for the 2,866 farms is nearly \$5,000,000 Chinese currency; that "foot-binding is much more prevalent in North China"; that there is "a higher proportion of suicides" for women between the second and third decades than at any other time; and that the demand for girls in big cities as slave girls, concubines, prostitutes, and sing-song girls has influenced considerably the ratio between males and females in the country. One wonders how the author has arrived at these conclusions. In chapter ix, figures concerning age distribution and sex ratio indicate that the data are very incomplete. The discussion of food consumption based on data from schedules and questions is also of doubtful value.

In a sense, these shortcomings are serious. Roughly speaking, the study of rural life in China, like many other subjects, may be approached either quantitatively or qualitatively or both. Dr. Buck's study is a pioneer attempt at the quantitative approach. He does not pretend to deal with qualitative problems, that is, problems which would give insight into the rural mind and the processes of rural life in China. Although in the last chapter of the book the author has an extended discussion showing how the lack of recreation and education is related to the popularity of gambling, opium, and extravagant festivity in Chinese villages, he

deals with the problem from the angle of social reform rather than human nature. While the essential requirement for qualitative method is the possession of insight into a social situation, the requirement for quantitative approach is the possession of accurate statistical data and fair samplings. Inaccuracies in the book under review are largely due to inherent limitations of applying the survey method to an extensive study covering a variety of subjects and large areas. Naturally it is difficult to secure thoroughly reliable and intensive data from training students and inexperienced assistants who must complete a large number of schedules within a limited amount of time. For this reason, it seems to be more advisable to limit further studies of similar kind to a special subject of inquiry in a relatively large territory or to an intensive investigation in a small area.

LEONARD S. HSU

YENCHING UNIVERSITY

The Basic Industries and Social History of Japan 1914-1918. By USHISABURO KOBAYASHI, D.C.L. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. x+280. \$3.25.

This is one of the Japanese studies which form a series in the monumental survey on the Economic and Social History of the World War, edited by James T. Shotwell and conducted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It is a careful statistical survey of trends in the basic industries of Japan before and during the war. While the purpose is to show the general effect of the war on the basic industries of Japan, nevertheless the author has, as Mr. Shotwell points out, really presented a statistical analysis of an era in the general economic history of Japan.

While it is general knowledge that Japan went through a period of unparalleled industrial change as a result of the catastrophic changes in world-commerce effected by the war, still this is the first time that authentic data have been compiled showing the actual character of the economic transition. The disruption of the normal flow of world-commerce occasioned by the war had two general effects upon the economic structure of Japan: first, by cutting off normal imports it forced the country to manufacture for its own wants many commodities which in the absence of the disturbance might have continued to be imported for an indefinite period; second, by cutting off the trade of the belligerents from many of their world-markets the competitive industries of Japan found a new and unprecedented market opportunity. Prices of all prod-

ucts rose tremendously but unevenly. Population poured in from the rural sections to the industrial centers. During the five-year period preceding the war, rural increase almost equaled urban growth, but during the five-year period of the war, rural increase amounted to less than 1 per cent while the city population increased 17.3 per cent. But quite as important as the enhanced redistribution of population occasioned by the war was the realignment of social classes. The immense profits made possible in certain lines of industry and commerce created a class of *nouveau riche*. On the other hand, industrial wages failed to keep pace with the rising cost of living, with the result that strikes and rice riots became frequent. In a word, the war greatly stimulated capitalistic development in Japan, causing a rapid transition from an agricultural to an industrial national structure.

This systematic collection of data will serve as a mine of information to economists and students of international affairs. It is unfortunate that the tables, most of which go back to an early date, are not brought up to the present. Most of them end at 1918 or 1919. This is undoubtedly partly due to the lapse of time which occurred between the compilation of the data and the date of publication of the book, a delay which to a considerable extent was occasioned by the earthquake in 1923. On the whole, however, the book is a valuable contribution to foreign knowledge on an era in the economic history of Japan.

R. D. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The International Aspect of the Missionary Movement in China. By CHAO-KWANG WU. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Pp. ix+285. \$2.50.

At a time when analyses of culture contact should have made clear the main processes by which alien imported movements in the Orient have pried loose from the milieu individual natives, have implanted in them alien ways and dynamic ideas, and have given them such an experience in foreign environments that they have become promoters of national movements among their people and of international attitudes within these movements, it is sheer anachronism to restrict *The International Aspect of the Missionary Movement in China* to legal definitions of this aspect, to direct political influence upon officials, and to matters of dispute or conflict that have come to official attention. Yet such, in spite of its value, are the more obvious limitations of Professor Wu's contribution

to the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science."

Over half of the book is devoted to defining and criticising the formal-legal rights, control, and protection of missionaries in China under treaties in terms of international law. Except for occasional special pleading, for emphasizing sovereign rights regardless of the sovereign power's duties, and for occasional digression into broad, unsupported generalizations about the people of China or the missionaries as a body, the author is successful. It is in the chapters on "International Complications" and on "Status and Political Influence," however, that the account envisages internationally significant behavior wherein missionaries are reacting to indigenous mores and are interacting with private and official natives. Unfortunately, here, due to lack of balance in the materials and of precision of statement, the impression is given that missionaries as a class usually act as the ones depicted; Catholics and Protestants are not sufficiently separated in the discussion to give a reliable perspective; Chinese indifference is interpreted as intellectual tolerance but missionaries' avowed principle of abstention from political influence as indifference; and strong evidences of subjective bias appear in his evaluative terms. As but one striking illustration of the incomplete perspectives in the work, not only is Communism's influence on the recent anti-Christian movement far underemphasized, but the interpretation of the "Nanking Incident" is given from Eugene Chen shortly before he fled to Russia rather than from Chiang Kaishek, the commander-in-chief at the time, and the leading executive at present.

MAURICE T. PRICE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

China: The Collapse of a Civilization. By NATHANIEL PEFFER.
New York: John Day Co., 1930. Pp. x+306.

He who is interpreting China of today to any constituency should read Peffer's chapters on "Collapse," "Vacuum," "Filling in the Void Political," and "What Next?"

In spite of Mr. Peffer's preparation by considerable residence in China and a Guggenheim scholarship, his prestige among liberal radical magazines, and his "giving a course on the Far East in Columbia University," his fundamental thesis stands as a journalistic challenge rather than as a proved proposition. By his own criteria of what Chinese civilization was in its essence, he would have to present data to prove that the Chinese

family and the Chinese industrial organization outside of the comparatively narrow industrialized areas is shattered. This he has not done.

Nevertheless, the author's rapier-like thrusts and cyclonic broadsides clarify some points as sober writing has rarely done.

If the uninformed read the book at all, they should do so in as nearly a single sitting as possible; thus they can shake up together the contradictions and inconsistencies, see clearly the few dominant passions and pets, and forget the historical naïveté and omnisciences for the sake of the sheer thrust of his fresh leads. Though dominantly a kaleidoscopic view of the diverse reactions of one high-strung and intellectually vibrating idealist in love with ancient China and hating "imperialism," it assembles many facts, disillusiones the reader as to cultural accommodation in China, and makes impossible any dogmatism regarding China, even the author's.

MAURICE T. PRICE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

The Coming of Industry to the South. Edited by W. J. CARSON.

Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1931. Pp. v+295. \$2.00.

The American South is a region not long out of the frontier economy. It still possesses the largest number of practically self-sufficing farms to be found in any area in the nation. From the frontier the South passed to the plantation. In the survival of that form of economic organization the Cotton Belt exhibits the most extensive and characteristic farm tenancy areas to be found in the United States. Out of this background zones of industrialism are emerging. The Piedmont Crescent curving from Birmingham to Danville ranked among the nation's leaders in increasing urban and industrial ratios during the last decade. Textiles, tobacco, furniture, coal, and iron have here been tied together in a southern super-power zone. Fugitives from a niggard mountain economy and a decadent cotton system have been harbored in paternalistic mill villages to furnish the Piedmont's labor supply. The social and institutional changes incident to the shift from an agricultural to an industrial society have brought about readjustments which have been compared to those of another Industrial Revolution. Income and wages in the South have hovered around two-thirds of the norms for the rest of the nation. Complacent and uncritical acceptance of any industrialism regardless of social consequences has gone over into state policies.

Twenty-seven collaborators, two-thirds of whom are from the South,

join, under the editorship of William J. Carson, to present such a cross-section of *The Coming of Industry to the South*. All are specialists in the fields of which they write. The area's historical development; its resources in seven industries: textiles, tobacco, lumber, iron and steel, chemical industries, coal, and power; and the status of the four leading states of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama are presented in detail. A section on labor views the situation of women and children in industry, the Negro's plight, the source of labor supply, trends in workmen's compensation legislation, and attempts at advancing union organization. Problems of adjustment in agriculture, transportation, banking, taxation, politics, the press, and public opinion are treated in an interpretative section.

In criticism it may be said that the volume lacks the needed unity that might be given by a presentation of the geographic background. It would also have benefited by the inclusion of a paper on the culture of the area. It is concentrated too much on the Piedmont with no attention to Texas and the Southwest, which by any definition is southern. There is, for example, the glaring omission of the oil industry. Outstanding are Professor Murchison's analysis of the ills of the textile industry and Frank P. Graham's clear and incisive call to the social mastery of the forces of southern industrialism—the more noteworthy in that he is president of a southern state university. This is a volume which any student of industrial and social change will welcome to his shelves.

RUPERT B. VANCE

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Some Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Their Villages. By JENNINGS J. RHYNE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. x+214. \$2.50.

Labor in the Industrial South. By ABRAHAM BERGLUND, GEORGE TALMAGE STARNES, FRANK TRAVER DE VYVER. University of Virginia, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences. "Institute Monograph" No. 9, 1930. Pp. xiii+176.

The Industrial Revolution in the South. By BROADUS MITCHELL AND SINCLAIR MITCHELL. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. Pp. xiv+298.

The flood of literature that has appeared in recent years on various phases of the industrial development of the South attests the widespread

interest in the subject not only among southern people but throughout the country as a whole. The three volumes under review represent different types of studies of the industrial situation. The first by Jennings J. Rhyne is a first-hand investigation of 500 mill families selected as a "fair and adequate" sample from four different types of mills in Gaston County, North Carolina, "the heart of the textile area." The study furnishes a very lucid picture of the different types of textile communities. It describes the mill population, its composition, where the workers come from, how they live, their habits of movement, wages, relations to employers, and their participation in communal activities.

A few general facts stand out. (1) It is apparent that industrial development in the South is by no means a uniform process. Wide variations exist in different communities and mills in regard to wages, living conditions, and social attitudes. (2) A selective process is taking place in favor of the larger mills located in the suburbs or larger towns. (3) The industrial development is breaking down the traditional rural culture and introducing the modern urban economy. (4) The new pattern of spatial arrangement, involving the segregation of weakness and strength, is accompanied by an increase in social disorganization but also by a new sense of individualism among the younger people.

The second volume, *Labor in the Industrial South*, is one of the well-known series of social studies being made by the University of Virginia. It is a detailed statistical analysis of wages, cost of living, and welfare activities in three leading industries: furniture, lumber, cotton textile. Fully a third of the monograph is devoted to tables and charts showing comparisons with similar industries in other parts of the country. The tables show conclusively that the southern worker, from a monetary standpoint, receives considerably lower wages for longer hours than his northern competitor. Nor is the lower wage level offset by a lower cost of living in the South—even making allowance for employers' welfare activities. In a most detailed analysis of comparative costs of living, which occupies 24 solid pages of tables, the authors show that the differential in favor of the South is very slight. For most of the standard items, prices are practically the same as in New England. Attention is called to the fact, however, that the differences in the habits of consumption of the workers in the two culture areas tend to invalidate the ordinary statistical comparisons. The general conclusion is that, taking all factors into consideration, the real wages of the southern industrial worker, in each of the three industries studied, are considerably below those of the northern worker. The authors see indications of improvement, slow but gradual,

resulting from the inflow of capital and increased competition among employers.

The third volume, *The Industrial Revolution in the South*, is a series of papers, most of which have appeared in print elsewhere, describing the conditions under which the new industrial development is taking place, especially in the textile industry, and the relation between workers and employers. The authors see a repetition of the conditions that prevailed in England during the early stages of textile manufacturing there; namely, low wages, long working hours, a tendency to employ children, attitudes of exploitation and paternalism on the part of employers. But the recent labor unrest which has found expression in certain mills of the South is an indication that the day of placid paternalism is passing and that the labor differential which the southern employer has over his northern competitor is likely to be short-lived. Notwithstanding the obvious exploitation of the docile tenant farmer by the new industrialists, the authors believe that the recent industrial invasion is a good thing for the South. It is giving the impoverished farmer a new means of livelihood and is breaking up the old crust of superstition and class differentiation.

The old centers of the textile industry are gradually losing their dominance, both in Europe and America. The industry is shifting to sources of cheap labor and repeating the cycle of labor-employer relations experienced years ago in the early centers. But the advantages of cheap labor are only temporary. This is especially true of the South with its limited labor supply and its accessibility to the labor organizers of the North.

R. D. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Negro Wage Earner. By LORENZO J. GREENE AND CARTER G. WOODSON. Washington: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1930. Pp. xiii+388. \$3.00.

The Black Worker: The Negro and the Labor Movement. By STERLING D. SPERO AND ABRAM L. HARRIS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. x+509. \$4.50.

These two volumes are additions to the growing body of literature on Negro labor. In the *Negro Wage Earner* a survey of the Negro in the various occupations is given. The data presented are based mainly upon Census Reports on Occupations, especially from 1890 to 1920. An interesting chapter, however, on "Occupations Prior to Emancipation" gives

valuable information on the Negro as a worker, both in the North and the South, before the Civil War. Tables in this chapter give the occupations of Negroes in Boston; New York; Philadelphia; Cincinnati; Columbus, Ohio; and Savannah, Georgia.

In the summary of the study it is pointed out that "The most outstanding tendency of the Negro in occupations since 1890 has been the movement from those employments with which the Negro was most intimately connected during the slave and reconstruction periods—agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal services—into the industrial field, namely, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, trade and transportation, with a few into professional service largely in the South where most of this element of the population developed. . . ."

Since 1890

the tendency of the Negroes to constitute a greater percentage of all persons gainfully occupied than of the total population; the tendency to maintain a higher proportion of persons gainfully employed within their group than any other large element of the population; the participation relatively of a greater number of Negro females in occupations than the females of any other group in the population,

are noted. On the other hand,

. . . a tremendous, irresistible, though irregular, march away from employment in agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service toward manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and trade and transportation, . . . attaining its highest point between 1914 and 1920, which decidedly changed the aspect of Negroes in occupations, wrought a greater equilibration in their employments, stamped them as efficient industrial workers, caused the transplanting of over a million Negroes to the North, and thus greatly altered the entire social structure of a large part of the Negro population.

In contrast to the "Negro Wage Earner's" survey of the whole field of Negro occupations *The Black Worker* deals with the Negro in his relation to the American labor movement. An effort is made to describe and analyze the result of the study of this movement, namely, "the relation of the dominant section of the working class to the segregated circumscribed and discriminated Negro minority." This study of the *Black Worker*, which was carried on under a grant of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences, presents a large amount of information on the Negro in the labor movement. A considerable amount of the facts presented, however, had already been set forth in Wesley's *Negro Labor in the United States*, and Reid's *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions*.

In the opinion of the authors of the *Black Worker*, the Negro should endeavor to align himself with the white working class. When one reads the work, one gets the impression that the authors would have the Negro go entirely into organized labor. The reviewer questions whether it would be the best thing for Negroes to think entirely in terms of labor, as appears to be the authors' opinion.

The authors' discussion indicates a certain intolerance of views that disagree with theirs. It seems that they assume that antagonism between the masses and classes of Negroes is inevitable and instead of race consciousness tending to develop into racial solidarity there would result a class consciousness developing into group disorganization, with the masses of Negroes aligning themselves with the labor interests.

It might be well, as the authors appear to suggest, to substitute class antagonism within the group on an economic basis for group unity against outside opposition on a racial basis; that is, providing the racial antagonism could be eliminated. The authors' doubt, with reference to the Negro masses being able to align themselves with the white working class, is expressed in the closing paragraph of the book as follows:

But even if the Negro world should change its outlook and approve of an industrial and political alignment of the working class cutting across race lines, this change alone would not be sufficient to affect the situation. No such alignment could be effected by the will of the outcast minority alone. It must depend upon the will of the controlling majority, and that majority is white.

A further criticism of the study which could be offered is that the writers do not appear to have taken into consideration the broader aspects of the problem of Negroes as a group or of all the factors involved in connection with their efforts to rise.

MONROE N. WORK

TUSKEGEE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE

Negro Membership in American Labor Unions. By the DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATIONS OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, IRA DE A. REID, Director. New York, n.d. Pp. 175. \$1.00.

This study was initiated by Dr. Charles S. Johnson who had planned to present the status of the Negro in labor unions in relation to the interplay of social and economic forces. Dr. Johnson was not able to complete the

project and Mr. Reid has not only brought together the factual materials that had been collected but has added new data. The study is, on the whole, a presentation of valuable factual material, both documentary and statistical, dealing chiefly with the formal aspects of the situation. One may see, beneath the formal assertions of principles, chicanery, and subterfuges to keep the Negro out of trades, and undisguised exclusion by law, the more fundamental fact of economic competition between social groups. This survey forms an excellent companion to Spero and Harris' more interpretative and synthetic study of the *Black Worker*.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

FISK UNIVERSITY

Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White. By EDWIN W. SMITH. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929. Pp. xii+292. \$3.00.

The story of James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey is in some respects an African parallel to the American career of Booker Washington. Both took an attitude of conciliation in the struggle of white and black; both were outstanding interpreters of one race to the other. Aggrey, like Washington, was a master of that persuasive oratory which creates common objects and common purposes in the minds of hearers. A full-blooded African, Aggrey was no less identified with the Negro race than was Washington, and his racial philosophy was essentially similar.

But there were important differences in background, problems, and personality. Aggrey was born in the Gold Coast colony of West Africa in 1875. He came from a ruling family of the Fanti tribe and, although he early came under missionary influences, his African culture continued deeply to influence his character and outlook. Unlike many other Europeanized Africans, and in spite of twenty-two years residence in the United States, Aggrey was not denationalized. Neither did he react emotionally against Western culture. Possibly his sociological training under Giddings at Columbia, his connection with the Phelps-Stokes Commissions to Africa, and the earlier rôle of interpreter which he took, were important in developing his particular attitude toward the Eur-African cultural situation. Certainly we gain from this sympathetic biography that his death at the age of fifty-two cut short a brilliant and constructive career of leadership in the emerging new Africa.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

SKIDMORE COLLEGE

The Negro Sings a New Heaven. A collection of songs with melodies.

By MARY ALLEN GRISSOM. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. 101. \$3.00.

Students of race relations are indebted to the University of North Carolina Press for a number of volumes dealing with the American Negro. The present collection, which originated in Louisville, Kentucky, and Adair County, confirms what Odum and Johnson in their *The Negro and His Songs* (1925) wrote: "Heaven for the Negro is an eternal place where he shall occupy the best place. Whenever they mention the earth, it is for them a troublous earth which will soon be left behind after a life of trial and preparation." In contrast with James Weldon and Rosamund Johnson's *Book of American Negro Spirituals* (1925), which contained songs of a long-forgotten epoch, the present collection offers mainly the more recent religious and social Negro poetry. In this sense it supplements Odum and Johnson's earlier volume.

The classification used is: "Songs of Death," "Songs of Heaven and Resurrection," "Bible Stories in Song," "Songs of Exhortation," "Songs of Service and Personal Experience," "Shouting Songs," and "Songs of Triumph."

A modernity of tone is apparent in these songs which is effectively combined with a naïveté and vividness of attitude to which they give expression. The gripping pathos is enhanced by the simple, broken English. An additional charm of the book lies in the simplicity and originality of the melodies which are faithfully reproduced.

HANNA MEUTER

KÖLN, GERMANY

The Genius of Mexico. Lectures Delivered before the Fifth Seminar in Mexico, 1930. Edited by HUBERT C. HERRING and KATHARINE TERRILL. New York: The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 1931. Pp. 334.

These forty papers were speeches delivered to Americans come to Mexico to appreciate and to understand. On the whole they are interesting for what is implicit in them. Many of the Mexican speakers (and some of the American) express the nationalistic temper of Mexico in appreciative accounts of the folk cultures. Speaking to Americans, there is a defense of cultural as against practical values. Characteristically, the spokesmen of the folk are not themselves of it. "The science of the control of our

surroundings we may not have," says Moises Saenz, "but the folk lore of our world we have and how rich it is! The sunsets and the circles around the moon have a message for us and the *Nahuatl* forever utters prophecy."

Some of the papers, however, have their value in the direct information they contain, such as Chester Lloyd Jones's summary of the present economic position of Mexico. An interesting paper is "The Balance Sheet of the Revolution" by Carleton Beals, who is probably the most critical first-hand observer of Mexican affairs. Implicitly this chapter expresses the disappointment of a liberal in seeing that liberty has not been achieved by the revolution, and quite explicitly it declares the failure of the agrarian reforms and the economic and political shortcomings of the present régime.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mexican Labor in the United States: Dimmit County, Winter Garden District, South Texas. By PAUL S. TAYLOR. ("University of California Publications in Economics," Vol. VI, No. 5.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930. Pp. 169. \$1.25.

There is a well-established stereotype of the urban-dwelling Mexican in the United States. This individual, if the reviewer's impression is correct, is criminally inclined, is inadequately controlled by family organization, is a too-frequent charity case, and is continuously motivated by desire to return to Mexico. The picture may be statistically accurate, but it does not, according to Professor Taylor's findings, apply in Imperial Valley, California, nor in northeastern Colorado, nor, finally, in Dimmit County, Winter Garden district, south Texas. It is with this latter area that the author is especially concerned in the fifth of his studies on Mexican labor in the United States (projected by the Committee on Scientific Aspects of Human Migration of the Social Science Research Council, and continued by its Committee on Population). The following facts will serve to distinguish Professor Taylor's Dimmit County Mexican from the curbstone stereotype. First, law violation by Mexicans in the county is "inconsequential." Arrests are "far less than their numbers," and the majority of these are for the "pacific offense of gambling." Second, affectional life in the family is strong, making it a valuable control agency in the care of its members. Third, poverty cases are handled not by organized American charity (for none exists in the county) but through mutual aid within the group, and by appeal to individual Amer-

ican friends when self-help is insufficient. Finally, announced intention to emigrate, though revealing intense love of country, is essentially deceptive when accepted literally. Efforts to evade deportation, reluctance of children born in the United States to live in Mexico, and purchase of residential lots are tangible indices of purpose to remain, and imply acceptance of laborer's status.

This description of Mexican life and social organization in Dimmit County needs, of course, to be supplemented by a record of relations between Mexicans and whites (the latter are outnumbered three to one). Towns in the county are "two towns, American and Mexican." Field and hand labor is stigmatized and assigned to the inferior group. Educational facilities that exist are frequently denied—"if you enforce the school law, who would transplant onions?" Political separation is effected by the White Man's Primary that "disfranchises the Mexican no more than the Democratic Primary disfranchises the Republican." Discrimination is open and justified without apology. Despite these facts and a heritage of "high-handed dealings" and "shot-gun settlements," there was, during Professor Taylor's major visit in the spring of 1929, little indication of a belief among the county's residents that a "problem" exists. All of this is explained and continues "not only because most Americans prefer it, but also because it is acceptable to many Mexicans." Friction and prejudice thrive, to be sure, but, on the whole, only at the bottom where "little farmers" and miscellaneous white laborers sense a potential threat from selected Mexicans beginning the ascent of the socioeconomic ladder.

If the study of Mexican labor means an understanding of the Mexican laborer, the project falls short of the mark. One feels that Professor Taylor knows the individual Mexican; but one wishes that so rich a collection of materials had been used to defend some hypothesis. "Many think this, but some think that!" may be factually and literally accurate, but it is physically wearying and scientifically disappointing.

WALTER T. WATSON

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

Chicago Police Problems. By THE CITIZENS' POLICE COMMITTEE.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xix+
281. \$3.00.

This study is presented with a dual purpose: to acquaint the public with present existing police conditions in Chicago, and to furnish an index

of policy for future police administrators. The book presents a clear and concise analysis of the major issues involved. It is a study of engineering, a scientific audit of the police framework, each part of which is subjected to the closest analysis. Dealing with a subject that in the easiest possible manner might have been painted with broad strokes of political graft, muckraking, and gang warfare, this work avoids the spectacular and is not intended to meet the requirements of the zestful reader seeking front-page scandal.

To the public, it addresses the plain truth of the police ills which have beset Chicago almost from its beginning. Concerning the police executive, the statement is flatly made that "in the field of actual police administration, he is not an active force at all. He is merely a symbol." And the reader has his day in office to show just why such conditions exist. Then, too, the myth of the Civil Service Commission as the watchdog of personnel is abruptly exploded and the Commission demonstrated as the "new power in the political government."

From the scientific standpoint, the book is representative of principles which could equally apply to the police forces of other large cities. Features common to all—such as crime prevention, record keeping, the theory of uniformed patrol, traffic regulation, structural organization, duties of the various departments, combined with the essentials of equipment, are presented in an exhaustive manner. The consideration is directed throughout to a general plan by which the department will be enabled to act as a unit with minimum cost to the taxpayer. A new method of recall is suggested, a re-allocation of station houses advocated, and a general modernized version of police efficiency planned. Primarily a practical study, dealing with today's problems, presenting a solution for tomorrow's, devoid of theoretical analysis, free from prejudice, meeting a situation which undoubtedly has a counterpart in other cities, it fulfils a need long felt in the police world.

D. G. MONROE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America. By LOUIS ADAMIC. New York: The Viking Press, 1931. Pp. 437. \$3.50.

A critic is placed in a very delicate position when he attempts to review impartially a book such as this, especially when he has been an active participant in many of the thrilling dramas described by the author, has known intimately many of the men described as "dynamiters," and

has watched from a point of vantage some of the powerful upheavals described in the book.

As Emma Goldman says in her *Autobiography* (to be published shortly):

To analyze the psychology of political violence is not only extremely difficult, but also very dangerous. If such acts are treated with understanding, one is immediately accused of eulogizing them. If, on the other hand, human sympathy is expressed with the *Attentäter*, one risks being considered a possible accomplice. Yet it is only intelligence and sympathy that can bring us closer to the source of human suffering, and teach us the ultimate way out of it.

The labor radicals are calling Adamic an apologist for the capitalistic system, and the "bourgeois-minded" readers are saying, "He is prejudiced, unfair, and a 'Red.'" Adamic says, "I am not an active radical, nor a member of any labor union, but my sympathies are with labor."

He lacks the historic background and the revolutionary tradition of a Kropotkin, and the meticulous research mind of a profound student. He is a journalist with a hunch for the high spots.

The theme of Adamic's book is found in his quotation from Albert Parson's paper *The Alarm*, wherein he wrote, February 21, 1885, just prior to the Haymarket Riot:

In giving dynamite to the downtrodden millions of the globe, science has done its best work. The dear stuff can be carried in the pocket without danger, while it is a formidable weapon against any force of militia, police, or detectives that may want to stifle the cry for justice that goes forth from the plundered slaves. It is something not very ornamental, but exceedingly useful. It can be used against persons and things. It is better to use it against the former than against bricks and masonry. It is a genuine boon for the disinherited, while it brings terror and fear to the robbers. A pound of this good stuff beats a bushel of ballots all hollow—and don't you forget it! Our lawmakers might as well try to sit down on the crater of a volcano or on the point of a bayonet as to endeavor to stop the manufacture and use of dynamite. It takes more justice and right than is contained in laws to quiet the spirit of unrest.

Dynamite is crammed with thrilling tales of the last one hundred years of class war in America, a war that has had a high mortality rate and a property loss that has gone into the hundreds of millions.

The author is a little confusing when he fails to differentiate between the *Attentäter* who, because of zeal for his cause, commits an act, and a hired racketeer who would throw bombs for a consideration.

In Part V, "Murders, Massacres, and Judicial Murders," the author makes a serious mistake in linking the Mooney-Billings case, which is an

authenticated frame-up, with the Sacco and Vanzetti case, which is far from a proved frame-up.

Dynamite is a most provocative book, and has much to give the sincere student of labor problems. It might well be recommended to those who would like to know what the laboring class might do when they are desperate, for there is no better book on the subject in the English language.

BEN L. REITMAN

CHICAGO

Organization Engineering. By HENRY DENNISON. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1931. Pp. viii + 204. \$2.00.

This little book is intended, says the author, to be suggestive rather than comprehensive, but "a special effort is made to offer an ordering of the whole subject matter. . . ." The name of Henry Dennison, of Framingham, Massachusetts, is a sufficient guaranty of its quality. In 195 small pages he could not, of course, take up special problems, to say nothing of concrete examples. A discussion of this subject in perfectly general terms is in itself an interesting phenomenon. A superficial impression would be that the content is not very startling. A large fraction of the assertions made, taken out of context, could easily be ridiculed as commonplaces. Yet one is glad to have read the book thoughtfully, without skipping, from the introductory abstract to the eloquent conclusion in which the whole battle of modern life is envisaged as a problem in organization engineering—correctly, of course, within limits. At least it is a problem of organization, and this is the one critical comment we shall allow ourselves. The book draws widely from the phenomena of group life and makes extensive applications outside the field of business, and it abounds in keen human insights well stated—sometimes very well indeed. Yet this reader feels that the author is not as clearly conscious as he might be of the amount of restriction to which the field of organization is subjected when the term is coupled with that of engineering. After all, it is organized *work*, primarily, that is in his mind, and his standpoint is that of the organizer and manager. His world is not merely organized, it is one in which men "work for" others. In spite of some fine remarks about team craftsmanship, the discussion as a whole hardly fits a (professional) orchestra, not to mention a social game, which is also an organization. However, even a reader whose primary interest is in men's interests will find much that is essential and thought-provoking—more than the title gives him a right to expect.

FRANK H. KNIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Traité général de science économique. By CHRISTIAN CORNÉLISSEN.
Vol. IV, *Théorie de la rente foncière et du prix des terres.* Paris:
Marcel Giard, 1930. Pp. 380. 50 francs.

Cornélissen continues, in this volume, the elaboration of economic theory and the survey of the contemporary economic world so ably begun and pursued in his earlier volumes. The title indicates the general field but does not suggest the further fact that the volume presents an imposing description of the conditions with respect to ground rents and land values in the Western world.

The general thesis is of special interest in view of the rise of "institutional economics." Ground rent is not, according to him, some immutable thing of which the price of land and the conditions of agriculture are derivatives. Nor does the cost of production alone determine the market value of produce, and thereby also of ground rent. On the contrary, the market price of agricultural products lies at the base, and the other factors are determined derivatively by competition. Nor is there, as the older theories of ground rent assumed, a full and free competition of all land. The institutions which grow up about agriculture limit competition, or at least condition it in such a way that an ideal ground rent or value of land is of little account. Associations of proprietors, co-operatives of small farmers, syndicates of agricultural workers, and unions of tenants all enter into the process of competition. It is a competition of social groups as well as of fertility.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

What's Wrong with Unemployment Insurance? By RONALD C.
DAVISON. London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1930. Pp. 73. 2s. 6d.

Unemployment relief has been and promises for some time to be a momentous problem in the United States. As a remedy, unemployment insurance heads the list of suggestions. Our attention is regularly directed to the social advance of England and other European nations with their systems of unemployment insurance, and quite as regularly we are cautioned to beware of such pseudo-reforms which would bring in their wake nothing but evil. This book goes far in clarifying these conflicting views with respect to the English system.

During the past decade no less than twenty amendatory acts have transformed the original English unemployment act so that now its relationship to its progenitor is sometimes almost indiscernible. As a con-

tributory insurance it has helped thousands of families in the middle ranges of working-class income to prevent the reduction of their standard of living to dangerously low levels. But the depressed economic conditions of recent years have threatened the various post-war governments with an overburdened treasury and a bankrupt poor law, and they have resorted to the contributory unemployment insurance as a means of escape. One law after another relaxed the contributory requirements conditioning the payment of unemployment benefit. The regularly employed continued their contributions; the unemployed, mostly casual laborers and residents of the depressed mining areas, who could not qualify under the original terms of the law for benefits, were made eligible. The principle of a fixed ratio between contributions and benefits was virtually abandoned. The new principle became "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need." The Act of January, 1930, takes cognizance of this fact in providing that those ineligible to receive benefits by reason of lack of contributions should no longer be a charge upon the unemployment fund, but that their "transitional benefits" from April, 1929, to April, 1931, should be borne by the Exchequer itself. The 1930 law distinguished between benefit and public charity, but failed to remove from the benefit list great numbers not entitled to unemployment relief. Moreover, the law does not differentiate between regular benefit given to qualified contributors and "transitional" benefit extended to those with insufficient contributions. Both classes are granted relief *as a right*, with no advantage to the main body of insured workers. Thus the present scheme of relief merits the characterization of a mixture of unemployment benefits, donations in the form of unemployment benefits, and outdoor relief or charity.

In the author's opinion there are just three possible solutions to the unemployment insurance muddle. These are: (1) to abandon the compulsory contribution scheme and throw the entire cost of relief upon the government; (2) to retain the contributory scheme for normal workers only and to set up a secondary free benefit or donation at lower rates of benefit for those who have lost their rights in the contributory scheme; and (3) to retain a high-grade contributory scheme for normal workers and to leave the care of all others to the public assistance authorities. The non-contributory scheme would result in an almost indiscriminate distribution of cash unless a means or need test were applied, in which case it would be indistinguishable from a vast system of national outdoor relief. Moreover, the inevitable extension of such relief to all classes not now covered and the enormous cost negatives the possibility of such a pro-

gram. The dual system of unemployment benefits is characterized as a dubious blend of the contributory and non-contributory principles. Inasmuch as the free donation for those who cannot meet the contribution tests would be financed wholly from the national treasury, this would admit of greater justice for the contributors, making possible greater benefits or a reduction of the contribution. The third alternative is accepted by the author as the most logical and the most sensible.

A return to a definite and uniform ratio between benefit and contributions is advocated, resulting in a complete divorce between contributory unemployment insurance and public relief. Public relief administered by the public assistance authorities no longer carries the stigma of the old poor law. These officers are best qualified to administer to the able-bodied unemployed who are not eligible to insurance benefits, for the Exchequer grant to local authorities takes into consideration the number out of work in the community, and the same body, aided by the Unemployment Grants Committee, is charged with the task of providing relief work.

EARL E. MUNTZ

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Der Einfluss des Krieges auf die Landwirtschaftliche Produktion in Deutschland. By VON FRIEDRICH AEREBOE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927. Pp. xv+233.

Professor Aereboe, the leading German scholar in the field of agriculture, presents here a brief but authoritative account of the disorganizing effect of the World War upon German agriculture and the problems of readjustment that have come to the fore in the post-war period. He shows that no solution to the problems of the German farmer is thinkable without taking account of the world and German economic situation. The extent to which tradition has perpetuated a condition bordering on a state of serfdom in certain parts of Germany is incidentally described, but, from a sociological point of view, one misses an account of the unique landlord-tenant and Junker-agricultural laborer relationship that continues in the eastern provinces. The book ends with a plea for international peace. It is a valuable addition to the series on the "Economic and Social History of the World War," published under the editorial direction of Professor James T. Shotwell for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

LOUIS WIRTH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Der Gesellschafts- und Staatsbegriff Platons. By BARTH. LANDHEER.
Rotterdam: N. V. Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1929. Pp. x+81.

Plato's Concept of Society and State, by Dr. Barth. Landheer, was written several years ago as a doctoral dissertation, but was first published only in 1929. As the title suggests it is a critical essay on the social theory of Plato, the author having studied the dialogues, but more particularly the *Republic*, with a view to the rediscovery of whatever they might have to offer toward the formulation of a social theory for our own times. Although Dr. Landheer expressly recognizes the distinction between evaluative, or normative, and non-evaluative social science, he declares his inability to understand why human beings, capable of framing ideas of what ought to be, should content themselves with the mere description of what is (pp. 48-49). It is in this spirit that he has undertaken the re-examination of Plato's political dialogues, and, incidentally, of those in which the theory of ideas is most expressly developed. The resulting essay is, of course, not sociology as the subject is generally understood in this country, but should prove interesting to all those who are concerned with the more recondite problems of social ethics.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Industrial Village Churches. By EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930. Pp.xii+193. \$1.50.

Much that has been written of the small town has been based upon studies of agricultural villages which, because of their large number, set the pattern for village life in America. In this volume we have a report of a study of the single industry type of village, much less important numerically, but still sufficiently numerous to have a total population in this country of about 4,000,000 people. The 69 industrial villages for which data were collected were for the most part textiles communities in New England and the South and coal mining communities in the Middle and Far West. The first half of the book describes the economic, social, and institutional life of these villages, while the concluding chapters deal with the problems and programs of the village churches.

On the whole, the picture painted is somewhat dark and forbidding. Frequently the surroundings are unattractive, the standard of living low, and the position of the workers insecure. In such a situation it is not surprising to find both the church and the school less effective than in more

highly favored localities. The chapter on social life presents interesting data on community conflicts, race relations, occupational cliques, and the low status of mill workers in the South. The book is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of small-town life.

J. F. STEINER

CHICAGO

Small Towns, an Estimate of Their Trade and Culture. By WALTER BURR. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. Pp. x+267. \$2.50.

This work might well be entitled *Debunking Rural Life in America*. Although chiefly concerned with questions lying within the field of rural community organization, the discussion makes frequent excursions into the fields of population, politics, and economics. Perhaps it is this utilization of a number of disciplines that enables the author to level a singularly devastating criticism at the stereotypes, sentimentalities, and obscurantist demagogueries that persistently bedevil the discussion of rural problems in this country. Particularly noteworthy is the author's analysis of the widespread *cliché* concerning the imminent disappearance of the small country town. He states that only those communities disappear which cease to play a vital rôle in the social economy of their surrounding areas, and he goes on to enumerate ways in which they can increase their prosperity by increasing their usefulness. The discussion of rural population changes is a welcome relief from the conventional Jeremiads on this subject. Particularly noteworthy is chapter vii which embodies the fruits of a first-hand study of population shifts in thirteen rural counties. It was discovered, for example, that a considerable fraction of the country-to-city "movement" in those areas was accounted for by the incorporation of outlying farm lands into the territory of expanding cities and towns, involving little if any actual shift in population.

The style of the book is popular in the extreme. There is evidence of lack of continuity, of a certain amount of repetition, and occasional interludes of hortatory meliorism.

NILES CARPENTER

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

Students' Attitudes: A Report of the Syracuse University Reaction Study. By D. KATZ and F. H. ALLPORT. Syracuse: Craftsman Press, 1931. Pp. xxviii+408.

This volume sets forth the principal findings, together with the authors' interpretation thereof, of a study conducted by the questionnaire method

among all the students of Syracuse University in the spring of 1926. Through the co-operation of the administration, all classes were dismissed for a two-hour period during which each of 4,248 students filled out the blank under supervision. Thus one of the chief difficulties of the questionnaire method, the element of selection, was eliminated; the attempt was made to circumvent the other main pitfall, that of careless or misleading checking, by arousing the interest of the students in the project in advance and by insuring absolute anonymity.

The questions dealt with all manner of student problems and interests, such as reasons for coming to college, their rating of various factors in college life, attitudes toward studies, fraternities, cribbing, co-education, their personal ideals, need for advice, religious beliefs, etc. The multiple choice method was adopted, and the authors spent six months gathering possible shades of student opinion on the various questions and transforming them into a questionnaire. The results seem to indicate that this preliminary work was unusually well done.

The study reveals nothing startling, but many of its findings are extremely significant. Some suspicions of long standing are confirmed, and in other instances the facts will give administrators new food for thought. For instance, half of the non-fraternity students wish a system in which all who so desire may join a fraternity. Further, more than one-half of the students believed that at least half of their fellows would crib on a quiz or final examination. That this estimate is not far wrong is indicated by the fact that only 47 per cent asserted that they had never received unauthorized help. Somewhat surprising was the orthodox tone of the religious attitudes. Only 22 per cent were in any degree agnostic or atheistic.

From a theoretical standpoint many will be offended by the dogmatic way in which the authors assume that to believe that a fraternity is more than a collection of separate individuals is to believe in a fiction. It is of course Allport's "group fallacy" idea cropping out. Fortunately this bias does not in any way affect the factual findings but only the authors' interpretation of them.

In general, the study constitutes an important addition to our scientific knowledge of university life. Even those who are not interested in the problems of students will find the supplementary chapter on the technique of attitude measurement valuable. The form used has been published by C. H. Stoelting Co., Chicago, as *A Reaction Study for the Measurement of Student Opinion*. It has been revised to suit the needs of colleges and universities in general.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Second Oldest Profession. By DR. BEN L. REITMAN. New York: Vanguard Press, 1931. Pp. 266. \$3.75.

The man who wrote this book has two failings, neither of which should prejudice the reader against an intimate and important treatise on one whose profession it is to supervise the oldest profession, prostitution. The first failing relates to the author's use of statistics to support his occasional extreme statements, as when he estimates the amount of illicit sex in a city of three million. The second failing is the touch of sentiment here and there. Every once in a while he gets a little uneasy about being so thoroughly informed on his subject, and looks up to remind us that after all he is himself a man of good works and better intentions, and so he moralizes a little.

These shortcomings detract little from the book and mar not at all the author's twenty years of professional and personal contact with prostitutes and their consorts. We have read more polished books on the subject but never one that took us so near the heart of it. It is rugged, convincing. It clothes the pimp with the attributes of a person, makes the pimp-prostitute symbiosis understandable.

In time we may expect more imposing and scholarly works on this subject, but they will be written by professors and research experts who, because of the taboos that hedge them about, must handle their data with gloves. Scholars may be less emotional, but this is a revealing picture of how women drift into the life of the red light, of their struggles and gropings, and of the part played in their lives by the pimp. Without him the prostitute could not carry on, and without her he would go hungry. Without the pair of them, politics and racketeering in the great city would function badly. Finally, without this book our literature on underworld life would be lacking a very significant document.

NELS ANDERSON

SETH LOW COLLEGE

Health at the Gateway. Problems and International Obligations of a Seaport City. By E. W. HOPE. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1931. Pp. xiv+213.

As the title indicates, this book deals with the administrative problems of health in a great seaport city—Liverpool. In public health campaigns and experiments Liverpool has been a pioneer among English cities, and frequently sanitary legislation after successful rehearsal here came to be embodied in public-health acts for the benefit of the whole country. The reason for Liverpool's preoccupation with such matters was, of

course, its close and intimate connection with all other seaports, home and foreign, which unavoidably linked its health with theirs. Very early in its history Liverpool was compelled to pay close attention to methods of quarantine, and to the health and housing conditions of its population, it being well realized that insanitary conditions in the city would be highly dangerous in case of plagues and epidemics. Gradually every phase of public health was scrutinized and improvements were effected in port conditions, water and food supplies, schools and housing, which transformed this most unwholesome seaport to one of the foremost for cleanliness and health in the world.

This book adds another proof to the thesis that genius in public health is an infinite capacity for making drains. Students of hygiene will be indebted to the author, who is professor of public health in the University of Liverpool and formerly the city's Medical Officer of Health, for his carefully written account. The book contains some interesting maps and useful charts showing the decline that has taken place in alcoholism, tuberculosis, and infant mortality since the functioning of effective health legislation in Liverpool.

J. RUMYANECK

LONDON, ENGLAND

The Great Apes, A Study of Anthropoid Life. By ROBERT M. YERKES and ADA W. YERKES. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. Pp. xix+652.

The authors have "catalogued, digested, abstracted, and, as necessary, translated the literature of anthropoid life." "Only incidentally does the volume support theses or present hypotheses; it is offered, in the disinterested spirit of science, to promote knowledge and enlightenment through the encouragement of honest, painstaking, unprejudiced observation." "This volume, projected as preparation for anthropoid research, stands also as historical introduction to a train of papers, monographs, and books on phases of anthropoid life and on solution of biological problems in terms of that life which will increase with years."

The book is divided into six parts. In the first part the historical development of our knowledge of the anthropoids is described. The next four sections deal with the gibbon, the orang-outang, the chimpanzee, and the gorilla. In the last chapter the various primate types from lemur to man are compared, and the results of this comparison are presented in a tabular résumé.

An analysis of the widely scattered anthropoid literature is a job requiring not only patience but also an intimate acquaintance with the characteristics of primates, such as can be gained only in years of experimental work with these animals. The authors, whose knowledge of anthropoid behavior is undoubtedly more extensive than that of any other living investigators, have, therefore, done a great service for all students of comparative psychology in separating fact and fable in the literature of the great apes. In the historical part of the book, the thankless task of tracing the progress of our knowledge through the ages has been performed admirably. Of special value are the many quotations (in English) from sources generally inaccessible to the worker in the field of animal behavior. It is fortunate that in the main part of the book (pp. 47-526) the different apes—gibbon, orang-outang, chimpanzee, and gorilla—receive separate treatment. In this way, much confusion has been avoided. Attention is given to structural appearance, species, and habitat; to mode of life, life-history, and social relations; to affectivity, receptivity, intelligence, and adaptive behavior. The experimental as well as the non-experimental literature is critically examined; the reports of hunters, naturalists, etc., are not neglected. Throughout this treatment emphasis is laid not upon the structural and physiological aspects, but upon the psychobiological characteristics of the animals. The authors point out the importance of anthropoid studies for genetics, physiology, neuro- and psychopathology, psychology and psychobiology, sociology, pedagogy, and hygiene. This program is of special interest in view of the research now being carried on under Professor R. M. Yerkes in the Primate Laboratory in the Institute of Psychology at Yale University and in the affiliated station in Florida.

It is quite impossible for the reviewer to give an adequate account of the wealth of material analyzed by the authors in preparing this handbook. A thoroughly detached attitude prevails throughout the book. No attempt is made to discuss the sociological aspects of anthropoid life in terms of the categories employed in modern sociology; but in a circumspect way a number of facts are presented which deserve the attention of the sociologist.

It is possible that some objections may be raised, e.g., to the view of Kroeber that the anthropoid apes manifest "at least some measure of the basal psychic ingredients which enter into culture" and that the further study of these animals "will be invaluable in the illumination of the basic problems of anthropology and all the social sciences . . ."; but there is no question that sociology must welcome any kind of biological or psy-

chological information apt to throw light on the action—systems of personality psychophysically viewed, in short, on the dynamics of human behavior. It is undoubtedly a difficult task for the sociologist to discover, and then to utilize, just those “bits” of biological knowledge which really matter in the solution of sociological problems. At any rate, it is quite clear that nothing is achieved by merely borrowing and glibly using some of the concepts formulated in the biological sciences, such as “behavior,” “*Gestalt*,” etc.

The volume under review is beautifully illustrated (172 illustrations) and has a subject and author index and a very extensive bibliography.

HEINRICH KLÜVER

BEHAVIOR RESEARCH FUND
CHICAGO

The Physical Basis of Personality. By CHARLES R. STOCKARD.
New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1931. Pp. xviii+316. \$3.50.

The reader will not be disappointed if he does not pitch his expectations according to the publisher's announcement that in this book science at last reveals how the physical appearance of every human being is a definite clue to his behavior, his personality, and his psychology. Professor Stockard, who is well known for his breeding experiments at the Cornell University Experimental Morphology Farm, has written a readable account of what recent knowledge has to say about the physical determination of individual personalities. He traces the developing personality from its inception, through every stage of pre- and post-natal life, and clearly shows how subtle the interaction is between its genetic foundation and the internal and external environment under which it develops:

Since most experimental work on the physical and structural aspects of personality relates to animals, the reader learns more about animal than human personality. As in most biological books purporting to explain the human being, little is said about him. Much space is devoted to the structural types among the various breeds of dogs, and the inheritance of form among them. Breeding experiments indicate that the growth of distorted types of freaks among dogs is paralleled by the growth of human freaks. In both cases they result from modifications in structure and function of their internally secreting glands.

The most interesting and all-too-brief section of the book is that relating to personality and structural types among normal individuals. The

author classifies people into two main groups, the linear and the lateral. The first type is generally thin, though not necessarily tall, and as a rule is adventurous, active, energetic, nervous, and self-conscious. The second type tends to be wide and lateral, the organs being spread and voluminous; he is inclined to follow rather than lead, is placid, and possesses a higher regard for details and preparedness than the first type. It is more than doubtful whether the complexity of human physical types, to say nothing of their psychological correlatives, lends itself to dichotomous division. Biologists are too simplistic when discussing human personality. Too frequently, also, a number of wide generalizations are made in the book, unsupported by any factual basis, for example: "The susceptible and less fit individuals that formerly died of the one time prevalent infectious diseases are now, in the absence of such diseases, killed by automobiles and other modern devices" (p. 47).

A useful bibliography is appended.

J. RUMYANECK

LONDON, ENGLAND

A Bibliography of Social Surveys. Reports of Fact-Finding Studies Made as a Basis for Social Action; Arranged by Subjects and Localities. By ALLEN EATON AND SHELBY M. HARRISON. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. Pp. xlviii+467. \$3.50.

This useful volume contains a total of 2,775 titles of survey reports published prior to January 1, 1928. These are divided into two major divisions, general social surveys and surveys in specialized fields, the former numbering 154 and the latter 2,621. The largest list of specialized surveys falls within the field of schools and education. Next in order are health and sanitation, industrial conditions, city and regional planning, delinquency and correction, and housing. Other fields having a considerable number are child welfare, recreation, mental hygiene, cost of living, religion, and conditions among Negroes. Every state is represented among these surveys, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and California leading with more than 100 each and totaling almost half of all those listed. In general, the authors confined their list of surveys to those made in the United States and Canada. The small number included from other countries were for the most part those in which American workers had participated.

The surveys listed in this volume are classified under general headings and localities studied, both alphabetically arranged. The use of the Bib-

liography is facilitated by a Table of Contents which gives a complete list of the subject headings, and a geographical index where all the reports are classified as to locality. Unfortunately there is no author index.

In the introductory chapter, which discusses the rise and spread of the social survey movement, little attention is paid to recent developments in social research, although the latter is closely related to social surveys and is apparently tending to supplant them in public interest. The extraordinary emphasis in recent years upon purely objective types of social research, with no effort to influence social action, is certainly a fact of major importance which should have been given a place in the comprehensive summary of trends in the modern survey movement.

J. F. STEINER

CHICAGO

Civilization and Its Discontents. By SIGMUND FREUD. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1930. Pp. 144. \$2.25.

Sexualethik, Sinn und Grundlagen der Geschlechtsmoral. By AUREL KOLNAL. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1930. Pp. xii+447.

The Shutter of Snow. By EMILY HOLMES COLEMAN. New York: The Viking Press, 1930. Pp. 245.

The latest essay of Professor Freud's has been translated with customary exactitude by Joan Riviere. Professor Freud occupies himself with the problem of human happiness in civilized society, and the line of his thought is partially indicated in the closing paragraph, where he writes that "The fateful question of the human species seems to me to be whether and to what extent the cultural process developed in it will succeed in mastering the derangements of communal life caused by the human instinct of aggression and self-destruction." The primitive impulses of the infant and child often conflict with the environment. Renunciation of direct gratification is due to the feelings of guilt which arise from the dread of authority. This "can best be designated as the dread of losing love." If the individual "loses the love of others on whom he is dependent, he will forfeit also their protection against many dangers, and above all he runs the risk that this stronger person will show his superiority in the form of punishing him" (p. 107). When the individual renounces a direct gratification, he introjects (internalizes) the command of the environment, and builds up the mental structure which is called the super-ego. "Having made this renunciation, one is quits with authority, so to speak; no feeling of guilt should remain" (p. 112). But the development of the

super-ego creates a new source of dread within the ego structure itself. The super-ego has "perception inward," and the persisting wish cannot be hidden from the super-ego authority. Instinct renunciation now follows, due to the dread of conscience, which is a function of the super-ego. Thus, "in spite of the renunciations made, feelings of guilt will be experienced and this is a great disadvantage economically of the erection of the super-ego, or, as one may say, of the formation of the conscience. Renunciation no longer has a completely absolving effect; virtuous restraint is no longer rewarded by the assurance of love; a threatened external unhappiness—loss of love and punishment meted out by external authority—has been exchanged for a lasting inner unhappiness, the tension of a sense of guilt" (p. 112).

But, he asks, how can we explain the effect produced by misfortune, that is to say, by a renunciation externally imposed, in increasing the positive rigor of conscience? This Freud holds to be due to the formation of conscience in the beginning from the suppression of an aggressive impulse, and the strengthening of conscience as time goes on by each fresh suppression of the kind. He rejects the view that any thwarted instinctual gratification results in a heightening of the sense of guilt, holding this to be valid *only* for the aggressive instincts (p. 131). He writes that "the original severity of the super-ego does not—or not so much—represent the severity which has been experienced or anticipated from the object, but expresses the child's own aggressiveness toward the latter" (p. 116). Thus a child who has been very leniently treated can acquire a very strict conscience because, in face of the love which is showered on it, the child has no other way of disposing of its aggressiveness than to turn it inward.

This summary perhaps suffices to convey what Freud has in mind when he says, "Since culture obeys an inner erotic impulse which bids it bind mankind into a closely-knit mass, it can achieve this aim only by means of its vigilance in fomenting an ever-increasing sense of guilt." "If civilization is an inevitable course of development from the group of the family to the group of humanity as a whole, then an intensification of the sense of guilt—resulting from the innate conflict of ambivalence, from the eternal struggle between the love and death trends—will be inextricably bound up with it, until perhaps the sense of guilt may swell to a magnitude that individuals can hardly support" (p. 122). The latter allusions can only be understood when they are taken in connection with Freud's theories of the life and death instinct, a topic which would carry us too far afield to summarize.

One or two comments may be made for the sake of explaining the sig-

nificance of this essay in Freud's intellectual development. He made his distinctive contribution by conducting a remarkable analysis of the sexual instinct, treating the completed heterosexual pattern as an integration of many previously unconnected components. He always admitted the existence of other than sexual instincts, but they played a minor rôle in his system. In 1914, he made his first important contribution to the analysis of the ego structure, when he directed attention to the libidinization of the ego (narcissism). Some of the energy of the sexual instinct (libido) became available to the ego during the course of development. But considerable ambiguity still remained, for did not the ego have instinctual energies of its own? Freud refused to follow Jung in enlarging the term "libido" to refer to the sum total of instinctual energy, and he refused to follow Adler in endowing the ego with preponderant energy. By a bold, speculative leap he achieved formal proportionality between two manifestations of individual energy by postulating the life and the death instincts. This essay may be characterized roughly as a deductive application of the concept of the death instinct to the problem of the ego in psychoanalytical theory. Some of the strains which he explains in the new formulation were previously treated as due to failures of the various components of the sexual instinct to integrate smoothly.

It is no doubt Freud's preoccupation with rectifying his theory of individual development that gives this essay a certain unexpected thinness, when it is critically considered from the sociological point of view. Freud seems to toy in passing with certain ideas, but sensing some of the methodological problems involved, draws hurriedly back. "It can be maintained," he writes, "that the community, too, develops a super-ego, under whose influence cultural evolution proceeds. It would be an enticing task for an authority on human systems of culture to work out this analogy in specific cases." "The super-ego of any given epoch of civilization originates in the same way as that of an individual; it is based on the impression left behind them by great leading personalities." "Would not the diagnosis be justified that many systems of civilization—or epochs of it, possibly even the whole of humanity—have become 'neurotic' under the pressure of the civilizing trends?"

To register disappointment with the essay is perhaps only to say that one has come to overestimate the creative potentialities of one who has contributed so richly to the science of man.

The volume on sex ethics by Aurel Kolnai has far more value for the objective social scientist than is common with treatises on ethical questions. Kolnai is less interested in the dogmatic exposition of a positive

point of view than in considering the means of a quest for moral standards in the realm of sexuality. He carefully discusses our available biological and psychological knowledge, and this gives to his pages an empirical richness which other philosophers might advantageously emulate. As a very young man Kolnai wrote a series of promising essays on the sociological significance of psychoanalysis, but following his ethical and religious bent he presently ceased active association with psychoanalysis and became a Catholic. Kolnai's erudition is exact and impressive, and this treatise is executed in the best traditions of European scholarship.

The Shutter of Snow is the literary outcome of the parturition psychosis through which a very talented young woman passed. The clinical psychologist will find here a richly nuanced characterization of the inner life of the patient. Its impressionistic, aesthetic excellence ought admirably to counteract the scientific tendency to ignore the subtleties of the individual case. One immediately thinks of other celebrated post-psychotic documents, like the autobiography of Clifford Beers, and the anonymous *Letter to a Friend* (Open Court Publishing Company, 1928).

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Criminal, the Judge and the Public, A Psychological Analysis.

By FRANZ ALEXANDER and HUGO STAUB, translated by GREGORY ZILBOORG. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xx+238. \$2.50.

It is clear that when a sufficiently sophisticated and detailed account of human nature is achieved, its applications will be numerous throughout every one of the social disciplines. The authors of this book, feeling themselves in possession of these indispensable insights, have undertaken to apply their techniques to the problem of crime and the criminal. For readers with insight into psychoanalytical formulations, or with the exploratory boldness to assume the concepts and test them out on the case material presented, this will prove a stimulating book. The authors have clearly and rapidly run over the foundations of analytical pedagogy, and have then touched the problem of the common "sense of justice," representing it neatly as an intrapsychic equilibrium between the justifiable demands for expression and renunciation of personal motivations. Their formulations on this point of collective psychology seem to be only in a preliminary stage. They urge that the criminal is responsible only so far as his conduct is subject to reflective consideration, and that where the ego does not participate in the act, warnings, threats, and punishment are

useless. The authors regard criminality not as a congenital defect, but as a defect in the rearing of the person. Many "criminals" would be classified by psychoanalysis as neurotic personalities, the real neurotic expressing by symptoms (autoplastically) what the neurotic character of the criminal expresses by actions of social significance (alloplastically). The therapeutic implication is that it is useless to punish the neurotic character. Worse, it may be harmful, since he often loves and seeks the objective condemnation of society as a relief from the sharper torments of his super-ego.

Let us be clear that the super-ego cannot be used as a synonym for "conscience" in the lay sense. It is conscience plus another value. This value or dynamism is an "internal perception function," an inward-backward-looking condemning structure which stands guard over the latent dispositions to act, and which maintains its sovereignty without the purview of reflective consideration. The super-ego may be thought of as an attitude or rôle standing over against other attitudes and rôles outside the "field of consciousness," and incessantly scrutinizing the preliminary implications of the act.

If this implicit "policeman," built into the personality in the image and likeness of the parents, is accepted, the contribution of Alexander and Staub becomes intelligible and important. On the basis of relative participation of ego processes, criminals are classified by the authors. They point out two groups, "chronic" and "accidental" criminals. Of chronic criminals, there are: (1) the *organic criminals*, such as idiots, where the mediating functions of the personality have not matured; (2) *neurotic criminals*, of the compulsive type such as kleptomaniacs, or of the type "criminals through sense of guilt" where the inner psychological crime is expiated by the less feared objective punishment; (3) *offenders with the criminal super-ego* (or sociological criminals) where the normally inhibiting super-ego is modeled on the mores of an aberrant group; and finally (4) the *genuine criminal*, a theoretical type where the super-ego is absent and the aboriginal impulses of the person blaze directly at the world. To complete the categories are the types of "accidental criminals" who err through mistakes, or who commit situational crimes generally condoned because of extraordinary provocation. Therapeutic indications are: for the organic criminals, isolation; for the sociological criminals, re-education in the form of new social objectives; and for the neurotic criminals, psychoanalysis, that is, revaluation of the environment. It is with the neurotic criminals that the book is mainly concerned.

A new theoretical wrinkle of importance is the formulation, on page

206, that "many neurotic murderers represent disguised suicides." Such a murder may give the perpetrator a positive self-righteous glow. The authors give us also a sensible discussion of the perverse criminal, recommending removal of the criminal stigma and toleration for adult perverts, isolation for the dangerous, and psychoanalytic re-education for the unadjusted and resistant persons of this group. The authors are not optimistic that their recommendations for therapy, rather than punishment of the group of neurotic criminals, will meet with immediate favor. They perceive that communal demands for expiation by and retaliation on offenders will continue to provide primitive satisfactions of a high order of personal usefulness, and they believe that these strong demands will not soon abate. The medical matrix of psychoanalysis and its European setting in the ethnology and psychology of the late nineteenth century will provide many terminological difficulties for American social psychologists, to wit, the term "instincts" with all its variants, but if the setting is not, the universe of discourse of psychoanalysis is thoroughly social. It is regrettable that the cases given permitted only the use of the psychoanalytical insights for interpretation rather than the full application of the depth technique itself with explicit revelation of infantile attitudes, but we must grant that the criminal material is refractory and difficult of deeper access. The authors have given us a suggested exploration of the possibilities of their technique in an important social field.

JOHN DOLLARD

YALE UNIVERSITY

Our Knowledge of Other Minds. By W. WYLIE SPENCER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. 145.

Anyone performs a service to science and philosophy who picks out for systematic analysis and criticism a problem with which other thinkers have been forced to deal but which they have usually treated in a quite incidental and cursory manner. This service is the more important if the problem selected is a logically focal one and if the analysis is carried out in a clear, orderly, and readable portrayal. Professor Spencer has laid philosophers and social scientists under his indebtedness in all three of these respects.

Opening with a pragmatic refutation of solipsism, the author outlines a list of essential characteristics of mind which he follows by a detailed criticism of the traditional argument from analogy for the existence of other minds. In company with such contemporary thinkers as Hocking,

Royce, Stout, Broad, Burns, and Laird, he then develops the two specific criteria of the presence of other minds which he thinks most coercive from the logical standpoint, namely, planful organization of material especially in the form of evaluative judgments, and responsiveness to our own conscious efforts in ways which attest consciousness of common objects and ends. The argument thus based is not, he regards, an absolute proof, but possesses a very high degree of probability.

Since Professor Spencer accepts the contention of thinkers like Royce and Burns that realization of our own existence as minds is attained only through the parallel discovery of other minds, there is a possibility that he has not adequately recognized another type of logical consideration here, namely, that the existence of other minds is a necessary condition (in the Kantian sense) of the factual insistence on our own existence as minds. He steers away from this argument on the ground that he is considering not how we come to know that there are minds but what arguments for other minds are logically coercive. But if Royce and Burns are right the Kantian approach would seem to telescope the two problems and offer in outline a solution to both.

E. A. BURTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Psychology of the Common Branches. By WILLIAM HENRY PYLE. Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc., 1930. Pp. 373. \$2.10.

The purpose of this book, according to the author, "is to set forth the principles of teaching reading, spelling, handwriting and arithmetic—the elementary skill subjects—insofar as these principles have been scientifically established."

The study aims to include a consideration of the psychological principles involved in teaching the fundamentals and therefore indicates neither directly nor by implication the sociological principles involved, although the introductory statement leads the reader to infer that the author has in mind all the principles involved. My guess is that the author is unaware of the fact that sociological principles are involved in teaching at all.

The reviewer is strongly of the opinion that much harm has been done in the development of the school program by this one-sided emphasis in educational method. The author may contend that he is not interested, in this text, in the social aspects of teaching; but that is just the point—

none of the other writers on method are interested in its sociological aspects.

Take, for instance, this author's discussion of the measurement of reading. He explains in full how to measure speed and comprehension in reading and outlines the method of their development after the manner of writers in this field, but nowhere does he even imply that the most important thing to measure about reading is not rate or speed and comprehension at all, but rather reading habits and the effect of reading upon personality.

Moreover, the author, like others, leaves the impression that he has said all that should be said about the teaching and measurement of reading. A psychologist should be equally interested in the development of capacities or qualities other than speed and comprehension, and his failure to indicate his interest leaves the impression that there are no other outcomes of teaching reading to be sought or measured. But these weaknesses, as viewed from the standpoint of the sociologist, are no worse in this text than in others of its kind, and we should say, with fairness to this author, that the book is well written, the text is attractively printed, and within the limits outlined above he has done an orthodox job well. We wish, however, that some writer of texts would see education not as the process of acquiring the fundamental facts of subjects but as personality growth.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Theory of Legislation, An Essay on the Dynamics of the Public Mind.

By E. JORDAN. Indianapolis: Progress Publishing Co., 1930. Pp. 486.

Professor Jordan first attracted the attention of students of jurisprudence and political theory after the publication of his *Forms of Individuality* in 1927. In spite of the tortuous style the patient and well-schooled reader could discern a trend of thought which offered much promise for the future. The present book continues the double tradition of obscurity and profundity. He pays his respects in no uncertain terms to "subjective naturalistic-religious individualism" and "sociological opportunism and pragmatism" and insists that hope lies "in approaching all problems from the viewpoint of corporate mind as the ultimate practical postulate." It is fallacious to describe legislating as subjective agreement. It is nonsense to talk about a harmony of interests. A public synthesis

depends upon the discovery and promulgation of a goal which is capable, not only of winning spontaneous assent, but of becoming particularized as a stable social object.

Jordan instances the postal service as an activity which has achieved a high level of effectiveness due to the legislative act of defining its goal in unambiguously public terms. This definition arose in a situation in which the promulgation of the objective brought about in due order the development of the personnel and the practices capable of materializing the goal in permanent activity relations. "Interests" were not compromised or "integrated"; they were superseded. If the nature of the legislative act becomes more self-conscious, far-reaching consequences will follow, of which he throws out a few hints. For one thing the idea of an "executive" will be relegated to the scrap heap. There will be fewer obstacles in the way of achieving a corporate class of free intellects whose speculative imagination is allowed to wander at will in the construction of the schema of ideas, and of experimentally verifying them until they can be reduced to law. Private property will disappear as a conception, and as a system of negating claims. Preoccupation with techniques unrelated to the concept of the whole will diminish in the social and the physical sciences.

As may be faintly seen from the foregoing this is the work of a daring and independent thinker who has worked out his own formulas with full reference to the best thought of his time. He can say pungent and provocative things about the nature of our own culture, and about the colossal aberration of modern "science" in its endless pursuit of techniques, regardless of frequent reference to "wholes." For those steeped in positivistic social science, Jordan's book is to be recommended. That such a treatise could appear at all in American jurisprudence is a sign of belated concern for underlying postulates.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

The World's Population Problems and a White Australia. By H. L. WILKINSON. London: P. S. King & Son, 1930. Pp. xvii+339. 18s.

This book is divided into two parts of ten chapters each. Part I deals with the population of the world, over- and underpopulated countries, migration and immigration, interbreeding and segregation. Part II discusses the population problems of Australia.

The author attempts to bring out

(1) that unless there is an immediate extension of general birth-control, the world's population will increase at an almost overwhelmingly rapid rate; (2) that

there will ensue intense pressure of population, much unemployment and great shortage of food in certain countries; (3) that peaceful migration is no longer a solution to overpopulation; (4) that the provision of food for the vastly greater numbers of people must depend on more intense cultivation, on the development of unused land, and on the conservation of rainfall, all of which call for the investment of capital and the maintenance of sound credit; and (5) that whilst peace and progress in international trade are essential to the world, war for the purpose of relieving overpopulation in certain countries cannot be regarded as improbable; in some cases no other means seem to be available.

Professor Wilkinson estimates that Canada can support 100,000,000 and the United States four or five times her present number. He sets the present world population at 2,000 million and estimates that, at the present rate of increase, there will be 8,000 million.

For hundreds of years pressures of population have been relieved by migrations and emigration, but the immigration laws of the underpopulated countries are now preventing relief by these means. Nations will now have to absorb their own increases by adopting better methods of agriculture and utilizing their resources in manufacturing. On the bases of difference of race, cultural backgrounds, and standards of living, Wilkinson justifies the "White Australia" policy, which is effected by excluding immigrants (especially Asiatics and Negroes) by the "dictation" test. Australia feared her immigration restriction legislation is going to be challenged. Because of this, she hesitated in becoming a member of the League of Nations. Wilkinson thinks that Australia can extend the "White Australia" policy by assisting the overcrowded countries, especially Japan and Italy, in the expansion of their manufacturing by such things as favorable custom duties.

Although the book contains much interesting material, there are certain exaggerations, inconsistencies, and contradictions. For example, on page 194 we are told that in the United States "The Negro is not permitted to join trade unions"; "He is not allowed to vote"; and Negro children have separate schools or they are kept away from the white." On page 171 we are told that in 1915 Uruguay prohibited the "immigration of Asiatics. In other South American republics there are no restrictions placed on immigration." Three lines below we read, "The immigration of Chinese into Cuba, Ecuador and Peru is prohibited . . . and 'colored people' from the West Indies are not permitted to immigrate into Venezuela." On pages 35, 56-58, 68-69, 76-77, we are led to believe that the Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Javanese, etc., have no desire to migrate to nearby lands where better conditions prevail, and do not have the

desire or money for passage to go a considerable distance like to the New World or Africa. Yet in the last part of the book we learn that Australia would have been overrun with Asiatics had she not adopted the "White Australia" policy.

H. G. DUNCAN

UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Survey of American Foreign Relations. By CHARLES P. HOWLAND.
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xvii+541. \$5.00.

This third annual survey of American foreign relations, issued under the auspices of the Council of Foreign Relations, divides its attention between a historical, economic, and general culture background of one aspect of these relations, and a critical sketch and interpretation of the various outstanding international situations in which the United States has played a part during the past year. China and the New Pacific occupy 340 of the book's 520 pages, the rest being devoted to armament limitation, the Pact of Paris, and other topics.

Sociologists interested in conflict should go into the details of America's earliest diplomacy in China under the tutelage of MacNair's unexcelled succinct presentation—an antidote to conventional patter about the "opium" wars—and into the relations between the Soviet and China (too briefly presented), and the Soviet and European diplomacy. The treatment of post-war Pacific diplomacy, largely from Blakeslee, is up to about the same level. In the difficult problem of China's economic relations, on the whole very ably handled, subjectivity creeps in occasionally with plausible but most questionable assumptions as to causative factors and Chinese attitudes. The most pretentious and thinly spread chapter—of necessity, perhaps—is the cultural one on the "Emergence of Modern China." The background involved is so complex, the objective facts available are so few and so liable to interpretation from a Western rather than from an Eastern standpoint, that the writer who attempts such a survey is thrown back upon individual opinion and impression to an excessive extent. On that score J. S. Burgess should be excused and the wisdom of the editors' program questioned.

In contrast, the eighteen pages on the Philippines give well-selected data; unity in the chapter on the Islands of the Pacific is achieved with consummate skill and even charm; and R. D. McKenzie's chapter on "Migration in the Pacific Area," though punctuated with the usual meager and tantalizing suggestions of migration laws, and with a minor

point or two that call for qualification, is solid, scholarly, comprehensive.

The high standard of selection and succinctness that mark the surveys in the first part of the book is maintained through the second part on European international relations.

MAURICE T. PRICE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Death Customs: An Analytical Study of Burial Rites. By EFFIE BENDANN, Introduction by ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER. ("The History of Civilization Series.") New York: A. A. Knopf, 1930. Pp. xiii+304.

In this study of death customs the author treats the subject both topically and ethnographically. Thus the accounts of the native concepts of death, the life after death, and various death practices, such as mourning, giving of feasts, are treated summarily and with a description of the variations in many different ethnographical areas. The underlying motive in death customs is found in the awe aroused by the uncanniness of death, and, in the case of many practices, by the fear of the ghost. Thus a psychological condition underlies the various culture manifestations.

This is the most complete account of death customs which has appeared in English, and the anthropologist will have little quarrel with the method or the conclusions. The treatment is sane, and sufficiently thorough. Especially commendable are the concluding chapters, which in every case are excellent summaries and interpretations. It is, therefore, regrettable that many typographical errors remain, and that the book shows, in numerous places, scant respect for the king's English. Thus, in one citation, "The Evolution of Religion" becomes "The Solution of Religion"—which one guesses is typographical, not Freudian. In another footnote reference (p. 145) the name of a Latin author is spelled in the same line *Obid* and *Ovid*. In many instances, far too many to admit of explanation as occasional oversight, the expression, or the punctuation, or both, are so careless as to force the conclusion that the writer does not say what she means, and certainly does not mean what she says. For example: "Men who are contaminated because of eating human flesh for four months are not permitted" (p. 59). "The (hair of the?) head of a child was cut into a certain form" (p. 93). "After a death the Central Eskimos mourners do not smoke and keep their hoods on from morning to night while the women do not work" (p. 102). "Women also lament round huts" (p. 113). "As soon as anyone belonging to the Yungman, Nullakun,

Mungarai, Karrawa, Binbinga, and (or?) Willingara tribes dies" (pp. 112-13). "The sacrifice of a goat at the grave of the Vedic Indian and apparently burned with the body was to permit it to act as a guide to the deceased in the other world and the slaughter of a draft-ox enabled the dead to have a means of conveyance while en route to the regions beyond" (p. 118). On page 119 "yet" is used five times to introduce the second portion of balanced sentences. The reviewer did not keep statistics on the number of occurrences of "we read," "we note," or "we have," meaning, in each instance, "there is," or "there are," but they have a monotonously recurring frequency. These remarks may be ungracious, but I fear they are fully justified.

WILSON D. WALLIS

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The Meaning Of Art. By A. PHILIP McMAHON. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1930. Pp. 298.

The art whose meaning the author seeks is, on the whole, art in the philosophical sense. The chapter-headings: "Is Goodness or Badness the Meaning of Art?" "Is Pleasure the Meaning of Art?" "Is Imitation the Meaning of Art?" "Is Illusion the Meaning of Art?" "Is Technique the Meaning of Art?" introduce a critical survey of the historical theories. The answer to the rhetorical question is always *no*, elaborated with quotations from the very large number of treatises with which the writer is conversant.

He makes one very important anthropological observation, namely, that the artistic creations of primitive peoples often have a practical purpose, as magical devices. They are thus more akin to our habit of vaccination than to our habits of china-painting, wood-carving and the like. This suggests two possible courses: either art must be defined so as to include utilitarian objects, or the artistic creations of primitive peoples are not art in the sense ours are. The sociologist, who tends to look upon art as a mode of behavior, would choose the second horn of the dilemma. The author takes the first, making it difficult for the reader to grasp just what he thinks the meaning of art to be. Probably the results will always be disappointing when the student seeks to discover the nature of art by a physical examination of things called artistic rather than by an inquiry into the behavior of their producer and "consumer." In selecting the Hermes of Praxiteles as the prototype of the beautiful object, the author is compelled to describe it somewhat esoterically, in terms of European

"taste," and, in so doing, treads upon the treacherous sands that Ichheiser avoided when he prefaced his article ("Die Bedeutung der leiblichen Schönheit des Individuums in sozial-psychologischer und sozialogischer Beleuchtung," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie* [September, 1928], pp. 257-65) with the dictum, "beauty is based over and above erotically instinctive significance, upon a *social* evaluation." Though we do learn some interesting things about our own culture, no propositions, universally true, can be arrived at by this method.

HELEN GREGORY MACGILL

McGILL UNIVERSITY

Responsible Drinking. By ROBERT C. BINKLEY. New York: Vanguard Press, 1930. Pp. viii+215. \$2.00.

For the many who have wearied on the tons of Wet-Dry propaganda, who have found little guidance in the ambiguities of the Wickersham report, and who still hope for a Moses to lead them out of the wilderness of the prohibition controversy, this book offers a rallying point and a plan. The nub of Professor Binkley's proposal is that the drink problem be brought under a system of social control based on a code of civil, rather than criminal, justice. The germs of the proposed system are, to his thinking, already present in existing folkways, mores, and civil laws. From the latter, a living system of liquor law may be made to grow if only the present policy of criminal repression is dropped and an effort made to apply the same principles of civil responsibility to drinking as already have been developed, say, in the case of the automobile.

Whether or not this modest proposal is found acceptable, everyone who is not a rabid partisan will be quite sure to find much of value in this keen, dispassionate discussion of the problem.

CARROLL D. CLARK

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Birth Registration and Birth Statistics in Canada. By ROBERT R. KUCZYNSKI. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1930. Pp. xii+219. \$3.00.

Nine chapters of this study are given to a historical statement and catalogue of legislation and practice in the registration of births in the several provinces. The last chapter summarizes the data on birth rates. For the Catholic population of Quebec there is a table showing birth rates from 1665 down to date. The figures show marked differences in both birth rates and fertility rates as between the French Catholic population of Canada, the non-British immigrant

population, and the British element. As one would expect, the last-mentioned element shows the lowest rates, while the Catholic population of Quebec, largely French, shows the amazingly high rate of 39 births per 1,000 population (1921-25) and 135 births annually per 1,000 women of child-bearing age (1926-28). These rates are, however, much lower than formerly and show a tendency to decrease sharply, the recent encyclical notwithstanding.

McGILL UNIVERSITY

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

New Empires. By KARL A. BICKEL. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1930. Pp. 112. \$1.50.

The newspaper and the radio have opened up vast new realms of social contact and have generated relatively unexplored modes of social behavior. So much Mr. Bickel, judging from the title, must have perceived, and as president of the United Press Association he is undoubtedly in a peculiarly advantageous position to appraise the significance of these modern communicational institutions.

For the sociologist it is somewhat disappointing, then, to find this book largely made up of the kind of lecture material that the "old heads" of the journalistic profession like to give to the "cubs" and students. The first half of the book might have been called "What a Young Newspaper Man Ought to Know." The rest speculates upon the probable influence of the radio on the press, and the competitive possibilities of the former are rather gingerly examined.

Perhaps the most interesting and valuable part of the volume is an Appendix containing a brief survey of the status of radio broadcasting in forty-one countries.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

CARROLL D. CLARK

The Constitution of the United States. By WILLIAM B. MUNRO. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. vii+197.

In this little book, Professor Munro prints the Constitution, article by article, section by section, clause by clause, and phrase by phrase. For each section, clause or phrase, he has prepared a brief paragraph or two, giving something of its history, explaining its meaning, and commenting briefly on the governmental customs which have developed under it. Some of these paragraphs are written in an especially clear manner. The ones on "Interstate Commerce" and "Due Process of Law" are particularly good. In a few cases, however, the comment becomes so brief as to be almost meaningless. For example, the five lines describing the Ninth and Tenth Amendments and the four lines explaining what is equal protection of the laws, are hardly adequate to give a casual reader even a superficial idea of the importance of these clauses. But, in general, the paragraphs are convenient and kind summaries of the meaning which has been given the dry bones of our Constitution.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RODNEY L. MOTT

The Sales Tax in France. By CARL S. SHOUP. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. xvi+369. \$5.00.

Apart from its merits as a careful and thoroughgoing study of an experiment in government finance, this work might serve as a monograph on the social

psychology of tax-levying and tax-collecting. Any reader will gain a new notion of France's political psychology; or if he has already read André Siegfried's Williamstown essays on political parties in France, he will find verification of the latter's statement that, while the French may not balance the national budget, they will, as individuals, balance their private budgets.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Law Enforcement. By JULIA E. JOHNSEN. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1930. Pp. 411. \$2.40.

This book contains an extended bibliography and selected articles on "Law," "Lawlessness," "Administration," "Remedial Measures," "Observance," "Nullification," and "Prohibition." Prohibition is dominant, as is the legal point of view. Dean Pound's, "very little of what is said and written on this subject has any sure foundation in exact knowledge of the facts" strikes one as most significant. The book's contribution lies in its value as a study in attitudes.

C. C. VAN VECHTEN

CHICAGO

The Squareheads: The Story of a Socialized State. A Futuristic Novel. By WILLIAM SALISBURY. Foreword by W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS. New Rochelle, New York: Independent Publishing Co., 1929. Pp. 168. \$1.00.

An amusing romance situated in a socialistic future where everything is rigidly organized on the basis of squares and the number four. One feels that the author is projecting forward some standardization trends of the United States.

E. V. STONEQUIST

SKIDMORE COLLEGE

Academic Prognosis in the University. By HAROLD A. EDGERTON. Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc., 1930. Pp. vii+83. \$1.88.

This study represents a real contribution to the procedure of investigation of one of the hardest problems of college administration, particularly in the application of R. A. Fisher's formulas for determining the significance of correlation coefficients.

C. C. VAN VECHTEN

CHICAGO

Everyday Economics. By C. C. JANZEN and O. W. STEPHENSON. Newark, N.J.: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1931. Pp. xiii+511. \$1.68.

As an elementary text designed for use in secondary schools, the book is liberal in viewpoint and well provided with illustrative material from the child's experience. In spite of some necessary oversimplification a high degree of technical accuracy is preserved.

C. C. VAN VECHTEN

CHICAGO

The Problems of Evolution. By ARTHUR WARD LINDSEY. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. x+236. \$2.00.

In this small volume Professor A. W. Lindsey has made an admirable analysis of the trend of modern evolutionary thought. He has not only clearly posited the problems which still wait for an answer, but has suggested useful working hypotheses through which the problems may be fruitfully approached. Rightly rejecting the older views which juxtaposed heredity and environment, and regarding the organism as "a resultant co-ordinative mechanism which arises through the harmonious interaction of a self-perpetuating physico-chemical complex, its heritage, and the intricate complex of conditions under which it develops" he throws interesting light on the relation between individuals and species, on problems of genetics, and on the sources of evolutionary change. Darwinian, Lamarckian, and mutational views are found to be but incomplete and partial solutions, and the author, on the basis of his concept of the organism, develops a re-interpretation of the theory of the inheritance of acquired characters whereby an actual increase in the functional capacity of genes will result through use, and under the same environmental stimuli will involve the production of the acquired character. Should experimental work in the near future settle once and for all this, perhaps the most vexatious problem of biology, many of the perplexities of evolution would find their solution. One feels with the author when he argues that Weismann's interpretation of the continuity of the germ plasm militated against the scientific consideration of this problem. The specialist as well as the general reader will find this book stimulating.

J. RUMYANECK

LONDON, ENGLAND

Elementary Sociology. By ROSS L. FINNEY. (New Edition.) New York and Chicago: Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., 1930. Pp. 321.

This book consists of eighteen chapters. The first three are devoted to original nature, the next two to acquired nature, the eleven chapters following to the social institutions, and the last two to the social process and the social mind, respectively. Each chapter is accompanied by a list of stimulating problem-questions and an annotated bibliography for further reading.

This is a revision of an earlier edition published in 1923. The material has been brought up to date, and three new chapters have been added. The language is clear and easily within the grasp of high-school Seniors. The author's dependence on Charles H. Cooley and Edward C. Hayes is obvious throughout. The penetrating insights of the first and the systematic approach of the second help to make the book a creditable addition to the list of texts now available for use on the secondary-school level.

MAURICE H. KROUT

CRANE JUNIOR COLLEGE

A Study of the Student Homes in China. By AVA MILAN. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1930. Pp. ix+98.

This is a study of 1,270 Chinese families, largely families of students in mission colleges and high schools, undertaken in order to secure a body of facts and experience as a basis for organizing a department of home economics at Yenching University, Peiping, China. The study includes family organization, economic status, standards of living, sanitation and health, and child care, with a concluding discussion on the need of home economics in China. The author sent out 3,500 questionnaires, to which 1,270 replies were secured. The main

part of quantitative data in this study comes from these answers. The author pays much attention to Chinese family traditions, and the discussion on concubinage, housing, preparation of food, clothing, family education, and child training is particularly interesting. Unfortunately data are somewhat fragmentary; and in a number of cases the accuracy of data is very doubtful.

LEONARD S. HSU

YENCHING UNIVERSITY

Why News Is News. By CHARLES R. CORBIN. New York: Ronald Press, 1928. Pp. v+181. \$2.75.

This is just another of those books which explains everything in modern life by some habit of the cave man. Corbin classifies "elemental news-interest" as related to necessities of life, fire, weather, combat, mystery, the heavens, and so on. Not a month passes but someone arrives at some such scheme. No one has worked over an explanation of man's interest in news in terms of his present-day activity in any thoroughgoing way. This particular scheme has no feature making it superior to the dozens that have been published before it.

HELEN GREGORY MACGILL

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

In the Reign of Rothstein. By DONALD HENDERSON CLARKE. New York: Vanguard Press, 1929. Pp. xi+306. \$2.50.

The writer, a reporter on the *New York World*, has access to facts which are out of reach of the man on the street. And he has an annoying trick of intimating that he could tell a lot more than he does—which takes the spice out of his revelations. But this, and his tendency to regard prohibition as the single root of all evil, are defects which do not spoil what is a very illuminating account of Rothstein and his associates in gambling, embezzling, rum-running, and murdering.

The account is strictly in the form of news stories. Each chapter's caption is a headline, and its contents a column of front-page thriller. There is little material that could be used for constructing a life-history of the various astounding personages that move in the book. The facts are disjointed and startling. One finds all sorts and conditions of men and women appearing and reappearing as background for Rothstein's ramified activities—familiar Broadway stars, brilliant lawyers, monied dope-peddlers, etc., and the panorama is incomplete and baffling. The reporter interested himself only in the extraordinary events. One wishes the story retold by a more accomplished biographer and observer.

HELEN GREGORY MACGILL

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Piloting Your Life: The Psychologist as Helmsman. By JOSEPH JASTROW. New York: Greenberg, 1930. Pp. 372. \$3.50.

Based upon articles written for a daily newspaper column, the many brief sections of this book are loosely organized under such headings as "Passengers and Cargo," "Rocks and Reefs," "Views and Vistas," and "Ports and Harbors." The book is a popular presentation of material which usually is labeled mental hygiene and should serve as an entertaining introduction to the field for the person with no training in psychology.

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

Psychologie der Wertreklame. By KARL MARBE. Stuttgart: E. E. Poeschel Verlag, 1930. Pp. 33.

The author discusses the appeal of "something free" and the way in which service and gifts are used to create favorable attitudes toward a business or product. This type of advertising has met with opposition and demands for legislative control; for example, by requiring that a monetary alternative to the gift be always available. Professor Marbe combats such recommendations by means of some commonsense psychology.

ARTHUR H. KORNHAUSER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Common Annoyances, A Psychological Study of Everyday Aversions and Irritations. ("Psychological Monographs," No. 182.) By HULSEY CASON. Princeton: Psychological Review Co., 1930. Pp. v+217.

In this extensive study, 507 selected annoyances were secured from many people. A total of 625 persons rated the degree to which they were irritated by half of these annoyances, and 378 persons did the same for the remainder. The results showed that women were annoyed more than men; older people more than younger people; thin men more than heavy men; and the less educated more than the better educated. But "The large amount of overlapping between the groups . . . is much more significant than are the relatively small differences. . . ."

The statistical study is followed by a chapter on "Principles of Explanation," of which "association" is the most general. The theoretical discussion explains rather than utilizes the study, but is unusually good. A fourth chapter presents the explanations given by 535 people regarding the specific nature of the more important annoyances. Incidentally, the author concludes that "The introspective report seems to be the most reliable and valuable indication of . . . emotion."

Rather obvious criticisms may be made of this study. None of the requirements for accurate measurement can be met. The author also admits that the "measures of reliability cannot be accepted at their face value." Certainly more confidence would be felt if the tests had been repeated with the same individuals. The author's interpretation of his results chiefly in terms of social conditioning or learning is suggested by psychological analysis of the various annoyances; but it does not follow from the statistical method or data. It could be wished that he had not confined himself to strictly biological groupings, but had introduced cultural control groups to test his social hypothesis.

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

EAST CENTRAL OKLAHOMA TEACHERS COLLEGE

An Investigation of the Wants of Seven Children. By ESTHER VAN CLEAVE BERNE. Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1930. Pp. 61.

An Experimental Investigation of Social Behavior Patterns in Young Children. ("University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare.") By ESTHER VAN CLEAVE BERNE. Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1930. Pp. 93.

The earlier of these two works is little more than a systematization of inferences. The author, after courageously undertaking to observe and record the

behavior of seven children in seven notebooks, simultaneously, and after doing her best to decide what "want" lay behind each bit of overt activity, has proceeded to classify these inferred wants, and even to subject them to quantitative analysis. To be sure, she does not assume a high degree of validity for the basic data. The phrase "seemed to" occurs with startling frequency throughout. Thus: "The behavior which seemed to be satisfying primary and secondary non-social wants was often similar to behavior which seemed to be satisfying social wants" (p. 18). Descriptive accounts of the items classed as social are included. A chapter on the home behavior of five of the children, as reported by their parents, foreshadows an important step toward the all-round study of the personality. There is no attempt, however, at standardization of observers or of techniques used. The coining of new terms is carried to extremes. Possibly "semi-sociative" meets a felt need, but can as much be said for "un-affection" and "cruelness"?

In the second study, Dr. Berne considerably extends her exploration of social behavior patterns, presents a rating scale and a series of experimental situations for their measurement, and attempts to estimate the validity of the ratings and experiments by checking results against those secured (in twelve cases only) through observation. Correlations are markedly high between experimental scores and ratings on selected traits. The subjects included 132 preschool children, enrolled in four groups at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station. Age, sex, and individual differences are investigated, but the possible effect of divergent social experience within the four groups, and in the homes, is not considered. Further analysis of the data from this point of view might reasonably be expected to yield clues as to the causal factors at work.

In so broad a study, attempting to chart the entire social behavior of the young child, arresting discoveries could hardly be expected. It is not surprising to find a significant difference between the means of ratings for successive age-periods, nor to learn that three-year-old children exceed two-year-olds in independence of adults and in self-defense, or that girls of all ages exceed boys of all ages in "motherliness," one of the thirty paired traits selected for the rating scale. The report will interest the social psychologist mainly as an exhibit in method, raising many of the issues which are important today in preschool personality research.

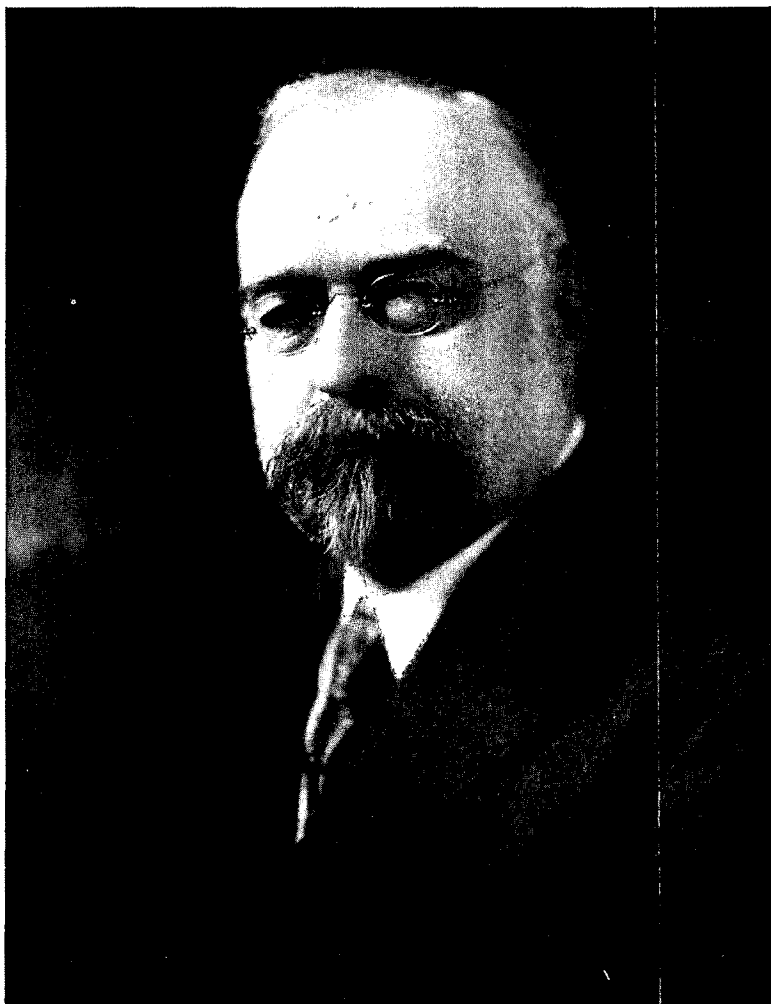
RUTH PEARSON KOSHUK

CHICAGO

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FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS

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FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS, 1855-1931: SOME ASPECTS OF HIS SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

F. H. Hankins
Smith College

ABSTRACT

Of the four men who founded American sociology, Giddings most nearly based the inductive science on the newer statistical methods. Accepting Spencer's evolutionism unreservedly, he made social evolution a part of cosmic evolution, thus placing society within the realm of natural history. Social phenomena are due to three orders of stimuli—physical nature, human aggregations, and culture—with constant interaction between them. The function of social science is to disentangle the web of causal relations and to assign to these three their respective rôles. He regarded all causal relations as basically mechanistic, but distinguished between machine-like reactions and those that are "ballistic." His determinism did not, however, lead him to deny volition as a true social cause. An important omission in Giddings' theory was his failure to analyze conscious motives. His "consciousness of kind" is too general and too passive in character to serve as universal motivation in society. Consciousness of kind is defined as "a state of consciousness in which any being recognizes another conscious being as of like kind with himself." It exists, therefore, among animals below man. Giddings seems to end by making the consciousness of kind the basis of gregariousness, although in his latest statement he denies it to animals. Consciousness of kind implies a consciousness of difference; but he does not seem to make sufficient place in his theory for compulsion, antagonism, and conflict. His most significant contribution of recent years dealt with pluralistic behavior. Sociology was becoming for him societal psychology. Consciousness of kind can only be known by entering the fields of psychology and social psychology in order to study the formation of attitudes, the likes and dislikes of the reacting individuals.

It does not seem altogether an accident that the rise of sociology is associated with the development of integration among Western nations. Comte saw in sociology a more comprehensive social science than any then existing. Spencer employed the organismic analogy to picture graphically the conception of society as a unified, evolving

entity with a mutual interdependence of all its parts. Such a concept could have had little realistic significance in America until our national development had approached the end of the frontier and North, South, East, and West had become united through a lively consciousness of a common destiny. It seems natural that sociology should have definitely emerged as a university study in the late eighties and early nineties. The establishment of sociology was undoubtedly furthered by the general acceptance in intellectual circles of the evolutionary viewpoint and a naturalistic conception of man and society. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* of 1883 was a highly stimulating and suggestive application of evolutionary philosophy to social development; Sumner was already promulgating a generalized social science and Spencerian individualism at Yale University; Woodford of Indiana University was having his students read Spencer's *Study of Sociology* after 1886; and so on.¹

Giddings entered upon his sociological teaching well versed in the literature of the evolution controversy. Previous to his course at Bryn Mawr in 1890 on "Modern Theories of Sociology," he had long been a student of the many new and profound contributions to our knowledge of man and society which the post-Darwinian era was producing. He tells us:

My interest in sociology . . . began while I was yet a youth, when accidentally a copy of the first number of the *Popular Science Monthly* fell into my hands a few days after its publication, and I read the first chapter of Spencer's *Study of Sociology*. Before I entered college I had read a lot of Darwin, Tyndall and Huxley, and nearly half of what Spencer had printed. At college, and during ten subsequent years of newspaper work, I kept up my interest and my reading in sociology and was ready to improve the first chance that offered to teach it after I went to Bryn Mawr.

He was thus one of that first generation of American scholars which became imbued with the new learning and the new scientific outlook. The case of sociology and that of psychology are distinctly parallel. In the latter field, Ladd, James, and G. Stanley Hall stand as the triumvirate of founders in this country. They applied, interpreted, expounded, and expanded the new biological evolutionism, with its emphasis on heredity and natural selection, and the new

¹ A. W. Small, "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXI (May, 1916).

physiological and neurological foundations of behavior into what was, for America, a novel and revealing psychology. Of them, both Ladd and James returned largely to philosophy, their first loves; only Hall, who had his own brand of mysticism, remained steadfast in his affection for his new affinity. While the future will doubtless alter perspectives, it now appears that Ward, Sumner, Small, and Giddings occupy a somewhat similar position in American sociology. As founders, they all dealt with fundamental concepts and logical distinctions. All but Sumner dealt largely with philosophical problems related to social theory; Ward remained most completely within the realm of social philosophy; Small's thinking seems to have been cluttered up with philosophical doubts and unresolved elements; Sumner worked more assiduously with the new ethnographical materials; Giddings saw much more clearly than any of the others the needs of an inductive sociology based on the newer statistical methods, and is the only one who made notable contributions thereto. All but Ward occupied strategic positions as successful teachers in great universities.

Giddings' philosophical orientation is in general outline sufficiently clear though he has nowhere made a systematic statement thereof. His writings, however, abound in philosophical statements and reflections. His views were shaped by the classical expounders of concepts to which some professional philosophers have, only in our own day, given the name of "evolutionary naturalism." He was a thorough student of the writings of the positivistic, evolutionary empiricists from Comte onward. With Comte he rejected the assumption that theological and metaphysical speculations are valid explanations of what goes on in the universe. He placed in the quest for verifiable knowledge whatever confidence he had in man's ability to understand himself and his world and to further his own evolution. He held, with unwavering clarity and consistency, to a thoroughly scientific conception of phenomena in every sphere. He could find no earthly reasons for speculations regarding the realm of the unknowable—if there be such—simply because such speculations, not being verifiable, are humanly useless and likely to be sources of gross delusions. He had a proper scorn for the pretensions of the metaphysician and professional philosopher to contribute a special and

superior brand of knowledge. In one passage he says: "The notion 'causation' like the notion 'explanation' has had a past of which the less said the better. It has kept company with metaphysics."²

By way of digression, we may note at this point that it is, of course, an essential part of Comtian positivism that the sociologist shall keep his reasoning processes free from contamination by his ethical prepossessions. This is very probably a superhuman requirement; and "F. H. G." was an intensely human person. He was not only an observer of the human scene; he enjoyed taking an active part in the drama itself. Certain it seems to one who has heard many of his lectures, that he greatly enjoyed the thrill of departing from the serene objectivity of the scientist in order to become the preacher, the advocate, or the denouncer. On these occasions he was almost certain to exhibit more or less intense emotional disturbance. These exhibitions of emotional complexes could no doubt be neatly explained by an up-to-date psychoanalyst more or less acquainted with the evolution of the Giddings personality and its current setting. They were often excellent pedagogical devices, for they started waves of eager discussion. They also had another effect, I think, quite worth noting. They frequently exhibited elements of strength and depth in the Giddings character that won the sincere admiration of his students, and the affectionate reference, "F. H. G." and, in later years, "the Old Man." Like his master, Spencer, he was deeply attached to ideals of liberty and justice and to that type of democratic liberalism which gave considerable weight to the operation of natural selection in human affairs. He could, therefore, on occasion assert with gusto a sense of personal independence, or denounce with vigor those whose greed and ruthless exploitation he believed to be a danger to the type of social organization he preferred. These emotional attachments to the mores of an age were doubtless less valuable as sociological contributions than would have been an analysis of those social forces which will some day transform capitalist society as we know it into something else, but they

² *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, (New York, 1922), p. 130.

were an integral part of Giddings as a university teacher and citizen of the great republic.³

From Mill and Jevons, and later from Karl Pearson, Giddings derived a clear understanding of the logic and methods of science, the limits and relations of inductive and deductive reasoning, and the significance of chance and probability. Here, as in everything he wrote, he first made the thoughts of great minds his own and then thoroughly integrated them with other concepts of his mind. In fact, he seldom stopped at this point but went on to reanalysis, fresh synthesis, additions, and emendations. His mind was extraordinarily busy with a multitude of matters, gifted with unusual capacity for both analysis and generalization, and, at least on its intellectual side, unusually well integrated. Inconsistencies and self-contradictions are relatively rare in his writings. At the same time, he retained mental freshness and plasticity; his was a growing mind. His contributions are, therefore, extremely varied and difficult to

³ The following extract from a letter received from Professor Giddings' son mentions some of the more important civic activities of the great sociologist:

"As you probably know, my father started out as a newspaper man, his first important work being in Springfield on both the *Republican* and *Union*. This interest he kept up all of his life and for many years contributed at least one editorial to the *Independent* every week. He also wrote quite regularly for *Van Nordens* and the *New York Times Magazine*.

"My father was also always interested in civic affairs and in national policies. He was a member of the Committee of One Hundred which was organized about fifteen years ago to choose a non-partisan candidate for Mayor of New York City. He served for a number of years on the Board of Education of New York City and was especially active prior to our entrance into the World War in urging that the United States take its stand by the side of the Allies. He was one of the principal speakers at Carnegie Hall at the Lusitania Dinner and he toured the country for the National Security League, making speeches throughout the South, Southwest and Middlewest. He was also an officer of the League to Enforce Peace.

"During his early days in New York City he gave many lectures at the old Cooper Union Brooklyn Academy and the Rand School. At each of these places his audience contained many radicals and people who at that time were classed as Socialists, but who would probably now be termed "Reds." He was then, as ever, fearless in his criticism of the ideas of those to whom he was talking and although he was often threatened anonymously and otherwise, he went right back at his audience the next time.

"My father never went in for sports of any kind and did not care for games. His hobby was genealogy. He was very fond of his home and his family but in addition, was until quite recently a regular attendant at club nights at the Century Club and Authors' Club and enjoyed nothing better than the meetings of the F.H.G. Club."

systematize. He came back to the same problem over and over again, often with a new slant, so that different statements of his views on certain issues are very difficult to put together so as to satisfy one's sense of logical clarity and completeness. Something is omitted from one statement which is filled in by another, but the parts do not always go together. This is probably a compliment rather than otherwise, but it makes difficult the task of the expositor and critic. I think a careful reading will show this to be true of his ideas of consciousness of kind, of the relation of consciousness of kind to gregariousness and to association, of the nature of society, and of various other matters.

Take, as illustration, the statement in the "Preface" and on pages 291-92 of *Studies* which purports to outline whatever system he had. Paragraph 1 refers to agreements, contracts, and enterprises; then paragraph 2, which ostensibly applies to a later stage in social genesis, says that among these individuals a consciousness of kind converts gregariousness into association. Were they not in association when making their agreements? Moreover, what can one do with the phrase "When the individuals who participate in pluralistic behavior have become differentiated into behavioristic types or kinds"? How did they become thus differentiated? The answer is: through like (or unlike) response to stimulus! But were these stimuli antecedent to gregariousness? In that case, we should have a mere aggregation with little power of communication. But if these individuals had lived together already, they would create most of their own stimuli and would already have values and attitudes which would affect their responses. There are many such outlines in Giddings' work which are highly suggestive and represent bold, pioneering analysis, but which seem, on close scrutiny, to have lacunae in them.⁴

⁴ Outlines of Giddings' theories will be found in the chapter by John L. Gillin in *American Masters of Social Science* (edited by Howard W. Odum) and in "The Sociological Theories of Franklin H. Giddings," *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, XXIV (July, 1918), 1-23. For a bibliography, see *A Bibliography of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, 1880-1930* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931). Giddings made contributions to economics, political science, educational theory, and historical and inductive sociology besides his contributions to sociological theory. The present article is necessarily limited to two main features of his theory: his philosophical outlook and the consciousness of kind. It is intended to be expository and critical rather than lauda-

It was from Spencer that he derived his primary philosophical concepts. He accepted Spencer's cosmic evolutionism unreservedly. He thus saw all the phenomena of the universe as manifestations of a universal equilibration of energy, as the flow or interchange of energy between bodies charged with it in different degrees. Within this process occur those other fundamental processes of integration, differentiation, segregation, and assimilation—of cohesion into organized unities with diversification or specialization of parts, with a tendency for those units of matter affected in like manner by incident energies to become assimilated to each other and to be segregated from other units affected in different manners by the same energies. These processes "make up mechanistic evolution in its simple and primary phases."⁵ The more complex aspects of these processes are due to the fact that evolution is compound, that is, these primary processes are being constantly repeated through the interaction of their previous products with each other. Moreover, phases of integration associated with a loss of contained motion tend to alternate, often in rhythmical fashion, with phases of dissolution associated with increase of motion of contained parts. In their constructive aspects these processes result in an equilibration of energy within and between the parts of an integrating body, with an accompanying development of structure and function. There result internal controls, such as nervous systems in living things and government in groups of men. "Governments and their functions are products of equilibrations between a relatively small group of alert and persistent men reacting to situations, and a relatively large mass of men that are inert and ineffective."⁶

This view makes social evolution a part of cosmic evolution. In that case it is necessary to have a consistent theory of the relations of the forces and processes of the physical world to the phenomena of society. To this problem Giddings devoted a considerable part of the *Principles* and parts of various essays, notably "A Theory of

tory. It should not, however, be interpreted as indicating any lack of appreciation. Giddings now appears as one of the greatest sociologists of his generation, and I think the future will not alter that status.

⁵ *Studies, etc.*, p. 139.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Social Causation.”⁷ Fundamental postulates of his position may be stated as follows: “All social energy is transmuted physical energy”; a basic theory of social causation involves a study of “the interaction of physical forces and psychical motives”; “the original causes of aggregation and dispersion are physical forces. But the secondary causes of social phenomena are conscious motives and are products of social life itself.”⁸

In the pages which immediately follow the foregoing certain deductions from such principles as the indestructibility of matter and energy, the persistence of force, the universal process of equilibration, and the physical necessity of evolution are worked out. Since all energy is necessarily physical, social phenomena may be explained in terms of the transformation and equilibration of physical energies. “The quantity and the intensity of social activity are proportional to the energy taken from the environment by the social body and transmuted into organic phenomena.”⁹ Thus density of population depends on food supply. In the redistributions of matter and energy within the population and between the population and its environment, lines of least resistance are followed. Hence colonization follows coast lines and river valleys; strong groups encroach upon weak. Differentiation follows “unlike response to like forces, or like response to unlike forces,” and so on, all in the best Spencerian manner backed by frequent reference to appropriate passages in the *First Principles*.

In the subsequent restatement in “A Theory of Social Causation” the fundamentals remain the same but there is some elaboration and greater concreteness of statement. We are now told that most of the stimuli to which men react are those secondary stimuli which are “products of past responses to antecedent stimuli.” In current terminology, men respond for the most part to “cultural stimuli.” “But back of all secondary stimuli, products of past social life, are primary or original stimuli presented to every mind by the multiplicity and presence of fellow beings, by the events and the order of nature, and by the concrete objects of nature. These collectively are the environment, human and physical, and *the human is deter-*

⁷ *Publ. Amer. Econ. Assn.*, 1904; republished *Studies, etc.*, chap. viii.

⁸ *Principles*, p. 363.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

mined by the physical."¹⁰ Giddings now notes an important consideration that did not appear in the earlier statement, namely, "that all stimuli of the primary order, including regional changes, usually stimulate behavior through a social medium created by antecedent stimulation."¹¹ He then divides physical environments into four types: rich and accessible; rich and relatively inaccessible; poor and accessible; poor and inaccessible. The character of the physical environment determines the composition of the population, which is a consequence of pluralistic reaction to the attractions and repulsions of environmental opportunity. The composition of the population in turn determines the vigor and complexity of the social reactions set going in its midst. Civilizations arise only among composite peoples inhabiting areas of the first type.

In its extremely abstract quality, this theory of the relation of physical forces to social evolution is characteristic of much of Giddings' theorizing. Whether or not one accept the Spencerian metaphysics, one must see that the reasoning here is deductive and that, in so far as concrete data are utilized, they serve only to illustrate conclusions already arrived at. The principles or "laws" set forth pertain primarily to a philosophy seeking the broadest possible generalizations regarding the processes of nature, and only incidentally of social phenomena. Stated a generation ago, this viewpoint had the immense value of asserting in broad outline the continuity of physical and social processes, of placing society within the realm of natural history, and of eschewing the teleological interpretations of an earlier philosophy of history. Most of us today take such a view as a matter of course; our intellectual orientation is scientific rather than theological. Nevertheless, the evolutionary viewpoint, and its logically necessary inference of physical-social continuity, still needs reiteration. It remains for the further progress of the social sciences to give this doctrine and the deductions from it that restatement in distinctly sociological terminology and that inductive character, that specific factual exemplification, necessary to warrant incorporation into the body of knowledge labeled "sociology."

Moreover, the emendations made in the later statement are of interest. Spencer is now further in the background. Among the pri-

¹⁰ Italics not in original.

¹¹ *Studies, etc.*, p. 145.

mary and original stimuli now appear "the multiplicity and of fellow beings"; but the latter are of a lower order of physical nature because their number and compositeness do not precede prior human responses to physical nature. At the same time, a major part of social phenomena are due to social stimuli. There are thus three orders of stimuli, instead of the two mentioned in the earlier statement: physical nature, human aggregations, and culture. Owing to the highly abstract character of the treatment, light is thrown on their respective rôles. We can surmise from this general evolutionary theory that there is constant action and reaction between them. The cultural setting is at every stage of evolution a product of antecedent reactions. It is, therefore, a sequence partly of reactions to primary stimuli and partly of compounded effects of reactions to previous secondary stimuli. The ingredients thus become inextricably entangled.

This theory of social causation seems essentially sound in its breadth and abstractness put it in the realm of a social philosophy scientifically oriented. The function of social science is to disentangle the web of causal relations so as to assign to physical nature, human aggregation, and culture their respective parts. It must go farther and discover the causal significance of combinations of elements of each order of causes, such as, for physical nature, climate, soil, topography, and so on, and the significance of their combinations with each other and with elements of a different order. Giddings did not apparently consider it any part of his function to carry on these researches, though he was undoubtedly acquainted with a wide variety of researches contributory thereto, such as those of the anthropogeographers, social selectionists, and social biologists. If this seems to give to his work the characteristic of an arm-chair philosopher, it nevertheless reveals his undoubted ability for analysis and generalization. Moreover, one may find more such in this day of multitudinous "busy-work" "research" consisting of mere assemblages of raw data having no connection with any defined problem or scientific theory. We may add, in passing, that this theory of social causation indicates that Giddings was here thinking of sociology as a general social science, as opposed to the special social sciences. This appears to be his most

view, although in later years he not infrequently identified sociology with societal psychology, or the science of pluralistic behavior. Doubtless the two views can be reconciled. One can find a dozen different definitions of sociology in his writings.

In view of his general philosophical position, Giddings saw all causal relations as basically mechanistic. By this he meant that within the realm of knowable nature there is not any indeterministic causal factor or agent. At the same time his familiarity with the statistical outlook, which sees the operations of multiple causation in terms of chance and probability, led him to a distinction between actions or reactions that are "machine-like" and those that are "ballistic." In the former the performance is stereotyped or limited in variability, but in the latter it is highly variable and relatively indeterminate. This difference is not absolute but corresponds to an increasing sensitivity of the reacting mechanisms to a wide range and variety of stimuli. Skeletal action is machine-like; human behavior tends to be ballistic; the apparatus of heredity (cells, chromosomes, and genes) is machine-like in form but more or less ballistic in performance. All are mechanistic. Here is a useful distinction. The term "ballistic" calls to mind the scatter-gram of shots at a bull's-eye and pictures the phenomena of all organic and superorganic nature, especially in the psychological and sociological divisions thereof, as orderly but variable, as due to realistic causes but imbued with a degree of scientific indeterminability due to the interaction of a multiplicity of causes.

At this point Giddings makes a unique contribution to the free-will-determinism problem. He points out that man clings tenaciously to the notion of "free will" for the very simple reason that he has to make his adjustments to a world in which luck and chance play important rôles. Since man has always lived in such a world, he craves adventure and a degree of uncertainty, of risk. Man need not, therefore, worry about the possibility of losing the experience of changing his mind or of adapting his behavior to changing circumstance, which he interprets as his free will. The human mechanisms may be infinitely fine and accurate machines, but the stimuli which play upon them "will swirl forever in turbulences, and play

pranks."¹² "Free-will" thus turns out to be merely the variability of responses to infinitely varied combinations of stimuli. The reaction processes are mechanistic in character, but the resulting behavior is ballistic in type.¹³

His determinism did not, however, lead Giddings to hold that volition is not a true social cause; it is a true cause because it is first an effect. Social volition is not an independent, unrelated cause; it is conditioned by physical and organic processes and by past reactions to stimuli. Social volition or social choice, that is, the setting-up of social values, laws, and institutions and the group reactions conditioned thereby, is part of an endless process of adjustment to an ever changing environment. A society may, and often does, make the wrong choices; but the physical processes provide an ultimate check on them through selection which compels them, taken by and large, to contribute to social survival.¹⁴ Giddings makes this process much simpler than it really is; moreover, his term "rational" social choice neglects the difference between a decision which is merely deliberative and one based on a knowledge of foreseen effects. Nevertheless, this "law of social choices" has the supreme merit of once more connecting the social with the physical processes.

So far we are largely on philosophical ground. When we inquire into the social process in greater detail, I think we discover an important omission in Giddings' theory. He says: "The problems of social process are concerned with successive steps in the interaction of physical forces and conscious motives."¹⁵ This would seem to require an analysis of human motives. But I do not find that Giddings ever made any attempt to outline "conscious motives" and to elucidate their interaction with physical forces. Moreover, today we should need also an analysis of "unconscious" motives. He made the consciousness of kind "the original and elementary subjective fact in society"; and he held that "it is about the consciousness of kind, as a determining principle, that all other motives organize themselves in the evolution of social choice, social volition, or social

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 141-3.

¹³ For an earlier statement of his views on determinism see *Principles*, p. 382.

¹⁴ *Principles*, Book IV, chap. iii, esp. pp. 407-19.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

policy. Therefore, to trace the operation of consciousness of kind through all its social manifestations is to work out a complete subjective interpretation of society."¹⁶

It must be evident, however, that the consciousness of kind is too general and too passive in character to serve as the basic and universal motivation of the infinitely varied behavior of men living in an organized society. There is no systematic study anywhere of those instincts, impulses, drives, needs, wishes, or interests which have served different writers as schematizations of human motivation. From one passage one might gather that the nature and forms of volitional association would give the required evidence as to motivation.¹⁷ The voluntary associations are classified as political, juristic, economic, and cultural.¹⁸ This gives us little clue to subjective processes. Were it not for his insistence on the consciousness of kind as central to his psychological approach, we might assume that he intended to give a wholly objective interpretation. This would be in harmony with the view frequently reiterated in recent years that sociology is societal psychology. The consciousness of kind is, however, subjective, and one may question not only whether it has exclusive right to the whole of the subjective field but also whether it has any more right than the needs or interests above mentioned. On the whole, I think we may say that Giddings wrote a sociology that dispensed with an analysis of human nature. He was not interested in studying either how elementary human nature works out into social habits and institutions or how the social environment conditions and modifies the development of human personality. He proposed three orders or stimuli; but a sociology built on the behavioristic principle of stimulus and response would seem to be under the necessity of providing some analysis of that "human nature" which constitutes the reacting mechanism.

As above noted, however, Giddings limits himself to the consciousness of kind. This is defined as "a state of consciousness in which

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 19.

¹⁷ He says that "the problems of social process" "involve a study of the nature and forms of volitional association, and of its reactions upon social character and activity" (*ibid.*, p. 75).

¹⁸ For correlated social traditions see *ibid.*, pp. 144 and 152.

any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes another conscious being as of like kind with itself." Consciousness of kind exists among animals below man,¹⁹ and yet it is not synonymous with either association or gregariousness. Association is extensive in the animal world; Giddings attributes to it a crucial rôle in the evolution of animal life and of man himself. All along the line association was an aid in the struggle for existence. In the case of man, association is said to account for his mental development, and this in turn for his physical development.²⁰

Association is thus very ancient and in most passages is discussed as though precedent to consciousness of kind. There are statements, however, which seem to reverse this chronology. In a number of places social aggregations are attributed to circumstantial pressures; "and because of the segregating action of all incident forces, aggregations are as a rule composed of like units. But presently, within the aggregation, a consciousness of kind appears in like individuals and develops into association."²¹ Here association results from the consciousness of kind. In any case, can we accept the doctrine, which is found in many passages, that human aggregations result in the first place from the pressures of incident forces? From the evolutionary viewpoint it seems more probable that the primitive horde was bound by the same bonds that bind the tribe and nation. If Giddings had in mind such aggregations as a new California gold mining camp, his theory seems sounder; and yet even among such an aggregation the consciousness of kind is thin and tenuous and social organization results largely from force (the vigilantes) and from the diversities of talent and interest among the members.

Equally puzzling is the relation of consciousness of kind to gre-

¹⁹ See *Principles*, p. 18.

²⁰ Reference is here made to his famous reversal of Fiske's doctrine that the long helplessness of human infancy was due to the complex development of the nervous system and in turn gave rise to sympathy and the social sentiments by compelling parents to remain together. Giddings' view seems no longer tenable in view of the altered rôle now attributed to natural selection. This does not produce new species but only preserves the mutations favorable to survival. The higher development of the nervous system, which he attributed to selection, would depend on mutations which would not, so far as known, be in any way due to association.

²¹ *Principles*, p. 19.

garioussness. His latest and most careful statement of this matter appears in the revised essay "The Mind of the Many."²² He holds that gregariousness is instinctive or subinstinctive but is not itself an instinct, because there is no psychophysical mechanism therefor. At the same time he puts flight and fighting among the true instincts! A great part of gregariousness is "pluralistic instinctive reaction to common stimulation." This phrase explains why the wolves hunt in packs and why a herd of cattle stampede. But why do packs or herds form in the first place? The answer is that numerous "sub-instinctive" reactions combine to produce this result. The argument is that an animal is aware of itself and receives from herd-fellows stimuli much like those it receives from itself. From other animals it receives "repellent" stimuli, and it is thus thrown back upon the herd. This argument, he notes, would apply equally well to the great carnivores. Why, then, are they not gregarious, although dogs and wolves are? These latter are because they can run long distances and run down their prey; but tigers are not because they must not frighten their prey.

This argument amounts to saying either that the gregariousness of the dog and the solitariness of the tiger are due to an intellectual factor, that is, a rational adjustment of behavior to the necessities of food-getting, or that the behavior pattern is a consequence of instinctive elements. If the former, the traits must be based on experience and acquired thereby in each generation. Giddings says: "Cubs of the stalking carnivora snuggle together in sleep and play together when awake; it is of necessity that they separate when mature."²³ This means that the tiger, conditioned in infancy toward the pack, learns to overcome its gregariousness through experience; hunger teaches it to hunt alone! One wonders what necessity teaches the well-fed house cat solitarily to stalk birds.

There is one further source of confusion on the question of the relation of gregariousness to consciousness of kind, namely, that very much the same description is made of their elements. The latter, like the former, is decomposable, and seems to decompose into about the same things. "Like sensations received from self and from others who resemble self" are elements at the very beginning of conscious

²² *Studies, etc.*, pp. 156 ff.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

life which "enter into a consciousness of kind." This latter, however, does not become fully manifest until "the individual becomes intellectually aware of his kind (or kinds)" and "begins to pick and choose his familiars." "His consorting becomes a *preferential association*, and this is the beginning of *society* in distinction from the *herd*."²⁴ But Giddings had just shown that the herd animal prefers to consort with his kind and for exactly the same reasons which now furnish the basis for the consciousness of kind. There is like response to the same stimulus and a high degree of pleasurable in the stimulus of kind as against the repulsion of not-kind. It is not illogical to claim that Giddings ends by making the consciousness of kind the basis of gregariousness. This would seem to be a logical and tenable position.

Whether or not one go so far as that, however, he may very properly question the value of any attempt either to dispose of gregariousness or to show the primordial social position of consciousness of kind. One cannot conceive of human beings living in isolation, and one cannot conceive of them genetically as a mere aggregation. Language, co-operation, leadership and subordination, and division of labor arose as man himself evolved. There was never some momentous occasion when consciousness of kind appeared on the scene and converted the gregarious herd into society. This approach to the matter is tainted with the same fallacy that imbued the philosophizings of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau over the "state of nature." Man never lived in their fancied states.

This is not to say that the consciousness of kind is not an extremely useful concept, but rather that the evolutionary viewpoint war-rants one in assuming that some degree of animal gregariousness and an associated degree of consciousness of kind were passed down to our human progenitors. In his latest statement of the matter,²⁵ Giddings specifically denies consciousness of kind to animals.

Herd animals are creatures of one kind, but they do not know that they are, because they can't talk, and such consciousness as they have attained has not become self-consciousness. Human beings can talk and are self-conscious and so can discover wherein they differ, and to what extent they are alike. . . . Human society is marked off from animal gregariousness by talk and the consciousness of kind.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²⁵ *Studies, etc.*, pp. 14, 32-34.

This distinction is too sharp. Of course we do not know that two dogs meeting in the street have a consciousness of kind; our answer may depend on our epistemology; but they usually act as though they recognized a creature of their own kind, and after a certain amount of mutual investigation they assume attitudes of friendliness, mutual toleration, indifference, or hostility. It seems to me as futile to deny some degree of consciousness of kind to animals as it would be to attempt to fix the precise point in the evolution of man and the accompanying development of language at which the consciousness of kind was born. No doubt the growth of language would make the discriminations of kind more detailed; but that it alters the fundamental nature of the basis of association is by no means clear. The growth of numbers keeping pace with the improvements in the industrial arts would give larger play for conscious (and unconscious) likes and dislikes leading to an increasing variety of voluntary associations and other phenomena of social differentiation.

Giddings recognized that a consciousness of kind implies a consciousness of difference. One is not prior to the other, for both arise at the same moment out of reactions to the same stimulus. In the segregating process which differentiates society into a kaleidoscopic variety of groupings, the latter is as essential as the former. Moreover, these differences are not only essential to the organic unity of society; they are the basis of rivalry, competition, exploitation, and conflict; of accommodation, adjustment, toleration, and assimilation. Giddings noted this in what seems to me the best of his many definitions of society.

We may conceive society as any plural number of sentient creatures more or less continuously subject to common stimuli, to differing stimuli and to inter-stimulation, and responding thereto in like behavior, concerted activity and co-operation, as well as in unlike, or competitive activity, and becoming, therefore, with developing intelligence, coherent through a dominating consciousness of kind, while always sufficiently conscious of difference to insure a measure of individual liberty.²⁶

It does not seem to me, however, that Giddings made sufficient place in his theory of social process for compulsion, antagonism,

²⁶ First given in "The Concepts and Methods of Sociology," *Amer. Jour. Soc.*, (September, 1904), 161-76.

and conflict. A society may be formed primarily on the basis of compulsory co-operation; and there is certainly no complex society in which compulsion does not play a part. Then there is that phenomenon to which Sumner gave the very excellent name of "antagonistic co-operation" and which is illustrated by the aphorism that "politics makes strange bed-fellows." The importance of the consciousness of kind as the basis of association appears to be greatest in those voluntary groupings seeking sociability for its own sake; and it seems to be least important in those seeking the realization of some utilitarian or practical interest. It follows that the consciousness of kind may be neither the purpose of an association nor its driving force. A political party may combine the efforts of Hearst, Bryan, and Tammany Hall. Their consciousness of kind is evanescent; and they and their followers join in the same association for a multitude of different reasons. Only slightly less diverse are the motives behind membership in lodges, country clubs, and churches. It is true that like response to the same stimulus produces association; but one may also add that like response to many varied stimuli also produce it. In some of the latter cases the consciousness of kind would seem to be an end-result of actual association rather than a basis for the original grouping.

Finally, it seems to me that Giddings was making long strides toward an objective description of social phenomena. His most significant contributions of recent years dealt with the extremely suggestive idea of pluralistic behavior. Sociology was becoming for him societal psychology. The use of the word "consciousness" is from this point of view objectionable. Giddings used the term so as to avoid the metaphysical implications and obfuscations it arouses. He meant merely that the individual, when manifesting the trait, is subjectively aware of a likeness, physical or mental, between himself and others. It is not enough in Giddings' system that individuals respond in like ways to the same stimulus; they must also be aware of their likeness. The main objection, then, is not that the rules out a vast amount of collective behavior, of social phenomena which are the statistical summation of reactions to like causes, such as the increase of crime with rise of temperature, but that the existence of the consciousness must always be an inference. Science

course deals largely with inferences, such as the gene, used as postulates of something known to exist but whose form and size remain to be determined. The consciousness of the consciousness of kind is not in this category. It is an accompaniment of certain kinds of collective behavior; but one may at least raise the question whether, from the standpoint of an objective description of that behavior, we know any more about it when we attribute it to a consciousness of kind than when we describe it as like response to stimulus.²⁷ Whether this be true or not, we can only learn what are the elements in the consciousness of kind by entering the fields of psychology and social psychology in order to study the formation of attitudes, the likes and dislikes, of the reacting individuals.

²⁷ Like response to the *same* stimulus is quite different, and like response to *different* stimuli is also another matter.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF GEORGE HERBERT MEAD

T. V. SMITH
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

The major problem of social philosophy is the harmony of individual interest and social welfare. Mead thought to facilitate the solution of this problem by showing that, as psychological the individual is social. The technique of his psychology is that of rôle-assumption: by acting as others, one finally becomes others to himself. From oscillating others, "a generalized other" arises to constitute from the flowing selves a more or less abiding self. But this self is a "socius": reflecting, like a true microcosm, the dissonance as well as the harmony of the societal macrocosm. Mead thought to show as his social philosophy that amelioration flows differentially from his account of the self. In this he was not wholly successful. The self resulting from Mead's analysis is descriptively social but no more ethically so than is the community that begets it; and of the moral quality of actually existing communities Mead had no high opinion. His interest in amelioration flowed from the man he was rather than from his doctrine of the self. His social philosophy is generous; his social psychology probably true; but the two were connected by his personality rather than by his logic.

The world in which humanity lives today, especially in the western world, is as different from that of the eighteenth century as were two geologic epochs. We can determine what plant life and what animal life shall surround us; and to a large extent we do. We can determine what shall be the immediate incidence of cold and heat upon our bodies. We can determine what sort of a human race shall be bred, and how many of them. All the conditions which we believe, in large measure, determined the origin of species are within our power. We can do all this, but we have not accepted the responsibility for it.—GEORGE HERBERT MEAD.¹

The discrepancy between Mead the man and Mead the writer cannot but be remarked regretfully by anyone who must appraise him primarily upon the basis of his visible work. His habitual modesty or diffidence about committing himself to print and his death at the very threshold of a more adequate public articulation (I refer to the final preparation for the press of his Carus Lectures) conspire, even in the face of forthcoming posthumous publications, to prevent the communication to future readers of more than a mere semblance of the impression of substantiality received by his friends from the impact of his expansive and seminal mind. There is, however, more to the discrepancy than this patent meagerness of pub-

¹ "Bishop Berkeley and His Message," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXVI (1929), 430.

lication. Significant as what he has written is, it does not reflect him transparently. Conversation was his best medium²; writing was a poor second best. When he wrote, "something,"—as he says in one place of another matter—"something was going on—the rising anger of a titan or the adjustment of the earth's internal pressures." But true of him as of his illustration, what the reader gets is certainly "not the original experience."³ And yet what an experience is there! unmistakable symptoms of profundity and magnanimity.

I

Mead's social speculation, as befitted a mind built on classic mold, seems more often than not to arise out of wonder—primarily wonder, as exemplified in the initial quotation, at man's not living up to the opportunity which he himself has created; at his not entering morally upon his scientific find. Such wonder is far from rare in contemporary writing; but all too rare is the potency of this initial wonder to beget more than skepticism of human capacity or fear for the future of industrial society. There is an unmistakable equanimity about Mead's social analyses that indicates wonder rather than animus as their matrix; but, in his persistent faith that "it ought to be possible to find out," he converts wonder from an aesthetic stare into an instrument of understanding and amelioration.

Amelioration through understanding—that is the most dominant motif in Mead's social philosophy. It is easy to find men who are earnest about the intellectual enterprise; and it is easier still to find men who wish for a better world than now is and who are willing to work for it. But to find a man who deeply, elementally, believes in both these, believes in one because of the other, and in the other through the one, is to find—George Herbert Mead. It is the ameliorative motif that reflects most transparently his profound pragmatic bias. In the forthcoming Carus Lectures he goes so far as to say that "we determine what the world has been by the anxious search for the means of making it better." It is indeed this approach, as we

² Indeed, it was his theory, as we shall soon see, that "we do our thinking in the form of conversation, and depend upon the imagery of words for our meanings" (*International Journal of Ethics*, XXXVI [1926], 391).

³ *Essays in Honor of John Dewey*, p. 239.

shall later suggest, that leads him to a bold assimilation of both past and future to the living present. His unconditional reliance upon scientific methodology for the conduct of life betokens, on the other hand, his generalized confidence in the crucial rôle played by this understanding. To him it had long been "evident" that "we must be as much beholden to social science to present and analyze the social group with its objects, its interrelations, its selves, as a precondition of our reflection and self-consciousness, as we are beholden to physiological science to present and analyze the physical complex which is the precondition of our physical consciousness."⁴ Before dilating further, however, upon this basic motif, let me turn aside to indicate, as adequately as may be, the larger orientation of his thought.

II

Mead lived sensitively through the period that witnessed the downfall for the Western world of the religious man.⁵ He witnessed the ever renewed struggle to enthrone the economic man.⁶ Man, however, survived the downfall of these usurpers, though carrying with him certain scars as the price of such strenuous survival. Mead saw and articulated the positive precipitates of those two processes. The theological motif immortalized what it possessed of truth in Hegelianism, the positive resultant of which for Mead was the discovery that man derives from a universe that builds its own laws of development. The economic motif emerged through the heroic midwifery of Marx as a process that was equally automotive. In the "gospel according to Marx," as Mead somewhere described it, man achieves his personality, if at all, through class struggle and eventual domination of the weak many over the strong few. Dynamic both

⁴ *Psychological Bulletin*, VI (1909), 407.

⁵ "We are substituting," as he puts it in the forthcoming Carus Lectures, "the goal of a society aware of its own values and minded intelligently to pursue them for the city not built with hands eternal in the heavens." "If humanity," as he elsewhere says, "has fled shivering from the starry spaces, it has become minutely at home in the interstices of the speck that it inhabits for an instant," (*International Journal of Ethics*, XXXIII [1923], 234).

⁶ "The economic man of the dismal science was an attempt to state the self in terms of an objective and exact social science. But fortunately the economic man has proved spurious. He does not exist" (*Journal of Philosophy*, VII [1910], 176).

these processes were, but also. dominative both. Mead witnessed also the turmoil of spirit that marked the rise of Darwinianism into a cult. What Hegel did for reality and Marx for society, Darwin did for the whole realm of life: explained it as a process that was autonomous.⁷ "The continuities of process," as he observes in the Dewey memorial essay, "are more universal than those of structure." Indeed, the very spirit of modernity was to him the "growing consciousness that society is responsible for the ordering of its own processes and structures so that what are common goods in their very nature should be accessible to common enjoyment."⁸ What the "genteel tradition" in America lacked, even in so sensitive and able a representative as Josiah Royce, was, according to Mead, an adequate understanding of such an "intelligent process within ourselves as would enable us to take the helm into our own hands and direct the course of our own conduct, either in thought or action."⁹ John Dewey appeared to Mead "in the profoundest sense . . . the philosopher of America," precisely because Dewey has conclusively brought "the individual to state his ends and purposes in terms of the social means he is using."¹⁰

Emancipated thus completely from an older philosophy that had elevated structure above process, Mead found joy and complete at-homeness in the independence of man, ornamenting and directing an autonomous world: "He does not know what the solution will be, but he does know the method of the solution. We, none of us, know where we are going, but we do know that we are on the way."¹¹ But the World War, that was to have ended war, and the consequent peace, that was no peace, came as successive challenges to Mead to clarify his social philosophy on the largest possible scale, i.e., with

⁷ I am drawing loosely here upon Mead's own discussions which, it is hoped, will later be published as his lectures upon the philosophy of the nineteenth century.

⁸ "Philanthropy from the Point of View of Ethics," Faris *et al.*, *Intelligent Philanthropy*, p. 148.

⁹ "The Philosophies of Royce, James, and Dewey in Their American Setting," *International Journal of Ethics*, XL (1930), 217.

¹⁰ *A Pragmatic Theory of Truth*, "University of California Publications in Philosophy," II (1929), 88.

¹¹ "Scientific Method and the Moral Sciences," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXIII (1923), 247.

reference to internationalism. They called his attention emphatically to the possibility that to be on one's way without knowing where one is going may get one nowhere, and that rapidly. This process that runs itself may run itself into the ground. Indeed, the thought-systems that had together furnished Mead the nucleus of his own philosophy had jointly and severally indicated that the technique of the process is one of conflict, whether the dialectics of Hegel, or class war of Marx, or the strenuous natural selection of Darwin. What reason for thinking that the on-going process inherited from them jointly will not continue to go on in the same wasteful way? The reason for thinking otherwise is the presence of intelligence. Why may not men come to use their heads?

To prevent Mead's complete dependence upon and profound confidence in understanding from appearing excessive, I must here mention a fourth name which perhaps in terms of influence upon him deserves to stand with Hegel, Marx, and Darwin. Indeed, I should like to mention two more names, Adam Smith and Sigmund Freud. But for the moment I content myself with a word upon Freud. Mead saw in Freud's doctrine of the "unconscious" (what also he found in the monistic postulate of behaviorism) a "structure in our experience which runs out beyond what we ordinarily term our consciousness."¹² This discovery, whether actually borrowed from Freud or not,¹³ was of the greatest importance to Mead, because the principle served as an available mediating link between his earlier idealism and his later pragmatism. It served indeed to establish the necessary continuum between the physical and the social sciences, a nexus which he has in mind in the foregoing quotation. And thus it makes possible the extension to the whole of life of a single methodology—that of science. "It is," as Mead says, "one of the valuable by-products of the Freudian psychology that it has brought many people to recognize that we do not only our thinking but also our perceiving with minds that have already an organized structure which determines in no small degree what the world of our immedi-

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹³ It is significant that what Mead found most lacking in the social philosophy of his friend, Cooley—an adequate articulation of "man" and "society"—he connected with the fact that "the beginnings of behavioristic and Freudian psychology did not attract him or suggest new avenues of approach" ("Cooley's Contribution to American Social Thought," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV [1930], 703).

ate and reflective experience shall be."¹⁴ Influential as was this "by-product," Freud's major postulate—emotional catharsis furnished by understanding—seems to have influenced Mead more.¹⁵ It is, indeed, reliance upon this postulate of catharsis, I think, that transforms Mead's faith in intelligence—if it is capable of thorough transformation—from mysticism into logic, and that transforms intelligence itself from mere instrumentalism into a rich aestheticism.

III

I have remarked upon the stimulus furnished Mead's speculative bent by the war and the abortive peace. In his profound analysis of the peace movement two years before his death, "National Mindedness and International-Mindedness," he declares that "a certain amount of national psychoanalysis would be very valuable if not very probable."¹⁶ "One thing, however, is clear," he concludes, "that we cannot attain international-mindedness until we have attained a higher degree of national-mindedness than we possess at present."¹⁷ Upon the suicidal folly of war he dwells in variegated notes: "We fashioned the marvellous world of the twentieth century, and then undertook within it to fight an eighteenth-century war." "The hands," he picturesquely remarks in the same connection, "were the hands of Esau, but the voice was the voice of Jacob."¹⁸ And elsewhere, reverting to the same anomaly, he declares that "there attaches to it the grotesquerie of a Yankee at the Court of King Arthur."¹⁹ Speaking in the article on national-mindedness of the "profoundly pathetic" aspect of the newly bred nationalisms, he strikes the keynote upon which we must now dwell: "The pathos lies in the inability to feel the new unity with the nation except in the union of arms."²⁰ He starts from the arresting discovery that the normal values of life are in their inner natures divi-

¹⁴ "Scientific Method and the Moral Sciences," *op. cit.*, p. 229.

¹⁵ See below, the use Mead makes of this principle in interpreting the problem of socialism. Equally significant is his use elsewhere of the same principle to explain social significance of the cinema.

¹⁶ *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXIX (1929), 406.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ "Bishop Berkeley and His Message," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXVI (1929), 430.

¹⁹ "Scientific Method and the Moral Sciences," *op. cit.*, p. 235.

²⁰ *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXIX (1929), 403.

sive. Two things are implied: first, they must be fought over in order to be appreciated as values; second, it is an emotional apprehension of them that explains this scandalous defect in their constitution. The peace movement has usually depended for its progress upon the stirring and the re-stirring of emotions. But an emotional apprehension of values requires an emotional situation to provoke it, and emotions thrive on conflict situations. But conflict endangers as well as reveals values. As means, therefore, to a secure appropriation of values, "we cannot depend upon our diaphragms and the visceral responses which a fight sets in operation"²¹—not even if the fight is a fight to found an institution to end fighting itself.

Mead sees that James in his famous essay, *The Moral Equivalent of War*, is more realistic than most peace reformers: he does propose a functional substitute for the military machine in peace time. But James's proposal, thinks Mead, is of a remedy which cannot be taken by the patient until he is already well. To James's proposal of an industrial army, Mead opposes the wise observation that "cults cannot be manufactured to order."²² And so the question recurs in spite of James—How bring about the condition that will make the remedy available? To this there is but one answer—an answer so simple as to appear, if not also actually to prove, baffling. And that is that the first thing to do to get rid of war is to *think* it out of existence. There is some deep reason, however, why we continue to think war and leave room for (defensive) war, when we do not really want war. Almost as a man who does not believe in immortality still thinks of himself as being alive after death if he thinks of himself then at all, so we think war because as yet we cannot get conscious of the values that make life worth living save in a conflict situation.

Values exist independent of understanding; but they are infected with this divisive virus which renders them unavailable for the largest social purposes. Nowhere does Mead distinguish himself more sharply from his apparent fellow-naturalists than here. From Rousseau down, a deep undercurrent in Western social speculation has held that men are naturally good and that if only the incidence of institutions could be removed from spontaneous emotions, man would, with Shelley, stand forth—

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 404.

Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed. . . .
 Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless.

Mead does not affirm that men are bad by nature. Certainly they are naturally social. But the natural good, unless attended to, will degenerate into a moral better; and the sociality that is indigenous to man, unless attended to, set a boundary for socialization far this side of what ethical aspiration craves. Mead's clear discernment of the moral limitation of natural love and spontaneous good will, and the institutions arising from the two, is all the more striking by virtue of coming from a man who could never be accused of minimizing the moral rôle of institutions. As for sexual passion, it "isolates those whom it consumes";²³ as for the resulting family life, it "segregates us";²⁴ as for the church, "the fight with the devil and all his angels united men whom a common hope of salvation left untouched";²⁵ as for business, "we protect ourselves even against our partners, associates, and employees with contracts and agreements defended with penalties";²⁶ as for even "good manners," they are "means of keeping possible bores at a distance";²⁷ and as for nationalism, "the more unintelligible the issue is" (he is speaking of the influence of the Monroe Doctrine),²⁸ "the more it emphasizes the unanimity of the community."²⁹ To generalize all this in his own apt words, "*there is nothing in the history of human society nor in present-day experience which encourages us to look to the primal impulse of neighborliness for such cohesive power.*"³⁰ As another social thinker has

²³ "National-Mindedness and International-Mindedness," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXIX (1929), 400.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ "The only issue involved in the Monroe Doctrine," says Mead in his finest ironic manner, "is this, are you a patriot, are you a red-blooded American, or are you a molly-coddle" (*ibid.*, p. 398).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 399 (italics mine). Mead has in this connection a passage so similar to a famous one in Hobbes that it is easy to suspect that he had Hobbes in mind when he wrote: "Gather ten or fifteen of your acquaintances and make the subject of your conversation the admirable qualities and services of someone known to all. Then change the subject of converse to someone for whom all have a common dislike, and note how much warmer is the sense of at-oneness of those who are engaged in common disparagement than in encomium. The hostile attitude is peculiarly favorable to social cohesion" (*ibid.*, p. 393).

only now concluded, "The very strength of the devotion to the community—one social group or one nation—may make it impossible to extend sympathy to members of other groups."³¹ We come thus upon the curious and discouraging discovery that there is "cohesive power of hostile impulses" not possessed by benevolent impulses. Does this mean what it seems to say, that there is no given emotional basis for a generous extension of community? If this is not, then what price community? This is precisely Mead's problem.

But on this problem he seems to find light in the darkness that ensues from the foregoing analysis. The saving merit of the hostile attitude is that it does reveal community, and this is precisely why we prize it: not for its own sake but for the sake of what it reveals. "The case for war does not lie in the fighting itself, but in that for which war compels us to fight."³² The only way, it appears historically, to achieve the sense of community is to destroy actual community. The dove of peace, like the owl of Minerva, does not take its flight until the shades of night are falling. But, fortunately, the community that is realized is not the one that is destroyed; and a community cannot be realized unless it is there. Bellicosity, then, does not create the community that it reveals; but it reveals one already existent but made now visible through it. This fact is fringed with both discouragement and hope: the one because the method of revealing community also reveals that community must be provincial; the other because if any community, however provincial, actually exists apart from the destructive means of revealing it, it is there to be prized and generalized if other means could be found than that which in revealing limits it. There are common, even if divisive, interests. How can they be made accessible and then expandable? "We cannot depend upon feeling ourselves at one with our compatriots, because the only effective feeling of unity springs from our common response against the common enemy."³³ But to understand the interests for which we fight would make fighting unnecessary, since it is only for the sake of that understanding that we fight.

³¹ C. D. Burns, *Modern Civilization on Trial*, p. 38.

³² "National-Mindedness and International-Mindedness," *op. cit.* p. 392.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 400.

Nations fight, then, because they are not sure of themselves; and they are not sure of themselves because they fail to see the full measure of common interest that exists independent of the feeling produced by the hazards of struggle and because full justice is not done to every class inside themselves. "Civilization is not an affair of reasonableness; it is an affair of social organization."³⁴ As the nation maintains its sense of solidarity and self-respect by bristling toward other nations, so groups lesser than nations maintain their self-respect in and by a hostile attitude toward other groups. There are, as Mead observes, "great gaps in our social organization."³⁵ And so on down to the humblest individual. The lesson writ large in nationalism can be seen writ small in the individual. Light thrown by an analysis of the individual will shine as far as internationalism. "Know thyself" appeared to Mead, as fully as to the Greeks, the basic wisdom.³⁶ From the problems of common sense and citizenship, Mead was driven to psychology and from his psychology turns again to social problems. We are not dealing here, however, with the loose analogies common in philosophy between the individual and the group. We are, rather, face to face with an analysis of the individual so radical as to transform, if successful, all psychology—if not also cosmology and metaphysics—into social psychology. We must, then, preoccupy ourselves with his social psychology, though in an indicated division of labor, not further with it than is necessary for a clear comprehension of his social philosophy.

IV

Radical naturalist that he was, Mead could not presuppose a self to explain the genesis of selves. Metaphysics aside, however, he could start with an active organism. Mind, self, must arise from action. Then, too, in any given case, there is the group. To make a long story very short, through the intersection of certain organic senses—notably the voice and the ear—we come to respond to ourselves as we respond to others. We do this because already from infancy we have been responding to others. When we can and do respond to ourselves as we have responded to others, we become an

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

other to ourselves. "We must be others if we are to be ourselves."³⁷ So to respond to ourselves is to be self-conscious; and to be self-conscious is to be or have a self. Were it not for the inherent capacity and the abiding opportunity in a social milieu to interact with others, we should never become an object to ourselves. When man, as Mead happily puts it, calls upon himself and finds himself at home, he has become a living soul; society has breathed into his nostrils the breath of self-consciousness. "The apparatus of self-consciousness," as Mead has it, is borrowed from the group. The woof,³⁸ then, of all of us is a shared fabric, the social commonalty, out of which our separate selves are literally woven. The technique here involved is that of "rôle-assumption." As children our "whole vocation," first in play, then in games, is to take the rôles of others until these rôles become ours and then us. But the rôles are many, and taken separately they would make "us's" of each of us. Another step is needed, then, to to get a self out of all this changing panorama of selves—a synthesis that Mead describes as "a generalized other." Our habitual self, or character, is, however, a natural precipitate of this rôle-assuming vocation.

This account is not wholly original with Mead. He borrowed from many others, but he did more to his borrowings than merely make them his own. His treatment of what he borrowed from Adam Smith will serve for adequate illustration. His "generalized other" is so reminiscent of Adam Smith's "impartial spectator" that I once jocosely taxed him with having "stolen his thunder from Smith." He replied genially that he had come under the influence of Adam Smith while studying at Harvard, and had there written a paper on Smith. (It would be a most interesting paper to see.) But whatever he may have borrowed from Adam Smith, his "generalized other" is much richer than what he borrowed. Smith's "man within the breast" is an altruistic guest housed in an egoistic household for purposes of respectability; Mead's "generalized other" is no guest.

³⁷ "The Genesis of the Self and Social Control," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXV (1925), 276.

³⁸ The warp still seems to be individualistic, on which fact and Mead's relative indifference to it comment is made below, pp. 380-81.

He is the householder himself. The "impartial spectator" arises from a *leveling down* of both the individual and the group; for in the coalescence of the "amiable" and the "respectable" virtues such dilution goes on as results in "mediocrity." "The generalized other," however, is a *leveling up* to full-bodied function of all the rôles which society has made available for each of its prospective members.

V

But we cannot pursue this interesting analogy nor need we deal further with the heart of Mead's system, his social psychology. We have turned aside to consider his psychology at all only because the argument took us there. We shall follow the argument away from, as we have followed it to, the self. Mead himself found intelligence, once arisen, as a catharsis for conflicting inner emotions and as a revelation of intrinsic values in the patterns of organized life. But the intelligence which is so significant for what it reveals is equally significant for what it performs. The functional value of his account of the self Mead seldom wrote but to illustrate or imply. The most explicit treatment of the relation between the social self and social problems is found in his thought-provoking article, entitled "The Genesis of the Self and Social Control."³⁹ But in other articles he follows the socially beneficent influence of his account into three realms: that of peace programs,⁴⁰ of art,⁴¹ and, just before his death, of philanthropy.⁴² The use Mead made of his social psychology in dealing with the peace problem, already discussed, is sufficiently typical so that, passing over his rewarding discussions of art and philanthropy, we may summarize the several applications of his doctrine of the social self by saying that the self as "socius" arises from tension but seeks harmony of inner rôles and of their outer counterparts; that as intelligence it reveals existent values as independent of and appreciable apart from conflict; and that as creator, its ideals, and ideas, are plans for the peaceable propagation of the values that it as intelligence calmly surveys.

³⁹ *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXV (1925), 251-77.

⁴⁰ "National-Mindedness and International-Mindedness," *op. cit.*, pp. 385-407.

⁴¹ "The Nature of Aesthetic Experience," *ibid.*, XXXVI (1926), 382-93.

⁴² Faris *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-48.

VI

If this appreciation of my teacher and late esteemed colleague were to stop here, a reader who knew Mead might well call it an apology—a poor apology, a sort of *Hamlet* with the Prince left out. There was a confidence about him, an unbellicose acceptance of himself, a deep belief in the efficacy of human thought and action, a pervasive optimism that made a unique impression. His optimism was not as though he felt that we know all that we need to know, but that it is possible to know it; not that we have a perfect world, but that we have the instrument for its perfecting. Now, his social philosophy was so much the man that not to be able to do fuller justice than I have done to his personality leaves a taint of inconclusiveness about his philosophy. What one feels Mead ought to have been saying, though there was never a trace of his saying it, was this: "Here I am, be like me. I realize myself without belittling you. I find my interests not in conflict with yours. I can let live without ceasing to live. If I could explain myself, I could explain and cure all social ills. I know that I am social in structure, rational in function. If I can but exhibit intelligence to be as social in intent as I feel it to be, I can guarantee amelioration through understanding, instead of value apprehension through enervating conflict."

Feeling all this as I do, it is a genuine disappointment to me that as a critic I cannot seem to discover in Mead's philosophy an adequate ground for his optimism regarding amelioration. As a scientific mind he no doubt meant to get at the truth as to the nature of the human self. But it is also clear that as a sensitive man he set a high differential value upon his account for purpose of social reform. I am not able effectively to question the truth of his genesis of the self, though I must confess to an ever recurrent suspicion of white magic when I see him start with an animal organism assuming rôles and presently end with a well-rounded "generalized other." Is not this technique of each borrowing his soul from the others slightly reminiscent of the oriental utopia in which they supported themselves on each other's laundry? Even the admittedly social woof is morally spotted, and the organic warp—about this warp Mead has embarrassingly little to say. But whatever this synthetic function be that produces a man from an animal, let us praise nature who

does actually sometimes perpetrate it (for example, in making a Mead) rather than blame it upon Mead who does not so much explain, for all his explaining, as acknowledge the miracle.

But when he seems to deduce from his "genesis" of the self a more effective "social control" than is otherwise obtainable, my suspicion is not so easily allayed. This is a suspicion that can be better documented than the other. What was it in Mead that led him to see in social intelligence so much greater an instrument for amelioration than other men see? What made him a pragmatist construing mind in terms of improved adjustment when other men remain idealists or realists construing mind in terms of appreciation of the given? His least debatable, and certainly a highly rewarding emphasis, is on this ground common to all philosophic schools, i.e., the enormous and self-justifying aesthetic function of mind. To understand what is, is to fill the world with value, however bad what is may be. Why construe understanding as essentially a thrust to reform? The pragmatic answer itself to that question contains the seeds of my distrust of Mead's social psychology as basis for his optimistic social philosophy. For the pragmatic explanation of this characteristic of Mead would make it depend upon his dissatisfaction with the social order which he found. But it was the social order that he found, with its dissatisfying clash of interests, its injustice, its stupidity, which had, according to his theory, formed his own mind. How can a mind formed by assuming conflicting rôles have differential value for making harmonious the divisions that produce and constitute it? To put it more intimately, how can a mind so constituted ever become a unity anyway? If there does arise from such a medley of a matrix a "generalized other," will it not be so generalized that it can have no functional efficacy in competition with less generalized others? The simple truth seems to be that in his ameliorative impetus, Mead assumes a unified self because only from such a self could there issue differential hope of a unified society. But on a sober second thought, to get such a self would require a unified society in advance. Each here must rely upon a perfection in the other which the other cannot achieve because of the imperfection in it itself.

Let us indeed admit that the community forms the self. But what community? Plato found every city to be at least two, the city of

the rich and the city of the poor. When we try to answer that simple question, What community? we find ourselves faced in the sociological realm of discourse with the same dissonance that drove us to sociology for refuge. A change of venue from psychology to social psychology does not license and implement a miracle. The very word "social" seems in our time to carry a slight injection of narcotic; and so, if the self can be shown to be social, it is thought thereby to be proved more amenable to harmony, regardless of what social disharmonies may have gone into it at the making. For the paternity of the soul, then, it appears that we must choose either a community small enough to be homogeneous, in which event the resulting soul will through its harmony with that community be disharmonious with the other communities with which that community is not harmonious, or choose a larger community with its own inner disharmonies reproduced in the self as its lineal descendant. In the one case we have a unified soul disrupted in confrontation with a world without unity; in the other, a divided self to match a divided world. Do we not, in the light of this, have, instead of Mead's "generalized other," at the best a sort of confederation of "generalized others" and at an easy worst a medley of conflicting impulses to constitute our selves? I would not be thought to imply that Mead was not sensible of this difficulty: "Any self," says he, "is a social self, but it is restricted to the group whose rôles it assumes, and it will never abandon this self until it finds itself entering into the larger society and maintaining itself there."⁴³ But what I do miss is any adequate grounding, in the light of the foregoing admission, of the optimism felt regarding his psychology as a superior instrument for social reform. What I am remarking in Mead is an undercurrent if not an undertow (What philosopher wholly escapes it?) to count an acknowledged ethical ideal as an operative social force.

The visible conflicts of interest among men may, as Halévy suggests in his *Growth of Philosophical Radicalism*,⁴⁴ be confronted with three attitudes: the will to fuse them by sympathy, as illustrated by Hume; the will to adjust them artificially by rewards and punish-

⁴³ *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXV (1925), 276.

⁴⁴ Part I, chap. i.

ment, as in Bentham; and the will to ignore them or to postulate an ulterior natural harmony, as in Adam Smith's economic, though not to such an extent in his ethical, doctrine. Now, Mead's temperament clearly made Bentham's attitude unavailable to him; his sophisticated good sense made Adam Smith's view of the natural harmony of conflicting interests logically unavailable; his sensitive conscience and his pragmatic bias alike fitted him to follow Hume, that is, frankly to admit what he found in the way of human frustration and set resolutely to work by all the educational, legislative, and economic tools of sympathy eventually to remedy what he found initially to be wrong. His masterful essay in *Creative Intelligence*⁴⁵ as well as the tenor of that whole "Pragmatic Bible" was calculated to found this attitude on sound reasoning. Moreover, his own more central and distinctive contribution to the pragmatic movement, his social psychology, may be best understood, if our foregoing argument be sound, as his attempt to lay an impregnable foundation for ethical and social optimism. Both the motive and the estimated result of his social psychology are indicated in his fine statement that "the proudest assertion of independent selfhood is but the affirmation of a unique capacity to fill some social rôle."⁴⁶ But, as we have seen, the mere social nature of the self does not suffice to demonstrate this desired result when the self arises as much from social evils and conflicts as from social harmony. A microcosm mirrors, it does not reconstruct, the macrocosm. What I here suggest, then, as an hypothesis is that Mead sensed the inadequacy of his social psychology to guarantee amelioration (Might not we so construe the fact that each year under the same title and to the same end he gave a new course as social psychology?) and more or less unconsciously borrowed from Adam Smith and his tradition enough natural social harmony to swell into a sufficient showing for optimism the little harmony he was able to create.

VII

Furthermore, there is another hypothesis regarding the final orientation of his social philosophy about which I am even less certain

⁴⁵ "Scientific Method and Individual Thinker," pp. 176-227.

⁴⁶ *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXIX (1929), 395.

but feel it necessary to present in order to finish with a gesture of justice toward the hinterlands of Mead's vast speculative domain. It is that his growing cosmological and metaphysical views were colored by his not wholly satisfactory attempt to furnish a logical basis for social reconstruction. If I have, to any true degree, apprehended the motivation of his philosophical interest and have not hopelessly overplayed the difficulties his understanding met in its quest for social justice, we have before us the kind of situation from which, on Mead's general theory, a metaphysics might be expected to arise—arise as a balm for the frustrations if not of physics, then of psychology. Either reality refused this prince of men the boon of metaphysics which she had lavished on less worthy thinkers, or a metaphysics was emerging from his speculation to help his sociology cope with the recalcitrant warp of his psychology. The pragmatic identification of reality with experience, with which Mead sympathized and helped to further, is a solace to any social thinker, especially if experience be interpreted as basically social. Dewey has carried the social interpretation of reality below man, below organisms, yea into the very citadel of physics itself.⁴⁷ And Mead's forthcoming Carus Lectures seem either to have followed this lead or to have developed independently some such view as to the social nature of reality. Moreover, Mead's address to the International Congress of Philosophy at Harvard on the "Objective Reality of Perspectives"⁴⁸ and his essay in the Dewey memorial volume on "The Nature of the Past,"⁴⁹ all seem to point in the direction of dissolving an aloof into a friendly nature. For this absorption of the past and the future into the present is well calculated to carry to contemporaries the message which, according to Mead's interpretation of it,⁵⁰ Bishop Berkeley brought to our ancestors, the message that, by proximity and ownership in philosophy, as elsewhere, problems may be resolved which with distance, in either past or future, become alien and insoluble. No thinker will spurn an honorable invitation to place his back against the wall of the universe. This universe

⁴⁷ "Social as a Category," *Monist*, XXXVIII (1928), 161-77.

⁴⁸ *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy*, pp. 75-85.

⁴⁹ *Essays in Honor of John Dewey*, pp. 235-42.

⁵⁰ "Bishop Berkeley and His Message," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXVI (1929), 421-30.

behind us can be all the more helpful to our social selves in their efforts to harmonize conflicting interests, if it be itself somehow social in its very texture. But even to suggest this as hypothesis may be to make too much of it.

VIII

Though there may be room for difference of opinion as to what should be meant by social philosophy, I have here assumed that it differs from social science in a frank preoccupation with ideals; and I have supposed that one legitimate form of this preoccupation would be the use of ideals to connect peripheral facts with a factual nucleus. In this sense Mead was a social philosopher. He wanted far-flung social realities to be better than they are; his social explanation of the genesis of the self served as the factual nucleus. My suggestion, that this central fact was not calculated differentially to inform the peripheral facts with improved meaning, does not, even if granted, invalidate the melioristic intent of his thought or depreciate the specific ideals he had for reconstructing situations. Nor does this analysis touch, save to further, his wise assimilation of ideals to ideas and his functional interpretation of both. Mead's ideals are the ideals of all generous minds of our time. Such things do not differ with different philosophies as much as pride of school could wish. The best part of any social philosophy is the philosopher, and here Mead's philosophy was superb. But his robust personality now gone, these seem to me the most deeply significant things in his social speculation: (1) an almost, if not quite, completely empirical account of the genesis and nature of the self and through this a final secularization of the human spirit; (2) the cathartic and aesthetic function of intelligence in the social field; (3) the reconstructive significance of ideals; and (4) a profound faith in the worthwhileness of thought, whether contemplative or operative. "That we shall be better," Mead would have said with Socrates, "and braver and less helpless if we think that we ought to enquire, than we should have been if we indulged in the idle fancy that there was no knowing and no use in seeking to know what we do not know;—that is a theme upon which I am ready to fight, in word and deed, to the utmost of my power."⁵¹

⁵¹ *Meno* 86.

CO-OPERATION AMONG ANIMALS

W. C. ALLEE
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

Social life seems to have its roots in a fundamental trait or property of all living matter by which survival is one function of the aggregation of organisms. From this stage life has evolved to greater independence of close proximity; survival values accrue then from groupings tropistically produced—individuals collected in response to common environmental conditions. In the final stage, individuals show minimum reactions as separate units and respond mainly as members of a group. As a result of the working of the two principles of the struggle for existence and of co-operation, and through a process of emergent evolution, man has developed social groups.

The idea that animals co-operate with each other is not new. Empedocles (495–435 B.C.) foreshadowed it as well as the principle of struggle for existence when he wrote of the combining power of love and the disrupting power of hate as being the two ultimate forces of nature.¹ A significant development of this idea was made by Shaftesbury² when he said, with reference to Hobbes' statement, *Homo homini lupus*, that: "to say in disparagement of Man 'that he is to Man a wolf' appears absurd when one considers that wolves are to wolves very kind and loving creatures." "Therewith," H. Ellis³ states, " 'goodness' was seen virtually for the first time in the modern period to be as 'natural' as the sweetness of ripe fruit."

There is no particular virtue in tracing the development and extension of this idea step by step. There is an excellent statement of the stage reached in 1878 given by Espinas.⁴

No living being is solitary. Animals, especially, sustain multiple relations with the organisms of their environment, and, without mentioning those that live in permanent intercourse with their kind, nearly all are driven by biological necessity to contract, even if only for a brief moment, an intimate union with some other member of their species. Even among organisms devoid of distinct and separate sexes, some traces of social life are manifested, both among animals that remain, like plants, attached to a common stock, and among the lowly beings which, before separating from the parental organism, remain for some

¹ H. F. Osborn, *From the Greeks to Darwin* (1908).

² Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Philosophical Regimen*.

³ H. Ellis, *The Dance of Life* (1929).

⁴ A. V. Espinas, *Des Sociétés animales* (1878).

time attached to it and incorporated in its substance. Communal life, therefore, is not an accidental fact in the animal kingdom; it does not arise here and there fortuitously and, as it were, capriciously; it is not, as is so often supposed, the privilege of certain isolated species in the zoölogical scale, such as the beavers, bees and ants, but, on the contrary—and we believe we are in a position to prove this statement abundantly—a normal, constant, universal fact. From the lowest to the highest forms in the series, all animals are at some time in their lives immersed in some society; the social medium is the condition necessary to the conservation and renewal of life. This is, indeed, a biological law. . . . Moreover, from the lowest to the highest stages in the series, we detect in the development of social habits a progression which, if not uniform, is at least constant, so that each social group carries the perfecting of these habits a little further in one or another direction. Finally, social facts are subject to laws, and these are the same everywhere that such facts appear, so that they constitute a considerable and uniform domain in nature, a homogeneous whole thoroughly integrated in all its parts.⁵

More recently Kropotkin, Deegener, Alverdes, and Wheeler have contributed to the development of this thesis. The latter in *The Social Insects* (1923) expressed his point of view as follows:

All living things are genetically related as members of one great family, one vast living symplasm, which though fragmented into individuals in space, is nevertheless absolutely continuous in time. In the great majority of organic forms each generation arises from the co-operation of two individuals. Most animals and plants live in associations, herds, colonies or societies and even the so-called "solitary" species are obligatory, more or less co-operative members of groups or associations of individuals of different species. Living beings not only struggle and compete with one another for food, mates and safety, but they also work together to insure to one another these same indispensable conditions for development and survival.

Within recent years, and particularly since 1920, there has accumulated a rapidly growing store of data based on experimentation in the field of mass physiology which shows that these generalizations are much more firmly grounded than could be the case when the only available basis was that furnished by observational studies on animal behavior concerned primarily with the struggle for existence as conceived in the nineteenth century, or upon the lives of insects or other animals admittedly social in habit. These studies have recently been reviewed⁶ and need only be summarized here.

⁵ Translated by Wheeler, 1928.

⁶ W. C. Allee, *Animal Aggregations* (University of Chicago Press, 1931).

Aggregations formed by various sorts of loose groupings of animals occur commonly in nature among forms which are not social according to usual standards and in which the group organization is so loose that the protective benefits which are derived from multiplicity of eyes that give warning of danger as in bird flocks, or the multiplicity of claws and fangs which aid in protection have not been detected. Such aggregations may occur at any time in the year and hence are not limited to mating, hibernation, or aestivation phenomena. This forms one set of facts. The importance of this set of facts has been discounted because they run counter to the widely observed harmful effects of crowding.

Retarding of growth due to crowding has been recorded for many organisms from Protozoa to vertebrates. Similarly, many animals at various levels of complexity have been demonstrated to reproduce less rapidly if crowded. These range from *Paramecium* to fruit flies and chickens; and many animals, including man, have a higher death-rate under crowded conditions than when they are less so. These harmful effects of crowding have been known for a long time and can be readily demonstrated.

More recently careful work has shown that this is not the whole story even with simpler, nonsocial animals. Thus, at least under certain conditions, sea-urchin eggs and larvae, tadpole tails, and perhaps even fishes, grow more rapidly if given optimum crowding than if isolated or overcrowded. Various protozoans and the flour beetle, *Tribolium*, similarly reproduce more rapidly if present in optimal numbers. Starving starfishes live longer if grouped than if isolated even though they do not practice cannibalism, and various sorts of isopod crustaceans keep in better physiological condition if allowed to aggregate than when isolated.

Diverse species of Protozoa, *Hydra*, various flatworms, leeches, tadpoles, snails, crustaceans, starfishes, insects, and fishes will live longer when exposed to the same volume and concentration of various toxic agents including colloidal suspension of the heavy metals, salt solutions including cyanides and insect sprays, if many are exposed together than if isolated.

Similarly, mass protections have been demonstrated for exposure to high temperatures, for exposure to ultra-violet radiation, to fresh

water on the part of marine animals, and to sea water for freshwater forms. *Drosophila*, the fruit fly, will live longer in one-ounce bottles under standard and near-optimum conditions if from thirty-five to fifty-five flies are present than if the number is either less or greater. Bacteria have been shown to be more resistant to certain bactericides and to grow more rapidly in unfavorable media if many are present than if there are but few. Spermatozoa retain their activity and their power of fertilizing ova longer if present in mass than if diluted, and certain cells in tissue cultures will grow only if more than one cell is present.

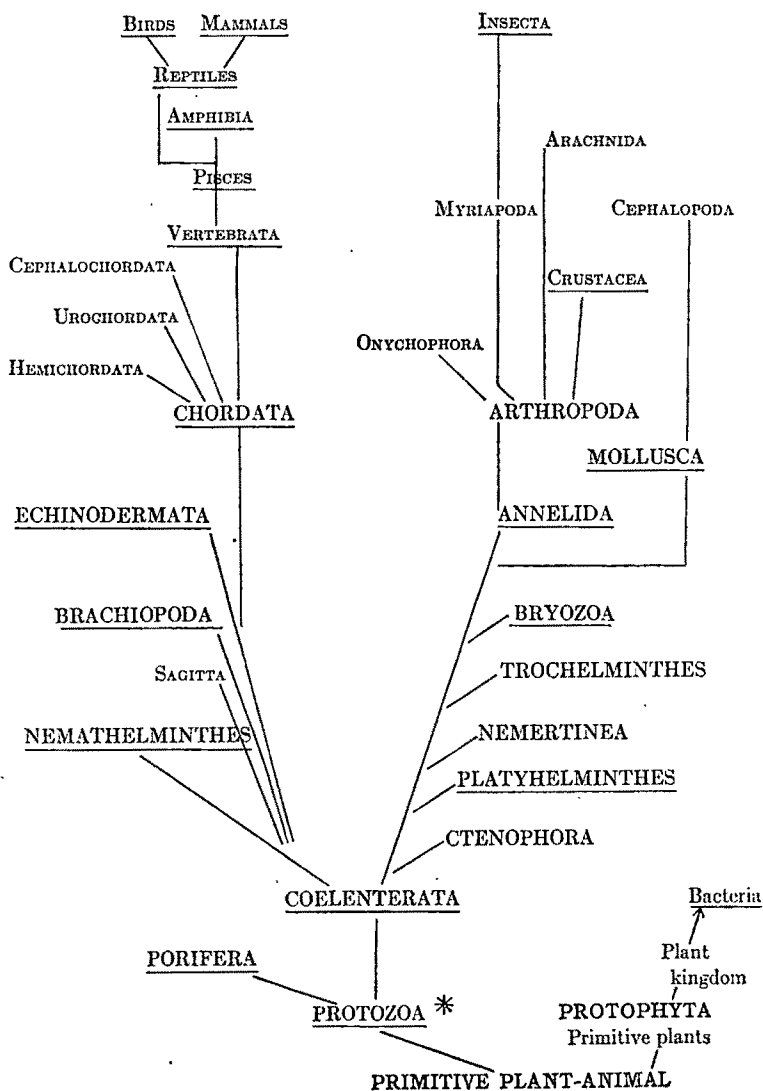
The above summary shows that beneficial effects of optimal crowding in organisms usually regarded as nonsocial have been demonstrated in widely separated divisions of the animal kingdom. Chart I will help in the realization of how widely distributed such phenomena have been shown to be.

This chart⁷ shows a diphyletic tree giving the relationships within the animal kingdom. The distance from the base represents the relative degree of specialization. The phyla and classes underscored are those in which survival values from aggregations have been demonstrated, other than those known to occur in connection with normal sexual reproduction. Without reasonable doubt, proper tests would reveal that aggregations of animals in all of the divisions still unchecked also possess survival value, at least when the animals are exposed to unusual or unfavorable conditions, such as those which would be furnished by fresh water for the marine forms or by distilled water for the Trochelminthes. Certain of the implications arising from these phenomena become more clear if presented in the simplest possible form. Accordingly, let us try to imagine conditions existing when living molecules first evolved from their nonliving antecedents.

However, whenever, and wherever life first appeared on this planet, considerations of the beneficial values of groups of relatively simple organisms strongly suggest that, unless the first living molecules appeared in considerable numbers approximately simultaneously within a limited microhabitat, there would have been little chance of survival; a single isolated living particle must have succumbed to the unconditioned unfavorable environment. If this

⁷ W. C. Allee, in *Nature of the World and of Man*.

CHART I



occurred, a certain slight modification of the environment would result as the particle disintegrated. In doing so, it might free some X-substance, such as various workers have assumed to be necessary

for the well-being of living organisms; or the decomposing protoplasmic molecule might fix, by adsorption or otherwise, some of the elements of the environment harmful for a living system. In other words, the living protoplasm itself or the products of its metabolism during life or the products freed by death and disintegration would probably condition the immediate environment in such a manner that if another particle of living matter appeared soon in that niche it would have a better chance of survival.

If, on the other hand, several of these living molecules appeared approximately simultaneously in the same restricted microhabitat, then by the processes of metabolism they would tend to condition their environment similarly, and by fixation of toxic substances, or by some one of the other communal activities, such as the production of an X-substance, or the modification of the electrical conditions, this primitive aggregation of living particles would show the survival value which is frequently exhibited by present-day animal aggregations of approximately the same integration level.

It may be that numerous transitions from the nonliving to the living would occur one after the other in the same micro-niche, with a successive conditioning and a progressively greater longevity of some or all of the particles, until, finally, conditions would become sufficiently favorable for permanent survival. Whatever the details, it seems probable that this mechanism was operative from the very beginning of life and is a fundamental trait or property of living matter.

In order to discuss this trait more easily, it should be named. A few years ago it might have been called "unconscious co-operation"; it since many modern psychologists have discarded the concept of unconsciousness, the idea of lack of consciousness is less helpful than formerly. It may be regarded as an automatic mutual interdependence among organisms, or, for the sake of simplicity, as the principle of co-operation. The only trouble with calling this relationship one of co-operation, which it is, lies in the fact that the word carries with it an idea of conscious effort possible only after long ages of organic evolution, and then only in certain favored types of animals, while the evidence appears to be clear that the sort of cooperation of which we are speaking is a fundamental trait of all

living matter. As in all the other fundamental properties of living organisms, there is probably no hard and fast line to be drawn here between the living and the nonliving. The mutual interdependence of the living must have grown out of similar but simpler interdependence in antecedent nonliving matter, and may, in fact, be merely a highly specialized biological application of the mass law of chemistry.

If this analysis is sound, as it appears to be, the potentiality of social life is inherent in living matter, even though its first manifestations are merely those of a slight mutual interdependence, or of an automatic co-operation which finds its first biological expression as a subtle binding link of primitive ecological biocoenoses. Lest we be accused of having been carried too far by enthusiasm, it may be well to pause for a moment to examine again the chart showing the extent to which such co-operative phenomena have been described in the animal kingdom. Such an examination will show that mutual interdependence, or automatic co-operation, is sufficiently widespread among the animal kingdom to warrant the conclusion given above that it ranks as one of the fundamental qualities of animal protoplasm, and probably of protoplasm in general. Further, it is often found in nature and involves great numbers of animals.

The field naturalist, interested in observing a wide range of animal life, is familiar with the widespread occurrence of aggregations. Inland waters are notoriously poorer in population than is the sea, but in California, during the breeding season, I have seen ponds paved with the pebble-like clusters of salamander eggs. In mid-Great Salt Lake our boat ploughed through surface-covering masses of aggregated *Ephydra* flies that rose in choking numbers. Aldrich⁸ calculated 370,000,000 of these were to be found along every mile of Salt Lake beach. In the nearby mountain ponds of Utah aggregations of ostracods of the size of a walnut were to be found, at times occupying a portion of each cow track with which the bottom of the ponds were stippled; and similar collections of annelid worms occur in Indiana ponds.

Along the seashore, in such favorable locations as part of the Cali-

⁸ J. M. Aldrich, *N.Y. Journal Ent. Soc.*, XX (1912), 77-99.

nia coast, the supply of animal life is appalling. One cannot step on the rocks exposed at low tide without crushing sea urchins, sea anemones, barnacles, or mollusks. Even in the less prolific regions around Cape Cod every available rock or solid timber washed by the tidal currents is the base for a densely packed aggregation, composed of many or of few species. Favorable bottom areas are similarly packed; and *Mytilus* and *Crepidula fornicata*, if proper substratum is wanting, form chains of animals, attaching to each other in the absence of solid objects. A suitable bit of mud flat may be packed with *Mya*. The *Hymenorus* beetle population of a single panicle of Florida yucca has been estimated to be about 15,000, and case after case of insect aggregations has been described. In this survey I have not mentioned the collection of insects about electric lights, or the insects in the shore drifts of lakes, or the vast collections of the more strictly social species, or the type of relationship usually called symbiotic.

There is nothing in the recent work which displaces the earlier conclusion that overcrowding is harmful; but the newer evidence does show that under proper conditions, and entirely apart from breeding or hibernation, beneficial results may follow aggregations, in many organisms of the same or of different species, within a limited space. This means that in groupings caused by the tropistic reactions of individuals to environmental factors there may be a natural co-operation effective long before the physiological organization of the group has reached the level of development which occurs in the groupings usually designated as being truly social.

Symbiosis, commensalism, sexual and intra-organismal relations aside, such unconscious co-operation was unknown to Espinas or to Kropotkin,⁹ who were much impressed by the evidences of mutual aid among insects and the larger animals. It was unknown to Wheeler when he wrote the 1923 conclusion quoted above, to which he was led by the studies of the ecologists and by his own knowledge of the behavior of ants and other social insects. The knowledge which I have summarized, showing that such general co-operation exists among loosely organized, or among apparently unorganized,

⁹ P. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid a Factor in Evolution* (1914).

groups of animals living even temporarily in the same region, gives us much clearer evidence than has been available to these students of social life, that their conclusion that co-operation is one of the major biological principles is correct, and that its roots extend below the level of well-integrated social activity.

From this point of view the first step toward the development of societies had probably already been taken when life came into existence on this planet. These first living particles were probably dependent on each other for the final adaptation of their physical environment so that they could continue to live. In the course of evolution they became more independent of close proximity to each other. A further advance was made when such more or less solitary animals developed, in addition to the general automatic co-operation inherent in living matter, a new toleration for close aggregation in a limited area, where they had collected not as a result of a social appetite but on account of their individual reactions to the surrounding environmental conditions. Such collections occur frequently as the result of forced movements in which the animal reacts, apparently mechanically, to the forces operating upon it, and may persist only because of the inertia of toleration. These tropistically conditioned groupings show survival values in addition to those resulting from general co-operation. Such additional survival values may be shown either by the effect of the group upon the individuals, rendering them more resistant to adverse environmental conditions, or conversely by so affecting the environment by the removal of toxic materials, or by some other ameliorating device, that it becomes more favorable for the continued existence of the animals. Group survival values can slip into the background as animals become well adjusted to the environment, to reappear apparently afresh when conditions of existence become again less favorable. These new survival values may be qualitatively as well as quantitatively different from those shown previously.

The last advance in this series comes when individuals show minimal reactions as separate units and respond mainly as members of a group—when, as in the case of ants or termites and, rarely, with men, they are largely group-centered rather than self-centered.

Many of the so-called "altruistic" drives in man apparently are the development of these innate tendencies toward co-operation, which find their early physiological expression in all sorts of simpler animals.

With the development of the nervous system, closer co-operation becomes possible and larger numbers are affected. There is much reason for thinking that many of the advances in evolution have come about through the selection of co-operating groups rather than through the selection of individuals. This implies that the two great natural principles of the struggle for existence and of co-operation are not wholly in opposition, but that each may have reacted upon the other in determining the trend of animal evolution.

As a result of the working of these two principles, man has developed social groups, the scope of whose organization has been constantly extended until at the present time we are confronted with the problems centering about national versus international organization. Now, as in each stage of the social evolution of man, the proponents of the narrower organization maintain that the type of grouping they advocate satisfies the natural instinctive and traditional drives of man, while the more inclusive grouping is an abnormal desire for an idealistic utopia. So might the conservative primitive living molecules, the protozoans, flatworms, isopods, or ants have argued, had they the wit, at each stage of their co-operative evolution. It may be helpful, and restful as well, to remember that the greater part of the evolution of social life has been brought about, not by conscious effort on the part of those undergoing evolution, but by the natural working-out of these two fundamental principles of struggle and co-operation.

The recently flourishing mechanistic school of biology held that, if we could but perceive it, there is an essentially consistent development from the least to the most complex aspects of nature. By beautiful experimentation many biological processes were demonstrated to follow with surprising exactitude the physiochemical laws worked out from the relationships of nonliving materials and systems; but by enthusiastic oversimplification of complex living processes, many incompletely analyzed situations were also brought

into line with the known physicochemical relations of inorganic materials.

Within the last few years, many biologists have found that the doctrine of emergent evolution more nearly summarizes their views concerning the developing complexities to be found in nature than does an oversimplified mechanistic system. According to this doctrine, different levels of organization exist, of which the more advanced are to be regarded as emergents from the less advanced. One of the major distinctions made is that between living and nonliving levels. The former is regarded as having arisen by one or more emergings from the latter. Within each of these major divisions, different levels of organization are distinguished. Thus, in the realm of the living organisms, plants and animals may be recognized as forming different series of emergents. Within the animal kingdom one series of emergent levels would begin with the physiological level which is concerned with generalized physiological processes. The more complex group of processes centering about the physiology of the central nervous system would then be designated as belonging to the psychological level. Still another set of reactions involving the interactions of different organisms would then be set off as belonging to the social level. Both the psychological and the social levels are regarded as emergents from the less complex order of generalized physiological activities.

Within the social field different levels of organization may be recognized. First, there is the general level of mutual interdependence, or of automatic co-operation, which is definitely proved to exist and which seems to be a fundamental property of living things, though its mechanisms are not completely understood even in the best analyzed cases. Above this, other levels may be found, shifting from that of toleration for the close proximity or physical contact of animals in slightly integrated groups to the well-integrated, highly co-ordinated societies which exhibit marked division of labor and which behave as group units rather than as individuals. Each of these social levels may be regarded as having been formed by one or more emergings from a lower, less perfectly organized level.

One of the characteristics of an emergent has frequently been said

to be the unpredictableness of its qualities, even when one possesses a thoroughgoing acquaintance with the qualities of its forerunners or ingredients. The most usual illustration given is the impossibility of predicting the nature of water (H_2O) from a knowledge of the chemical and physical properties of the hydrogen and oxygen atoms which combine to produce it.¹⁰ From such evidence it is stated that the whole is something more than the sum of its parts. Closer analysis shows that this does not necessarily state the whole truth. Obviously, we do not know all the properties of hydrogen and of oxygen until we have catalogued those which allow their combination in the proportion of two of the former to one of the latter to form water. Similarly, we do not know all the properties of these two elements or of any inorganic elements until we have learned those which they display when they become part of living protoplasm. We are still far from having catalogued the properties of inorganic compounds, and we have barely begun to analyze their properties as revealed by their activities associated with organic and with living compounds.

It does not necessarily follow that, because there appear to be wide gaps between the properties exhibited by hydrogen and by oxygen taken separately and those shown by the same elements combined to make water, the latter is really something distinct, a new emergent with wholly new properties. Our failure to discover evidences which would allow us to predict that water with its well-known qualities would result from the proper combination of hydrogen and oxygen may be merely a measure of our ignorance concerning the subject. Similarly, when we look at animate nature with a wide-field, low-power microscope and recognize different orders of complexity, it does not necessarily follow that some of these are emergents from others; or, if they are, it certainly does not demonstrate that the emergents arose by sudden mutations without intermediate steps. It may be that we cannot perceive the presence of intermediates on account of our own limitations rather than because of their absence.

¹⁰ C. Bernard, *Introduction à l'étude de la médecine expérimentale* (Paris trans., 1927, by H. C. Greene), New York, 1865.

Certainly it has lately been shown that the social emergent, thought by some students¹¹ to represent the highest of all emergent levels, begins humbly and gradually works up from its roots in the fundamental properties of living matter, through the tropisms, the developing senses, sex, and the survival values centering about a developing social appetite.

¹¹ W. M. Wheeler, *Emergent Evolution and the Development of Societies* (New York, 1928).

THE INCIDENCE AND SEQUENCE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

RICHARD T. LAPIERE AND CHENG WANG
Stanford University

ABSTRACT

This paper is intended as a caution against the danger of assuming that the incidence and sequence of social change as found in Western history is a universal pattern. An examination of the changes which have thus far occurred in China consequent upon contacts with Western peoples indicates that, while the inclusion of China in the field of world-change may be traced to technological improvements, particularly in transportation and communication, the changes that have actually taken place in Chinese social institutions are traceable not to modification of the technique of nature control but to the borrowing by the student class of the more advanced of Western ideologies.

Recent sociological interest in the perpendicular aspect of social dynamics is an outgrowth of the realization that contemporary society is in the vortex of conflicting social forces; that while these forces tend toward equilibration, historical factors have disturbed a previous social equilibrium. Social equilibrium is being thought of as institutional adaptation, and the entire study of social change has of recent years emphasized analysis of the incidence and sequence of those changes which affect social equilibrium and necessitate institutional re-adaptation. There is, however, a constant error for the social theorist in that he is tempted to consider as universal the tendencies to social change observable in his own so-

ipped of all encumbrances the general present-day concepts of change may be stated thus: (1) Any developed society is an organic whole" in that the social needs which arise when men are in from of delicate social equilibrium; (2) modification in the functions is the institution disturbs equilibrium and necessitates change, or even, quentment, in all institutional structures in order that functional equilibrium may be regained; (3) Change appears to come most frequently in that least-stable aspect of society, man's technique of structure control. It is with this last concept that the present paper is concerned. On historical evidence there has been erected the hy-

pothesis that the incidence and sequence of cultural change may be briefly stated as: (1) Invention or borrowing (in the realm of nature control); (2) consequent institutional mal-adjustment; (3) institutional re-adaptation (actual); (4) ideological re-adaptation or adjustment. Few modern students will treat the incidence of cultural change as deterministic in character for it is all too easy to raise the devastating question "Whence came invention"? There remains, however, the danger of particularism, of thinking that, since Western historical evidence indicates the above sequence of change, it is a universal tendency.

Aside from the European controversy over the place of religion in the rise of capitalism, few dissenting voices have arisen over the generally accepted idea that change sequence is from nature-technique to ideologies. Western historical evidence is confirmatory of this sequence, yet there is contemporary data to support the claim that the incidence of social change within any cultural area may also be ideological and that the sequence of change may be from ideologies to institutions and finally, perhaps, to the technique of nature control. Only the fact that American students have little, if any, knowledge of those vast peoples of Asia has permitted the intensive development of a theoretical concept based solely upon European experience. While maintaining that social thought is largely an outcome of social situations, American sociologists do not avoid the dangers of basing their theories solely upon their own social situation, in its historical aspects; which does, let us repeat, support the view that cultural change comes primarily in the realm of nature control, that such change disturbs institutional equilibrium and necessitates institutional re-adaptation, and that, finally, social ideologies are modified to meet new social practice.

Turning to China, we find evidence of a complete inversion of this sequence of cultural change. China, as many have pointed out, is in ferment, undergoing change. Contact with Europe and America has permitted the borrowing of new cultural elements which completely disturbed the social equilibrium that has made Chinese social organization relatively stable for over two thousand years. Changes in Western culture have constituted the incidence of a culturally unifying movement which bids fair to include, eventually, the whole of

kind. China has been drawn into this world-movement and, from the world-change point of view, the incidence of cultural change is the technique of nature control in Western society. From, however, the immediate, cultural-area viewpoint the incidence and sequence of social change in China does not appear to be from material technique to social ideologies. Numerous aspects of institutional change may be discerned at the present moment, and in every instance the incidence of this change may be traced to a common borrowing from Western society. The authors believe, however, that the elements borrowed from Western culture have been in the realm of social ideologies rather than that of material technique. A brief sketch of Western influence upon China must be given before further elaboration of our theoretical position.

The first significant contacts that China had with Western culture were through Jesuit missionaries toward the end of the Ming Dynasty (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). The Italian, Matteo Ricci, the Spaniard, Diego de Pantoa, and the German, Joannes Adam Schall Von Bell, played perhaps the most important part in these contacts through their introduction of Western astronomy and mathematics. The significance of these early missionary contacts was not, however, such that either through their religion or their science did they disturb the stability of Chinese society. The early missionaries had permitted even their converts to practice the old rituals. This practice was not agreeable to the pope, however, who, in 1704, ordered the missionaries no longer to permit Ancestor worship by their converts. This change in tactics resulted in anti-Christian feeling among the Chinese which effectively checked the introduction of Western science through the missionaries. From this time until the first war with European powers, the "opium war" of 1840, China was closed to Western contacts.¹

The result of the "opium war" was a treaty which again brought Western contacts to the people of China. After 1842 a steadily increasing stream of missionaries went to China and established Christian schools, thus directly and indirectly preparing the ground for

¹ It is true that the Jesuits continued to remain at the Court in Peking after 1704, but the introduction of Western science ceased so far as its effect upon the people of China is concerned.

the westernization which was to follow. The defeat at the hands of Great Britain in 1840, and again in 1860, in the war with France and England, forced upon the leaders of the Ts'ing Dynasty the realization that there were elements in Western culture which it might be profitable for the Chinese to acquire. The failure of the age-old examination system to provide a government sufficiently strong to withstand Western aggressors undermined the implicit faith in this system and eventually led to efforts to establish an educational organization based upon Western practices. Western science gained prestige, and the practical value of Western technique was recognized. At the same time it was believed that the old Chinese ethical doctrines must be retained. The program, therefore, was to take over Western technique; and especially that of warfare, for it was in this that the Chinese most keenly felt their inferiority to the peoples of Europe.

In the furtherance of the governmental policy of acquiring Western technique the government began sending Chinese students abroad. But the Chinese students studying in Europe, America, and Japan acquired—along with their knowledge of Western science—Western ideologies, and returning to China formed the nucleus of that political unrest which culminated in the establishment of the Republic.

The continued failure of the Ts'ing Dynasty to restrain the encroachments of Western powers led to the development of two distinct lines of thought on political reform, in both of which the influence of Western ideologies is clearly apparent. The more moderate group, led by Liang Chi Chao and his teacher Kan Yu Wei, believed that constitutional monarchy should be substituted for the old system, yet based upon the old structure. Liang's writings represent, and in a large measure were the initiative of, the political reformation which culminated in the One Hundred Days Political Reformation during 1898. The political reforms wrought by this movement were short-lived because of the reactionary Empress Dowager, and the leaders of the reform party were forced to leave China.

The more radical group, led by Sun Yat Sen, believed that the encroachments of Western powers on China could be checked only

through the adoption of Western nationalism. The old Chinese system was one largely of local self-government, family, village, and district, wherein national consciousness was almost entirely lacking. To the leaders of radical political thought, revolution was the sole means through which a truly national government could be established. In 1895 a premature revolution under the leadership of Sun Yat Sen discredited the radical movement for a time, but the disastrous Boxer Rebellion in 1900 revived dissatisfaction which crystallized under Dr. Sun's leadership in the formation of a Revolutionary Party in 1905. The doctrines developed by this party were based upon Western political experience and took as an objective the attainment of national unity which, they believed, could only be secured through the establishment of Republican, unitary, government. To this end the Revolutionary Party worked assiduously until they succeeded in overthrowing the Monarchy and establishing a Republic in 1911. While Sun Yat Sen soon resigned the presidency, the influence of his ideals is indicated by the fact that since his death he has been made the idolized "father" of the Republic. The present political conflict is primarily the result of differences in the interpretations of Sun Yat Sen's doctrine.

The absorption of Western ideologies has not been restricted to the realm of governmental organization. In the old Chinese organization woman's place was in the home; her life, while not truly that of an inferior, was strictly limited to that of motherhood and domestic activities. One of the outstanding impressions made by Western society upon Chinese students was the general freedom permitted Western women.² Prior to the Political Reformation this contact with Western ideologies had resulted in considerable agitation to liberalize the position of Chinese women. At first this effort centered upon the custom of binding women's feet (which was symbolic of weakness) and of restricting educational opportunity to men. Thirty years before the establishment of the Republic an Anti-Footbinding Association was formed by Kan Yu Wei in Canton which was followed in other provinces by the formation of similar associations. At the present time footbinding is archaic.

² So startlingly different from Chinese customs were the practices which they observed in Europe and America that they returned to China with the theoretical ideals of Western liberals rather than true Western practice.

The missionaries who had entered China after 1840 had established small schools for girls, but not until 1884 were any of them large enough to be significant. In that year the Methodists established an important girls' school in Kiangsu province. Yet none of these missionary activities appear to have done much to encourage the dissemination of ideas on freedom of women. Accompanying the movement against footbinding there was a purely Chinese effort toward educational opportunity for women. This movement was composed primarily of young men who had either directly or indirectly been impressed with Western ideologies. The outstanding member of the group was Liang Chi Chao, who devoted an entire chapter to the problem of girls' education in his work upon reform published in the year 1896. In this he denies the virtue of feminine ignorance and maintains that for a woman to be a good housewife and mother she must be educated. A girls' school was established by the Chinese in Shanghai in 1896 but the failure of the Political Reformation checked widespread adoption of feminine education.

The agitation for the liberation of women did not diminish, however, and in 1903 a book upon the subject appeared under the Chinese title *Woman's Bell* (The Awakening of Chinese Womanhood) the general thesis of which was that no biological reason existed why women should not be the equal of men. More liberal even than the Westerners that were being imitated, the author urges that all signs of femininity, including the piled-up hairdress and ear rings, be dispensed with, while the old restraints on association between the sexes were to be removed, giving women the same social rights as men. No doubt it is the extreme radicalism of these views which prompted the author to write under the nom de plume "Lover of Liberty."

In 1905 education for girls was adopted as a part of the new governmental system of education. Since the new school system involved only the establishment of public education in place of the examination system, and continued the former emphasis upon memorization of the Classics, the inclusion of girls in the school system made little appeal to them and gained for women little in the way of liberalization. In fact, the governmental policy at this time was one of deliberate inculcation in classical doctrines, an effort to stem the tide of new-world ideologies.

From the nineties up to 1914 the old idea of excluding women from education was replaced by the new idea of educating them for domestic life. Following this period the extreme views of the "Lovers of Liberty" were revived and intensified through the medium of a journal called *New Youth* published under the leadership of a group of Chinese students who had been educated in Europe and America. No doubt the then current agitation among Western peoples for greater freedom of women had its influence upon the thought of these Chinese students.

The New Culture movement, as it was called, was led by T. S. Chen and Dr. Hu Shih, who through their publications represented a demand for actual equality and freedom of women. But to advocate the freeing of women from the inhibitions of domestic life was to deny the validity of the entire structure of Confucian ethical doctrines. The New Culture movement thus constituted an attack upon the very heart of Chinese social life—filial piety. All restraints based upon this ideology were subjected to severe criticism. In 1916 the editor of *New Youth*, Mr. Chen, maintained that Confucianism has been used by the ruling class to subjugate man. Hence, in order that a new China may develop, idolization of Confucius must be destroyed. Taking up in sequence the specific elements of Confucian doctrines he shows how incompatible they are with the new social situation. Since the ideology of freedom and equality had already been accepted by the people of China it was only necessary for Mr. Chen to indicate how incompatible the old social order is with these ideals.³ Following this article came a veritable flood of literature from the growing body of students who were returning from abroad. Though violently contrary to age-old Chinese ideologies as this new thought was, not a few of the older students joined the movement. The influence of Western writings on the subject of sex equality (such as those of Ibsen), which were translated into Chinese during the years which followed, is inestimable.

So deeply was the youth of China impressed with the ideals of the New Culture movement that the protests of the older generations were impotent to restrain it. Impractical as these ideologies may be in the actual structure of Chinese society, we, nevertheless,

³ It is significant that in his arguments no effort is made to prove the necessity for freedom and equality; they are taken as unquestionable objectives.

find many of them incorporated in the legal codes of the present government. Legally women are now equal to men: politically, economically, educationally. The new marriage and divorce laws are based upon sex equality and even the right of inheritance and public office has been granted to women. Parents can no longer arrange marriage without the consent of the parties to the contract. In practice even those engagements arranged prior to the new laws are being broken, an act which was inconceivable a decade ago. It has become fashionable for men and women to meet as equals, abandoning all pretense of the older "sex shyness" on the part of the latter. Dancing together, once so "immoral," has become a common recreation. Needless to say, all this is not being accomplished without great friction but the more conservative elements have gradually retreated to a position of hopeless despair and are not today in any large measure actively opposing the adoption of Western ideologies. China is being molded by its youth who have become dominant in the political and social life of the nation. Chinese youth have adopted (as their own) the most liberalized ideologies of Europe and America and are endeavoring to change the social structure to fit these ideologies.

The foregoing brief summary of social change in China presents an intricate problem for sociological analysis. It is quite apparent that the "cause" of this social change lies in the existence of peoples with a culture which differs from that of old China. It is also quite apparent that the prestige which this different culture obtained in the eyes of the Chinese people can be traced directly to the inability of the Chinese government to resist foreign encroachments. Mere knowledge or contact does not precipitate borrowing. The Chinese people have had numerous early contacts with Western peoples from whom they borrowed little or nothing. Was not China the world-center and these others mere barbarians? The technological superiority of Europeans was impressed upon the Chinese only when Western guns proved more effective than Chinese guns. Then to restrict foreign encroachments it appeared necessary to adopt foreign technology. In the attempt to do this, Chinese scholars were impressed with European social ideologies and their differences from those of China. The Chinese people have, these thousands of years, been

far more socially-minded than materially-minded. Because of this fact, possibly, they devoted more attention to re-working the social structure along the lines of Western ideals than to adopting Western material technique. Today we find the Chinese people utilizing a non-industrial technique but, at the same time, endeavoring to apply to their own non-industrial social life the social ideologies developed in industrialized societies. The incidence of social change in China has been ideological—in the main—and the direction of social change thus far has been from ideologies to organizational re-adaptation.

The Chinese are not a people united on economic grounds; the geographic division of labor and interrelatedness in commerce which welded the peoples of Western nations together has yet to be attained. Rapid, inexpensive, and effective communication between this vast people is even at this late date only becoming a reality. Yet while the material antecedents of nationalism are lacking, the ideal has been borrowed and the structure, superficial though it may be, has been fashioned. The ideology of democracy, of, by, and for, the people, has been accepted by the leaders of Chinese thought, and the government has been patterned upon such an ideal.

But the application of Western ideologies has not stopped at the effort to make China nationally self-conscious. The very center of Chinese social life—filial piety—is crumbling. Women, once relegated to the home, are demanding and receiving freedom and equality. Yet, at the same time, there are no economic forces disintegrating the home from within. Women are not being relieved from domestic duties by the adoption of Western productive methods. Women are not being “drawn” from the home to the factory; there are still exceedingly few factories in China. Women are not being given social equality because their old economic dependence upon men has been removed by a new industrial order. The large-family system is not being abandoned because it is incompatible with the economic order, for the economic life of the great majority of the people of China goes on, in so far as the militarists will permit it to do so, much as it did a thousand years ago.⁴ Western industrialism

⁴ In 1918 a Chinese sociologist, M. H. Tao, writing in *New Youth* under the title “The Problem of Women” justifies the patterning of institutions on Western practice, before nature technique has been taken over, by pointing out that the growing libera-

has affected only the merest fringe of the Chinese people, but Western ideologies have been absorbed by the most important and influential elements of that people.

We must admit at once that the reorganization of social institutions on the basis of these ideologies is at present restricted mainly to that most influential, and previously most conservative, student class. Yet one of the most outstanding phases of present-day social change in China is the fact that the schools are the very hot-bed of social unrest, and the inclusion of the mass of Chinese youth in the educational system is rapidly disseminating the ideals of social reorganizations through the lower economic classes. Can it be doubted that the mass of the people who have looked for centuries to the student class for guidance in the doctrines of Confucius will prove more resistant to change than that very student class? Is not the fact that the government is endeavoring to force changes in social structure to conform with Western ideologies a clear indication of the direction or sequence of changes in China? Can it be maintained that the disturbance of Chinese institutional equilibrium came through changes in the technique of nature control? Only, we think, if one ignores the sequence of events in China during the last hundred years. To say that which gave European ideologies superiority over Chinese ideologies was the superiority of Western technique over Chinese in no way lessens the importance of those ideologies. The incidence of cultural change in China has been ideological. The borrowing of Western ideals has disturbed institutional functioning and is leading to institutional re-adaptation. Certainly there has been some borrowing of Western technique; modern guns and other military equipment is being used in the prolongation of civil strife; steamships are being used on rivers and along the coast; railroads cut through the richer regions; some factories have been established in the larger coastal cities; and the Chinese people have rapidly taken over Western printing methods, etc. But all these techniques are of

tion of Western women has been an inevitable outcome of industrialization. China will in due time and without difficulty take over Western technique. It is not difficult to change this aspect of culture, but other elements of social life strongly resist modification and by so doing promote conflict. China should, therefore, admit the inevitability of eventual industrialization and prepare for it by beginning at once modification of the social structure.

more recent adoption than the Western ideologies of equality between the sexes, democracy, and national unity. Furthermore, the element of the Chinese population to whom recent social changes may be traced (namely, the student class) is completely unaffected by such economic changes as have thus far reached only a fragment of the people. Change is proceeding from the "intelligentsia" downward to the mass; there has been none of that mass unrest preceding institutional modification which has characterized recent changes in the West. The mass in China is being led into new ways of thinking and living by the very class who for so long perpetuated the old ways. Ideas—beliefs derived from Western societies—have disturbed the equilibrium of Chinese society and social structure is being adapted to these ideologies.

The incidence and sequence of change in China has thus far been the reverse of that observable in Western experience. Whether institutional modification, on the Western pattern, will be the source of change in the economic and technological structure is a matter of prediction into which we refrain from entering. This much is apparent, however: Chinese national unity cannot be attained until the people are brought into closer communication; until economic interdependence develops. Democracy, as a fact and not a theory, will not be attained until the mass becomes literate and is made nationally-conscious. Women will not attain the economic freedom which they demand until the economic order provides them remunerative labor. Filial piety may cease entirely to be a virtue, and the home the center of economic and social life; but until industrialism proceeds apace institutional mal-adjustment will be intensified thereby.

The truth is that Chinese culture has changed first in that aspect which Western experience teaches us is the most resistant to change, the realm of social, ideological, thought. It is changing most slowly in that aspect which Western experience teaches us is most rapidly modified, the technique of nature control.

METHODS USED FOR MEASURING PUBLIC OPINION

D. D. DROBA
Ohio State University

ABSTRACT

Five methods that have been used by investigators for measuring opinion about various public issues have been selected for review. The method of construction was chosen as a basis for classification. (1) The questionnaire method consists of a series of unscaled questions or statements selected by a few judges to represent the opinions. (2) In the ranking method a number of items representing either the object of opinion or the opinion itself is arranged in rank order. (3) The rating method refers to self-ratings or ratings by others on an arbitrary scale with respect to a certain opinion. (4) In the method of paired comparison two items of a pair of words, phrases, or sentences, representing the opinion are compared by the subject. He is asked to indicate which of the two items is preferable. (5) The main principle involved in the method of equal appearing intervals is that statements representing the opinions are sorted into a number of piles, say 9 or 11, according to the degree of opinion expressed in the statements. Arrangement of the piles is such that the differences between the piles appear to the subject approximately equal.

Interest in opinion or attitude measurement seems to be growing steadily. Literature on this topic is being enlarged from year to year, and the number of requests for instruments for measuring public opinion is increasing. It seems appropriate that a summary of the methods used be made, partly for those who are interested in such methods in a general way, and partly for those who are interested in doing research in this field and are looking for one or more methods of measurement.

The methods chosen for review will somewhat depend on the definition of opinion or attitude. Unfortunately, however, there is wide disagreement as to what opinions and attitudes are. This paper does not permit a discussion of the nature of attitude, and no definition will here be submitted. However, in order to avoid too much misunderstanding, the writer will limit himself to opinions on public issues or public opinion. Only methods used for measuring opinions on such topics as prohibition, nationalities and races, war, politics, will be considered in this paper.

The classification of methods may be made by several criteria. One may classify on the basis of scoring the tests, according to the method of administering the test or according to the method of construction. In this summary the latter one is used as a criterion

for classifying the methods on the assumption that the method of construction is a more important characteristic of a test than its method of administration or the method of scoring.

No complete bibliography is included. Bain¹ has already given us a good service in this direction. Although he seems to extend his list beyond the so-called "attitudes" and "opinions," his report will suffice for some time. Selection of the illustrative samples here included is rather arbitrary, being guided perhaps by the type of opinion studied, the thoroughness of the investigation, and personal preference. About each investigation an answer to each of the following seven questions is given if reported by the author: purpose, method of construction, contents, administration, scoring, reliability, and validity.

In this paper only methods already used are described. Five methods have been employed by the various investigators in this field. These are: the questionnaire method, the ranking method, the rating method, the paired comparison method, and the method of equal appearing intervals.

I. THE QUESTIONNAIRE METHOD

The fundamental procedure in the questionnaire method is a series of questions or statements selected by a few judges to represent the opinions. The statements are not scaled. Sometimes they are divided into two groups to represent the favorable and unfavorable opinions. Four investigations illustrate this method.

Harper² has made an attempt to measure Conservatism-Liberalism-Radicalism of American educators about various beliefs and public issues. Forty-one judges, doctors of philosophy, or highly selected educators nearing that degree, were asked to pass judgments on 71 statements regarding the conservatism and radicalism of the statements. If the judge expected that a larger per cent of the conservatives than the radicals will agree with the statement, he marked it with a "C." If he expected that a larger per cent of radicals will

¹ Read Bain, "Theory and Measurement of Attitudes and Opinions," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXVII (1930), 357.

² M. H. Harper, "Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American Educators," *Teachers College Contr.* No. 294.

agree with the statement, he marked it with an "R." Twenty-five statements were marked by an "R," the rest by a "C." An average agreement of over 98 per cent was found among the judges.

The questionnaire, when given to 3000 educators, consisted of 71 statements such as "World conditions seem now to insure enduring peace among the nations," or "The power of huge fortunes in this country endangers democracy." The giving of the 71 statements takes 30 minutes. The subject is instructed to make the statement with a plus sign, if he agrees with it more fully than he disagrees. If the subject disagrees with the statement more fully than he agrees, he is asked to mark the statement with a minus sign. The raw score is the number of radical statements marked plus. The raw scores are transmuted into scaled scores ranging between 0 and 80 based on a distribution of attitudes of 675 representative educators.

The reliability of the questionnaire is as follows: Correlations between scores on halves of the questionnaire are .75, .78, and .81 for three different groups. Correlation between scores obtained from the questionnaire given for the first time and scores obtained from the questionnaire given three weeks later was found to be .90. To obtain a check on the inconsistency of marking the statements, 29 judges were asked to pass judgments upon the consistency of marking 30 groups of statements. If the first statement in a group was marked with a plus sign, the judge was instructed to mark the other statements in the group with a sign consistent with the first mark. The score of inconsistency was the number of statements marked according to the finding of the judges, plus one-third of that number, added to correct for the average number of inconsistencies avoidable through guessing.

Watson³ measured the attitudes of Occident toward Orient or opinions of Americans about China, Japan, and other Eastern nations. Statements representing the opinions were first formulated by Watson and Mr. Keeney. Then about 12 Americans and Orientals were asked to pass judgments on them. The resulting 300 items were criticized by 20 competent judges. One hundred best items were selected on the basis of frequency of choice by judges, state-

³ Goodwin B. Watson, "Orient and Occident: An Opinion Study," *Religious Education*, XXIV (1929), 322.

ment containing a single idea, ambiguity, popular language, and balance of items among different countries concerned, different issues, and the radical and conservative positions. Two sample statements are: "Japan's attitude in her relation with the United States in the last five years has been finer than our attitude toward her," and "We should be willing to let American investments in China be lost rather than be drawn into armed conflict in China."

The giving of the first part of the questionnaire takes 15 minutes, the giving of the second part 30 minutes. The subject is asked to check one of the five answers: absolutely true, probably true, doubtful, probably false, absolutely false. Scores are expressed in terms of percentages of the five answers, and profiles of opinion were plotted for each of the various American groups.

Neumann⁴ measured twelve types of international attitudes of high-school students such as racialism, nationalism, imperialism, and militarism. In constructing the questionnaire, the indicators or verbal statements were criticized by a seminar and the twelfth grade of a high school. The indicators used may be illustrated as follows: "Japan has demonstrated by her rapid rise to power that the yellow race is the equal of the white race" (racialism); "The United States has not always treated small nations justly" (nationalism); and "America ought to join heartily in international efforts to bring about disarmament" (militarism).

Two methods of marking were used. In the first part of the questionnaire a modification of Hart's method was applied. First, all statements with which the subject did not agree were marked by a minus sign. Statements with which he agreed were marked by plus signs. Ambiguous statements or statements which he did not know anything about were marked by a question mark. Then he went over the list of statements again and underlined those with which he most strongly disagreed or agreed. After this he read the underlined statements the third time and double underlined those with which he agreed or disagreed the most strongly of all. This method allows seven types of responses.

In the second part of the questionnaire each statement was

⁴ G. B. Neumann, "A Study of International Attitudes of High School Students." *Teachers College Contr.* No. 239.

marked by either one of the five answers: R+, R, ?, W, and W+. For the purpose of scoring, number 2 was assigned to W+, number 3 to W, and so on. In the first part of the questionnaire, scores ranged from 0 to 8, the double underlined minus having a 0 and the double underlined plus having an 8. An individual score is the average of the values of responses to all the statements.

Zeleny⁵ measured social opinions of students. Her statements were phrased both in "forward" and "reverse" manner. Only those were finally used in testing that were consistently answered in both forward and reverse order. The statements were submitted to several faculty members for criticism, and finally 34 were retained in two forms, making a total of 68 statements such as: "True patriots are always loyal to their political parties" (forward), "True patriots are sometimes disloyal to their political parties" (reverse), and "There should be a minimum wage law" (forward), "Minimum wage laws are unwise" (reverse).

Each statement was to be marked either true or false by underlining one of the phrases. If the subject is unable to express opinion, he is instructed to draw no line. An individual score is the total number of right. The reliability of the questionnaire is .89.

2. THE RANKING METHOD

Two ranking methods may be distinguished. In the first type of ranking method the subject is asked to arrange in order a number of items—for example nationalities—representing the objects or issues toward or against which the attitude is directed. The arrangement is based on the degree of opinion or attitude with reference to the object.

In the second type of ranking method, items to be arranged in order do not represent the object or issue toward or against which the attitude is directed, but represent rather expressions of the attitude itself. For example, statements representing different degrees of "wetness" and "dryness" on the prohibition question are to be arranged on a scale running from the extremely wet statements through the neutral to the extremely dry statements. The arrange-

⁵ L. D. Zeleny, "A Measure of Social Opinions of Students," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, XI (1926-27), 56.

ment of statements in the order of merit is again based on the degree of opinion or attitude with reference to the object.

The first type of ranking method was used by Bogardus⁶ in a study of the origins of social distance. Subjects were asked to classify a list of racial and language groups in three columns. In column 1 those races were to be put toward which a friendly feeling was felt; in column 2 the races toward which a feeling of neutrality was experienced; and in column 3 the races whose mention aroused feelings of antipathy and dislike. Each person was then requested to rearrange the three columns: in column 1 were to be put first those races toward which the greatest degree of friendliness was felt and the others in order. Column 2 was to be started off with the races toward which the nearest perfect degree of neutrality was experienced, and so on. In column 3 were to be put first those races toward which the greatest antipathy was experienced and the other in order of decreasing antipathy. The list of races studied included Canadians, Czechoslovaks, Germans, Russians, Englishmen, and the like.

Allport and Hartman⁷ used the second type of method to measure the attitude of conservatism, liberalism, radicalism, and reactionism toward seven issues: the League of Nations, qualifications of President Coolidge, distribution of wealth, the legislative control of the Supreme Court, prohibition, Ku Klux Klan, and graft in politics. Statements about the seven issues were selected from the written descriptions of opinion of 60 students. Each statement was then ranked by six judges according to the degree of attitude expressed in it, and from these results seven tests were constructed. Samples of statements used are: "We should join the League with full responsibility to prevent aggression, but should first obtain sanction for this step by a popular referendum vote," and "A two-thirds decision on the part of the Supreme Court should be necessary in order to declare a law passed by Congress unconstitutional."

In administering the tests, the subjects were instructed to check

⁶ Emory S. Bogardus, "Social Distance and Its Origins," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX (1924-25), 216.

⁷ F. H. Allport and D. A. Hartman, "The Measurement and Motivation of Atypical Opinion in a Certain Group," *American Political Science Review*, XIX (1925), 735.

one statement (in the blank space in front of the statement) which most nearly coincides with his or her view. For scoring purposes, each statement was assigned a number in order, and an individual score was the number of the statement checked.

Another example of the second type of ranking method is a recent investigation made by Gordon W. Allport.⁸ The purpose of the study was to measure political attitudes. A number of statements expressing political opinion were assembled first. Twenty-five professors of social science were then asked to rank the statements into four groups according to the degree of radicalism-conservatism revealed in them. In group 1 were put the most radical statements, in group 2 the less radical statements, in group 3 the less conservative ones, and in group 4 the most conservative statements. Other statements were ranked by the same twenty-five professors on a scale of 0, 1, and 2 indicating no prejudice, slight prejudice, and considerable prejudice, respectively.

The whole test, when ready to use, consisted of seven pages including statements of attitude, statements to detect amount of information and misinformation, and items to detect amount of prejudice about political questions. E.g., "Not so much public ownership as at present should be practiced," "No more public ownership than at present should be practiced," (statements of attitude); "The cultural background of Smith and his family disqualifies him for presidency" (statement of prejudice).

The administration of the test consists of checking that statement with which the subject is most in sympathy. For the purpose of scoring, each statement of attitude was assigned a value of 6 so that the range of scores is from 6 to 24. The individual score is the average of values of all the checked statements.

An elaborate statistical technique was applied to the second type of ranking method by Thurstone.⁹ He submitted Allport-Hartman's thirteen statements on prohibition to two hundred subjects for ranking. Then for each possible pair of statements (78) the proportion

⁸ Gordon W. Allport, "The Composition of Political Attitudes," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXV (1929), 220.

⁹ L. L. Thurstone, "The Measurement of Opinion," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXII (1927-28), 415.

of the two hundred judges who considered one of the statements more strongly in favor of prohibition than the other was determined. The proportion of each such pair is expressed as $P_{B>A}$ or $P_{B<A}$. The standard deviation of the distribution of proportions is $X_{B-A} = \sqrt{\sigma_B^2 + \sigma_A^2}$, σ being the standard deviation of judgments about one statement, or otherwise called the discriminial error. The discriminial errors for each pair of stimuli are considered equal. We get, therefore, from the above equation $X_{B-A} = \sigma\sqrt{2}$. The discriminial error, σ , is chosen as the unit of measurement, hence $X_{B-A} = \sqrt{2}$. The difference between the statements A and B will then be $S_B - S_A = X_{BA}\sqrt{2}$.

After the statements were arranged in rank order on the basis of the proportions of judgments, the scale distances were determined from the above equation between S_A and S_B , S_B and S_C , and so on. From these scale separations are calculated the final scale values for each of the statements. The obtained spacing of the statements according to this technique differed markedly from the one obtained by Allport-Hartman. Some of the statements were found to be bunched in one place, others were far apart, and there was no statement to correspond to the neutral position.

3. THE RATING METHOD

There are two types of rating methods. The first type of rating method is called the self-rating method in which the subjects rate themselves with reference to an attitude or opinion. The second type of method is called the rating-by-others method in which the attitudes of persons are rated by their friends or acquaintances who have a definite knowledge of those attitudes. In both forms of the rating method, however, degrees of attitude or opinion are represented along a line, with steps indicated by descriptive words or phrases, or statements. The subject checks the phrase or statement which he thinks most nearly represents his or his friend's attitude.

The self-rating scale was used by Rice.²⁰ His scale consisted of eight steps and four descriptive words: "Radicalism," "Liberalism," "Conservatism," and "Reactionism." The scale was intended to

²⁰ Stuart A. Rice, "Differential Changes of Political Preferences under Campaign Stimulation," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXI (1926-27), 297.

measure attitudes toward existing social conditions. If the subject thought he was a liberal he was instructed to put an "X" above the middle of the word "Liberalism," if he judged himself to be a radical liberal he was instructed to place an "X" above the left half of the term "Liberalism," and so on. Results were expressed in terms of frequencies of judgments for each of the eight steps on the scale.

A graphic rating scale was used by Thurstone and Chave¹¹ in the measurement of attitudes toward the church. The rating scale was thought by the authors to be merely an incident to the method of equal appearing intervals used in constructing the statement scale. The graphic rating scale consisted of a horizontal line across the title page. At one end of the line was printed the phrase "Strongly favorable to the church," at the middle of the line was printed the word "Neutral," and at the other end of the line there was printed the phrase "Strongly against the church." The subject was instructed to indicate by a cross where he estimated his own attitude to be. A correlation was calculated between the scores on the constructed statement scale and the tenth of the line in which the self-rating check occurred and was found to be .67.

Droba¹² used the self-rating scale to measure attitudes toward war. Scores on this scale were used as a possible criterion in calculating the validity of a statement scale. The self-rating scale consisted of a line on the bottom of the page on which the statement scale was printed. Degrees of attitude were designated both by phrases and by numbers. On the extreme left end of the line the word "Militarism" was printed, on the extreme right end of the line the word "Pacifism," and in the middle range the word "Neutral" was printed. Below the line, numbers were spaced equally from 0 to 21. The subject was asked to locate his attitude on the scale by placing a cross above the number that most nearly represented his attitude toward war. The correlation between the scores on the statement scale and the scores on the graphic self-rating scale was found to be .75.

¹¹ L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude*. A Psychological Method and Some Experiments with a Scale for Measuring Attitude toward the Church. The University of Chicago Press (1929).

¹² D. D. Droba, "Effect of Various Factors on Militarism—Pacifism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. XXVI (July–September, 1931).

The method of rating by others was used by Porter¹³ in studying student opinion on war. It was employed to ascertain the scale values of each of the five types of responses to a questionnaire. To each of the 150 statements about war, included in his questionnaire, five types of responses were allowed: "certainly right," "probably right," "doubtful," "probably wrong," and "certainly wrong."

In order to ascertain the amount of militarism in each statement and in each possible answer to it, Porter submitted the questionnaire to 100 students whose convictions on the issue were known to their friends. These 100 students were rated by 3 to 13 judges on a scale running in steps from an extreme anti-militarism of 0 to an extreme militarism of 10, the neutral being at 5. From the data thus obtained, a scatter diagram was prepared for each of the statements. The five answers were represented on the base line and the rating scale of ten degrees on the y axis. For a person who was rated 4 and answered the statement "doubtful," a check mark was placed in the appropriate square in the diagram. This procedure was followed until 100 check marks, one for each person, constituted the scatter diagram.

The calculation of scale values for each of the five answers to a statement was as follows: The numbers that were found in the column above an answer in the diagram were averaged. The number thus obtained was an average of ratings of all the persons who gave that particular answer. This average rating was assigned as the scale value of that particular answer. As a result, a range of gross total scores ranging between 288 and 756 was obtained. These gross scores were then reduced to final scores ranging from 0 to 10.

Bogardus¹⁴ measured social distance, or "degrees and grades of understanding and feeling that persons experience regarding each other" by the method of ratings by others. Seven steps were designated on the scale by the following phrases: to close kinship by marriage, to my club as personal chums, to my street as neighbors, to employment in my occupation in my country, as visitors only to my country, would exclude from my country. The objects of attitude or

¹³ Eliot Porter, "Student Opinion on War," Ph.D. thesis. Divinity School, University of Chicago (1926).

¹⁴ E. S. Bogardus, "Measuring Social Distances," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX (1924-25), 299.

opinion or social distance were races or nationalities. Each subject was instructed to place a cross under the classifications to which he would willingly admit members of the races concerned. The social contact range index (S.C.R.) is expressed by the number of classifications to which a race is admitted. The social contact distance index (S.C.D.) is represented by the arithmetic mean of ratings by the subject.

4. THE METHOD OF PAIRED COMPARISON

The method essentially consists of comparing two items of a pair of words, phrases, or sentences representing the attitude or the object of the attitude. The subject is asked to indicate which of the two items is preferable or is the more nearly representative of his attitude. To use statements expressing the attitude itself would be too laborious. For this reason so far only words standing for the objects of attitudes were used.

Thurstone²⁵ reports a study of nationality preferences. Two hundred and thirty-nine undergraduates were asked to underline one nationality of each pair that they would rather associate with, e.g.: Englishman-Swede. The subject was instructed to underline one of the two, even if he found it difficult to decide. There were 210 such pairs. To calculate the scale distances between the nationalities, an equation was used similar to the one applied by Thurstone to the ranking method. Proportions such as that 89.8 per cent preferred to associate with Americans rather than Englishmen were calculated. The rank order of the 21 nationalities was ascertained by a simple summation of the proportions. Sigma values were read off from appropriate tables for each proportion. Then the difference between the sigma values of two items in each pair was calculated. The scale separations between the sigma values of the adjacent items were obtained by getting the average of the sigma differences. The next step was to choose the scale value of one of these nationalities as an origin and to calculate the scale values of the other nationalities from this origin. Thurstone chose the American nationality for an origin. When finished, the first half of the scale consisted of seven nationalities in order as follows: American, Englishman, Scotch-

²⁵ L. L. Thurstone, "An Experimental Study of Nationality Preferences," *Journal of General Psychology*, I (1928), 405.

man, Irishman, Frenchman, German, and Swede. In the second half of the scale were found fourteen nationalities beginning with the South American and ending with the Negro.

Eggan¹⁶ used similar procedure to measure attitudes toward twenty-five races and nationalities such as Austrian, Belgian, Canadian, Chinese, etc. The purpose of his study was to see if the scale finally obtained is different under different conditions of instruction. One group of students was instructed to underline the one of the two races or nationalities in a pair which he would prefer to have as a fellow-student. Another group of students was instructed to underline the one of the two races or nationalities in a pair which he would prefer to have as a neighbor, etc. The rank correlation between the scales obtained under the different conditions ranged between .97 and .99, which indicates that different conditions of instruction do not exert any noticeable effect on the rank order of nationalities obtained by the method of paired comparison.

5. THE METHOD OF EQUAL APPEARING INTERVALS

The principle involved in the method of equal appearing intervals is that statements representing attitudes are sorted into a number of piles, say 9 or 11, according to degree of attitude expressed by the statements. If in the pile at the extreme left are put the statements representing the most extreme attitude against the object in question, in the pile at the extreme right are put those statements representing the most extreme attitude in favor of the object or issue. In the pile found in the middle range are put statements expressing medium position on the issue. Arrangement of the statements is such that eventually the difference between pile 1 and 2 will appear to the majority of subjects about the same or equal to the difference between pile 2 and 3, and so on.

Smith¹⁷ used the method to study attitudes toward prohibition. A large number of statements about prohibition was collected from various sources. After eliminating a number of statements, 135 were

¹⁶ F. R. Eggan, "An Experimental Study of Attitude toward Races and Nationalities," Master's thesis. The University of Chicago (1928).

¹⁷ Hattie N. Smith, "The Construction and Application of a Scale for Measuring Attitudes about Prohibition," Ph.D. thesis. The University of Chicago (1929).

left for experimental purposes. Three hundred college students were asked to classify the 135 statements into eleven piles ranging from extreme or absolute freedom to complete restriction that should be imposed on the individual's consumption of alcohol. As a result, 300 judgments were obtained for each statement. The frequencies of these judgments for each statement were then cumulatively added, and percentages of the total number of judgments were calculated for each of the resulting sums. The eleven groups or degrees of attitude toward prohibition were plotted against the frequencies. A point on the base line corresponding to the 50 per cent of judgments or the median gave the scale value of a statement. Ambiguity of statements was measured by quartile deviation.

Knowing the scale value and the ambiguity of each statement, 45 least ambiguous statements about equally spaced along the base line were selected to constitute the final scale. Statements such as the following were included in the scale: "Prohibition is needed to conserve the family," and "Prohibition should come as the result of education, not legislation."

There is no time limit in giving the scale, but the usual time spent by the subjects is 20 minutes. Instructions are to check those statements that express the subject's sentiment toward prohibition. An individual score is the average of the scale values of all the checked statements. The correlation between the two halves of the scale is .84. When the Spearman-Brown formula is applied .92 is obtained.

Thurstone and Chave¹⁸ applied the method to measuring attitudes toward the church. Their procedure was similar to the one described above. They had 300 students to sort 130 statements about church into 11 piles from highest appreciation to an extreme depreciation of the church. The final scale consisted of 45 statements such as "I believe in religion but I seldom go to church," or "I find the services of the church both restful and inspiring." The giving of the scale takes about 20 minutes. Instructions are to check every statement that expresses the subject's sentiment toward the church. An individual score is the average of the scale values of all the checked statements. The correlation between two forms of the scale

¹⁸ L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *op. cit.*

was found to be .89. The estimated reliability of the two forms combined is .94.

Droba¹⁹ measured attitudes toward war with the same method. He collected 237 statements about war from books, magazines, newspapers, students' written statements, and his own resources. The longest and least clear statements were eliminated and 130 left for experimental purposes. The 300 students used were instructed to classify the 130 statements into 11 groups according to the degree of militarism and pacifism expressed in the statements. To extreme left were to be put statements expressing the extreme of militarism and to the extreme right statements expressing the extreme of pacifism.

Finally, 44 statements were chosen on the basis of scale values and variabilities to constitute two forms of the scale, e.g., "War is the tonic of races" and "There is no justification for war."

The administration of the scale usually does not exceed 20 minutes. The subjects were instructed to mark with a plus sign all statements with which they agreed. If the subject did not agree with the statement he was asked to mark it with a minus sign. If the statement appeared to be an ambiguous one so that the subject could not decide either for or against the statement, he was asked to mark it with a question mark.

Scoring was based on equivalent numbers ranging from 0 to 21, number 0 being assigned to the most extremely militaristic statement and number 21 to the most extremely pacifistic statement. An individual score was the average of equivalent numbers of all the statements marked plus. The correlation between the two forms of the scale was found to be .83. The estimated reliability of the two forms combined was .90.

Purposely no critical comments are made in this paper. It is intended to be a descriptive review and not a critical summary of the methods since to include both would make the paper too long. A critical review of the methods is reserved for a separate publication.

¹⁹ D. D. Droba, "A Scale of Militarism—Pacifism," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXII (1931), 96.

COMPARISON OF TWO SCALES FOR MEASURING THE COST OR VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING

E. L. KIRKPATRICK AND EVELYN G. TOUGH
Department of Rural Sociology, University of Wisconsin

ABSTRACT

Zimmerman's adult male equivalent scale and Kirkpatrick's cost-consumption unit scale are here used for measuring the cost or value of family living and the results compared. Using 104 families in Crozet, Virginia, the writers found a correlation of .93. With 33 extreme cases eliminated, the correlation was .90. When measures obtained by each scale were correlated with a third variable, contradictory results appeared. The correlation between total expenditures per family and expenditures per adult male equivalent was .57; between total expenditures per family and the sum of expenditures per cost-consumption unit .88. Similar contradictory results were obtained in correlations based on 131 Wisconsin farm families. With the latter, a further test was made. The correlations between gross cash income per family and expenditures per adult male equivalent, sum of expenditures per cost-consumption unit, and total expenditures per family, respectively were .44, .67, and .59.

Increased interest in the study of rural standards of living during the past decade has emphasized a need for satisfactory scales for measuring the cost or value of the goods and services consumed annually by the family. This paper presents the results of a limited comparison of two sets of the scales which have been used recently for this purpose, the adult male equivalent and the cost-consumption unit.

The adult male equivalent scale used in the comparison was developed by Zimmerman for comparing expenditures of farm, village, and city families which he studied during 1924-25 and the years immediately following.¹ It was based on food computations of L. Emmet Holt as outlined in *Food, Health and Growth* (1922). In this scale the expenditures per family annually for all goods and services were based against the consuming power of the adult male person nineteen to sixty years of age, as unity or one. The rel-

¹ Carle C. Zimmerman, "How Minnesota Farm Family Incomes Are Spent," "Factors Affecting Expenditures of Farm Family Incomes," "Incomes and Expenditures of Minnesota Village and Town Families," and "Incomes and Expenditures of Minnesota Farm and City Families," *University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletins* 234, 246, 253, 255.

ative weights allotted to other persons in the family by sex and age groups are:

	Weight
Males 19-60.....	1.0
Males above 60.....	0.9
Females 19-60.....	0.8
Females above 60.....	0.7
Males 16, 17, and 18.....	1.2
Females 16, 17, and 18.....	0.9
Child 13, 14, and 15.....	1.0
Child 11-12.....	0.8
Child 9-10.....	0.7
Child 6, 7, and 8.....	0.5
Child 4-5.....	0.4
Child 1, 2, and 3.....	0.3

The cost-consumption unit scale used in the comparison was arranged by Kirkpatrick in connection with a study of approximately four hundred farm families of Livingston County, New York, in 1921-22.² In this scale or set of scales, as in Zimmerman's adult male equivalent scale, the consuming power of the adult male is taken as the base for weighting the family expenditures. The relative weights allotted differ, however, for each of the principal groups of goods and services as in Tables I to VII.³

It is noteworthy that the adult female, the homemaker, is considered as having the same expenditures as the adult male for the different principal groups of goods and services except food and personal. From actual figures the average cost of clothing was found to be about the same for each. Probably both share use of the house, furnishings, operation goods, and health and advancement facilities about equally.

The cost-consumption unit scales were planned to take account

² E. L. Kirkpatrick, "The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming," *Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin* 423; and "The Relation of the Ability to Pay to the Standard of Living," *U.S. Department Agriculture Bulletin* 1382.

³ The age groupings for sons and daughters are considered from the physiological and the sociological standpoints. The age groups observed are the preschool age, five years or less; the grade-school age, six to eleven years; the grammar-school age, twelve to 14 years; the high-school age, fifteen to eighteen years; and the college and "choice-of-occupation" age, nineteen years or over.

of variations in physical and social needs and wants due to sex and age as well as variations in the relative demands made by the third or fourth or other additional member of the family on the separate elements of the living. The supplementary costs required to meet

TABLE I

Food

	WEIGHTS	
	First Person in Age and Sex Group	Each Additional Person in Age and Sex Group
Male		
19 years and over.....	1.0	0.9
15 to 18 years inclusive.....	0.8	.7
Female		
19 years and over.....	.9	.8
15 to 18 years inclusive.....	.7	.6
Male or female		
12 to 14 years inclusive.....	.6	.5
6 to 11 years inclusive.....	.4	.3
5 years or less.....	0.3	0.2

TABLE II

CLOTHING

	Weights
Operator.....	1.0
Homemaker.....	1.0
Other persons:	
Over 24 years.....	1.4
19 to 24 years.....	1.7
15 to 18 years.....	1.3
12 to 14 years.....	1.0
6 to 11 years.....	0.6
1 to 5 years.....	0.4

the demands of an additional member to the family unit vary with the kind of goods and services used. This is true with clothing and food, especially if the additional member be a son or daughter in the late teens. On an average, added costs for clothing for the son or daughter of this age are one and one-half times the cost for either parent, while the added costs for food are apparently about 80 per cent of this cost. In the same way costs meeting the physical and

social demands made by each additional member of the family on rent, education, recreation, and the like vary out of proportion to the demands of the parents.

TABLE III

RENT		Weights
Operator		1.0
Homemaker		1.0
Other persons:		
First male, 15 years of age or over		0.2
First female, 15 years of age or over .....		.2
Second male, 15 years of age or over .....		.0
Second female, 15 years of age or over .....		.0
Third male, 15 years of age or over .....		.2
Third female, 15 years of age or over .....		.2
(And so on)		
First boy, 6 to 14 years of age .....		.1
First girl, 6 to 14 years of age .....		.1
Second boy, 6 to 14 years of age .....		.0
Second girl, 6 to 14 years of age .....		.0
Third boy, 6 to 14 years of age .....		.1
Third girl, 6 to 14 years of age .....		.1
(And so on)		
All under 6 years of age		0.0

TABLE IV

FURNISHINGS, OPERATION EXPENSES AND LIFE AND HEALTH INSURANCE		Weights
Operator		1.0
Homemaker		1.0
Other persons, regardless of sex or age:		
First		0.4
Second .....		.3
Third .....		.2
Fourth .....		.1
Fifth, sixth, and others		0.0

COMPARATIVE TEST OF THE TWO SCALES

In connection with a study of nine hundred farm families in Wisconsin it was found desirable to ascertain which of the two scales was the more satisfactory means of comparison. From the

standpoint of labor involved in the calculations the adult equivalent was the more feasible. From the standpoint of qualitative analysis, however, the cost-consumption unit plan seemed to be the more de-

TABLE V

MAINTENANCE OF HEALTH

	Weights
Operator.....	1.0
Homemaker.....	1.0
Children	
Over 24 years.....	0.4
6 to 24 years.....	.2
Under 6 years.....	0.6

TABLE VI

ADVANCEMENT

	Weights
Operator.....	1.0
Homemaker.....	1.0
Children, male or female:	
Over 19 years.....	0.5
15 to 18 years.....	.3
6 to 14 years.....	.1
Below 6 years.....	0.0

TABLE VII

PERSONAL GOODS

	Weights
Operator.....	1.0
Homemaker.....	.6
Children	
Male 19 years and over.....	1.0
Male 15 to 18 years.....	0.5
Male 6 to 14 years.....	.4
Female 19 years and over.....	.6
Female 15 to 18 years.....	.5
Female 6 to 14 years.....	.3
Male or female 5 years or less.....	0.2

sirable. Would the results obtained by the use of the two methods be significantly different? If so, which would prove to be the more desirable means of comparison? Would the resultant figures obtained by the use of either be more satisfactory than expenditures per family as a basis of comparison?

As a partial answer to these questions it was decided to test the two methods. The first test was carried out on 104 family summaries obtained from a standard-of-living survey in Crozet, Virginia, 1930.⁴ The 104 summaries represent practically all the families residing in the village. The second test covered 131 summaries—every seventh summary from a lot of 900 schedules for a study of the farmer's standard of living in Wisconsin. In each test the two methods were applied to the same summaries or records. Pearsonian coefficients of correlation constituted the method of comparison.

The application of the adult male equivalent scale to a particular family consisting of husband, wife, and five children of different ages and with expenditures amounting to \$2,780, is illustrated in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII
APPLICATION OF ADULT MALE EQUIVALENT

Individuals in Family	Age	Relative Weight
Male		
Husband.....	43	1.0
Son.....	9	0.7
Son.....	7	.5
Son.....	2	.3
Female		
Wife.....	38	.8
Daughter.....	12	.8
Daughter.....	10	0.7
Total.....		4.8

The figure obtained by this method, 4.8, divided into the total expenditures, \$2,780, gives an expenditure of \$579 per adult male equivalent.

The corresponding figure obtained by the cost-consumption unit method as illustrated in Table IX amounts to \$831, compared to \$579 obtained by the adult male equivalent method. The difference between these two figures is wider for this particular family than for most of the families. There was practically no difference between the two figures for some of the families.

⁴ Study conducted by the writers under the auspices of the Department of Rural Social Economics, University of Virginia. "Record Extension Series," Vol. XVI, No. 2, August, 1931.

The difference between the means obtained by the two methods was \$12.15 for the 131 Wisconsin families. The standard error of the difference between the two means was \$2.69. Thus the difference of the means is 4.52 times its standard error.

TABLE IX
APPLICATION OF COST CONSUMPTION UNIT

INDIVIDUALS IN FAMILY	AGE IN YEARS	RELATIVE WEIGHTS								
		Food	Clothing	Rent	Furnishings	Operation	Health Maintenance	Advancement	Personal	Insurance
Male										
Husband.....	43	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Son.....	9	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.4
Son.....	7	0.3	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.3
Son.....	2	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.2	0.2
Female										
Wife.....	38	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.6	1.0
Daughter.....	12	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1
Daughter.....	10	0.3	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.0
Total.....		3.8	5.2	2.2	3.0	3.0	3.4	2.4	3.2	3.0

Family living	Expenditure per Family	Household Size Index	Expenditures per Cost-Consumption Unit
Food.....	\$ 713	3.8	\$187.66
Clothing.....	559	5.2	107.40
Rent.....	168	2.2	76.36
Furnishings.....	75	3.0	25.00
Operation.....	806	3.0	268.77
Health maintenance.....	2	3.4	.59
Advancement.....	202	2.4	83.96
Personal.....	170	3.2	53.19
Insurance, life, and health....	85	3.0	28.33
Total for family.....	\$2,780		\$831.26

STEPS IN THE COMPARISON

The first step in the comparison was the ascertainment of the Pearsonian coefficient of correlation for expenditures per adult male equivalent and expenditures per cost-consumption unit. The coefficients, as shown in Table X, are .93 and .89 for the village and farm

families. Distribution of the cases are shown for the 104 village families in Table XI. When the 33 extreme cases indicated by the widest scatter are omitted the coefficient for the remaining 71 cases becomes .90.

The high correlation between the expenditures per adult male equivalent and the sum of expenditures per cost-consumption unit suggested that one was about as satisfactory as the other as a means

TABLE X
PEARSONIAN COEFFICIENTS FOR DIFFERENT VARIABLES, 104 VILLAGE
FAMILIES, CROZET, VIRGINIA, AND 131 FARM FAMILIES
OF WISCONSIN

Dependent Variables for Different Groups of Families	Expenditures per Adult Male Equivalent (X_1)	Sum of Expenditures per Cost-Consumption Unit (X_2)
Expenditures per adult male equivalent (X_1)		
104 village families.....		0.93
71 village families*.....		.90
131 farm families.....		.89
Total Expenditures per family (X_3)		
104 village families.....	0.57	.88
98 village families*.....	.36	.72
131 farm families.....	.52	.84
Gross cash income per family		
131 farm families (X_4).....	0.44	0.67
		Total Expenditures per Family (X_3)
Gross cash income per family		
131 farm families (X_4).....		0.59

* Village families with extreme cases omitted.

of comparison. This suggestion, however, could not be accepted as a sufficient test. Another step was sought in the comparison. This consisted of the computation of Pearsonian coefficients for X_3 , total expenditures per family, and X_1 , expenditures per adult male equivalent, on the one hand; and X_3 , total expenditures per family, and X_2 , the sum of expenditures per cost-consumption unit, on the other hand. The coefficients in the former instance are .57 for the village families and .52 for the farm families (Table X). Distributions of the cases for these two variables are shown in Table XI for the 104 village families. When the six most extreme cases are omitted the coefficient for the remaining 98 village families becomes .36. The

coefficients between X_3 , total expenditures per family, and X_2 , the sum of expenditures per cost-consumption unit, are .88 for the village families and .84 for the farm families (Table X). The distribution of the village families is shown in Table XI. When the six most extreme cases are omitted the coefficient is .72.

Results from this step in the comparison suggested a surprising discrepancy between expenditures per adult male equivalent and the sum of expenditures per cost-consumption unit. On this account it was considered desirable to take the comparison a step farther. An additional factor, X_4 , gross receipts or gross cash income from all sources per family, was chosen for a dependent variable against which to correlate X_1 , expenditures per adult male equivalent, and X_2 , the sum of expenditures per cost-consumption unit, as well as X_3 , total expenditures per family. This step could be carried out for the farm families only, owing to the lack of data on gross cash income for the village families.⁵ The coefficients of correlation between X_1 , expenditures per adult male equivalent, X_2 the sum of expenditures per cost-consumption unit, and X_3 , total expenditures per family, with X_4 , gross cash income, as the dependent variable, are .44, .67, and .59 (Table X).

Further analysis now under way with certain factors, not involving expenditures or income, as dependent variables suggest less significant statistical differences between the adult male equivalent and the cost-consumption unit method.

CONCLUSION

Simple correlations of the adult male equivalent and the cost-consumption unit show the two to be closely related. However, when each is correlated separately with total expenditures and gross cash income per family as the dependent variable, the two scales appear to be less consistent. The correlation is higher for the cost-consumption unit than for the adult male equivalent. This alone, of course, does not determine which of the two measures is the more satisfactory.

⁵ Gross cash receipts or income from farming and all other sources were used to meet cash farm expenses, family living expenses, and other expenses and investments for the year of study.

RELATION OF EXPENDITURE PER ADULT MALE EQUIVALENT AND SUM OF EXPENDITURES
PER COST-CONSUMPTION UNIT, 104 VILLAGE FAMILIES

[illegible]

The correlations must be viewed in the light of qualitative judgments, and these appear to favor the cost-consumption unit. The greater exactness gives a feeling of more certainty with the cost-consumption unit method. The more detailed attempt to account for the variations on the basis of the separate groups of goods and services also adds to this feeling of certainty that the cost-consumption unit is the more exact measure. As to the simplicity of the two scales, however, the adult male equivalent is the more readily applied.

The difference of the means for the cost-consumption unit and adult male equivalent, which is 4.52 times its standard error, shows that there is a significant difference between the means obtained by two scales. This might reasonably be expected to occur in any similar sample.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ASPECTS OF INTERSTATE MIGRATIONS

FRANK ALEXANDER ROSS AND ANDREW G. TRUXAL
Columbia University and Dartmouth College

ABSTRACT

Writers on population movement have inferred that increase, in one state, of natives from another state is due to direct migration from the native state and that increase in this native state of natives from other states is an adequate measure of internal migration. Increase in Virginia of North Carolina-born Negroes may be due to both primary and secondary migration. There is no way of determining from the census reports the sources of these North Carolina-born Negroes nor the direction of migration of those who left states showing decreases in these natives. It is also impossible to determine how much of the migration to North Carolina of Negroes born in other states is primary and how much secondary. The fourfold aspect of this problem of interstate migration is presented graphically in the case of South Carolina. Indexes of migration have been developed for purposes of comparison, and it was found that while the rate of primary migration during the decade 1900-1910 was much lower for North Carolina- than for South Carolina-born Negroes, North Carolina-born Negroes who had moved from that state prior to 1900 were shifting more rapidly than were similar groups from South Carolina. Further, during 1910-20 there was a marked acceleration for South Carolina of primary, secondary, and total migration over the decade 1900-1910.

Is it to be inferred, because one state shows, within a decade, an increase of natives of another state, that, therefore, there has been a direct migration from the latter to the former? Further, is it true that the total increase in the number of persons living outside of the state in which they were born is an adequate measure of internal migration? Writers on population movements have generally assumed that affirmative answers to both of these questions were true. But that these assumptions are fallacious will appear evident from the following discussion. In the light of the fact that figures for 1930 are soon to be forthcoming, it seems highly desirable to present a more careful technique for the use of those dealing with the movement of population. While this present study is concerned with the migrations of American Negroes, similar techniques are applicable to other population classes.

The decennial returns of the United States Bureau of the Census classify the native-born elements resident in each state by state of birth. Hence it is comparatively easy to determine for each state the net increase in its Negro population derived from every other

state. For example, there were 6,916 more North Carolina-born Negroes living in Virginia in 1910 than in 1900. Now, if all these North Carolina Negroes moved from that state into Virginia during this period, that would be a direct or primary migration. But in case all or some of these 6,916 moved from states other than North Carolina, states to which North Carolina-born Negroes had migrated prior to 1900, it might be termed an indirect or secondary migration.¹

A study of the reverse of this problem will serve to make clear this distinction between primary and secondary migration. In 1910, the number of North Carolina-born Negroes living outside their native state was 6,675 greater than in 1900. In other words, at least 6,675 North Carolina-born Negroes must have migrated from their native state during this ten-year period. If the increases in the several states which showed increases in North Carolina-born Negroes, 1910 over 1900, are summed, the total is 26,949. From where did the difference, 20,274, come? Large numbers of them must have migrated from those states to which North Carolina-born Negroes had gone prior to 1900, and which, from 1900 to 1910, showed losses of Negroes born in that state. The states showing the most significant decreases during the decade were Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas, Louisiana, and Tennessee. Consequently, the secondary migration of 20,274, more than nine-tenths of which arose in these states, together with the primary migration of 6,675 from North Carolina, constituted the total migration which found its way chiefly to the states of Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, West Virginia, New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Florida, and the District of Columbia.

Table I reveals the extent of these two aspects of the migration: primary and secondary.

Two obstacles present themselves to speaking with assurance concerning the extent of either the primary or secondary migrations.

¹ The reader must bear in mind that this figure, 6,916, is a minimal one, since between 1900 and 1910 there must have been some deaths among the North Carolina-born Negroes living in Virginia. Furthermore, there may have been a considerable shifting back and forth between these states within the decade, the extent of which movement would not be revealed in the decennial reports. Hence this figure might be called the "net migration."

It is obviously incorrect to assert that 6,916 Negroes moved from their native state of North Carolina to Virginia in the ten-year period, 1900-1910, inasmuch as the former state showed a net loss to all states of the Union of less than that number. Large numbers doubtless did move directly from North Carolina to Virginia. But it probably is equally true to say that a considerable proportion of those who were in Virginia at the time of the 1910 census came there

TABLE I
MOVEMENTS OF NORTH CAROLINA-BORN NEGROES 1900-1910

Primary migration.....	6,675	States showing gains in North Carolina-born Negroes:	
(Decrease of North Carolina-born Negroes living in North Carolina)		Virginia.....	6,916
Secondary migration:		Pennsylvania.....	4,529
(Decreases in North Carolina-born Negroes living in various states)		New York.....	3,696
Georgia.....	5,316	West Virginia.....	2,854
Mississippi.....	3,957	New Jersey.....	2,326
Arkansas.....	2,713	Ohio.....	1,695
Alabama.....	2,493	Oklahoma.....	934
Texas.....	2,342	Florida.....	878
Louisiana.....	1,356	District of Columbia.....	831
Tennessee.....	1,199	All others.....	2,290
All others.....	898	Total net migration.....	26,949
	<hr/>		
	20,274		20,274
Total net migration....	26,949		

from other states of the South and Southwest—that is, constituted a secondary migration. Out of the total permanent shift of North Carolina-born Negroes in the decade, more than 75 per cent was the result of this indirect movement.

This makes apparent the second difficulty, namely, that there is no method of ascertaining how many of those who left those states which showed losses in North Carolina-born Negroes moved back to their native state to make possible a larger migration from that state than would appear from the census returns. It is conceivable that all of those who shifted from the states in the South and Southwest moved back to their North Carolina homes, in which case there may have moved from that state not 6,675 but the entire total of

26,949. While this extreme assumption is highly improbable, doubtless many did return to their native state. Therefore, all that can be said with accuracy concerning the shift of North Carolina-born Negroes during the decade is that there was a minimum total migration of 26,949, large numbers of whom came from the states of Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas, Louisiana, and Tennessee.

But, up to this point, attention has been directed to only one-half of the interstate migration as far as North Carolina is concerned. It has been observed that the movement of Negroes born in that state has been both a primary one and a secondary one. What about the increases in the Negro population of that state? From where did they come? The largest accession to North Carolina's Negro population in this decade was of Negroes born in the state of South Carolina (6,535). Due to the geographical proximity of this state to North Carolina, it might be fair to assume that the greater part of this movement was a primary one. This assumption is all the more justified in the case of South Carolina since less than one-third of the total shift of South Carolina-born Negroes during the decade was due to secondary migration and that was chiefly from the states of Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, and Louisiana.²

From the above considerations, it can be seen that the problem of depicting accurately the fourfold aspect of interstate migrations is by no means as simple as it would at first appear. In order to present the difficulties in a different manner, an effort has been made in the remainder of this discussion to picture graphically the four-

² MOVEMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA-BORN NEGROES 1900-1910

Primary migration:		
(Decrease of South Carolina-born Negroes living in South Carolina)	21,650	
Secondary migration:		
(Decreases in South Carolina-born Negroes living in various states)		
Arkansas	2,574	
Mississippi	2,520	
Alabama	2,142	
Texas	1,865	
Louisiana	1,040	
All others	138	
	10,279	10,279
Total net migration		31,929

fold character of the migrations to and from each state. In selecting the state to be used for illustration it was necessary to avoid the extremes of complexity and simplicity. It is apparent that with regard to the northern states, the migration of Negroes born in those states would be insignificant. In the case of border states, such as Virginia and Kentucky, the secondary migrations loom so large as to make the presentation very intricate. So, for this analysis, the state of South Carolina, for the decade 1910-20, was chosen arbitrarily in place of the North Carolina study used previously.

The graphic presentation must show four distinct groups of facts: (1) the sources of the Negro migrations to South Carolina; (2) the possible secondary movement to that state; (3) the shift out of that state³ of Negroes born in South Carolina; and (4) the migration of South Carolina-born Negroes from those states to which they had moved prior to 1910. The accompanying charts (Chart I and Chart II) endeavor to picture these four characteristics of the interstate trends.

The only state which contributed a significant⁴ increase to South Carolina's Negro population from 1910 to 1920 was Georgia. In the latter year there were 1,483 more Georgia-born Negroes in the population of South Carolina than in 1910. Now, there was a movement in this decade of approximately 71,000 Georgia-born Negroes, at least 51,000 of whom left that state. This means that of the total shift of Georgia Negroes in the period under consideration, something more than one-fourth may have arisen from secondary migrations. Owing to the geographical proximity of Georgia to South Carolina, it would be fair to suppose that all of the 1,483 moved directly from that state into South Carolina. However, it is possible that some or all of them might have come from those states which in this decade were losing large numbers of Georgia-born Negroes. Such states were Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana. To represent these two possible movements on Chart I,

³ Attention should be called to the fact that migration from South Carolina to a state losing South Carolina-born Negroes is cancelled by a large possible return movement.

⁴ "Significant" has been used throughout this paper as meaning a movement of at least 1,000 Negroes. This base has been selected as indicating an important interchange of population.

CHART I

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY MIGRATIONS TO SOUTH CAROLINA
AND PRIMARY MIGRATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA-
BORN NEGROES 1910-20

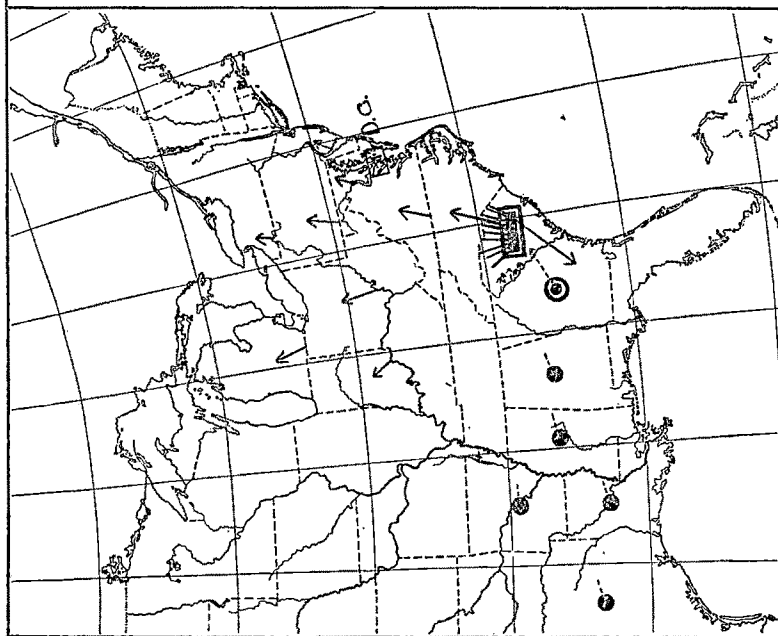
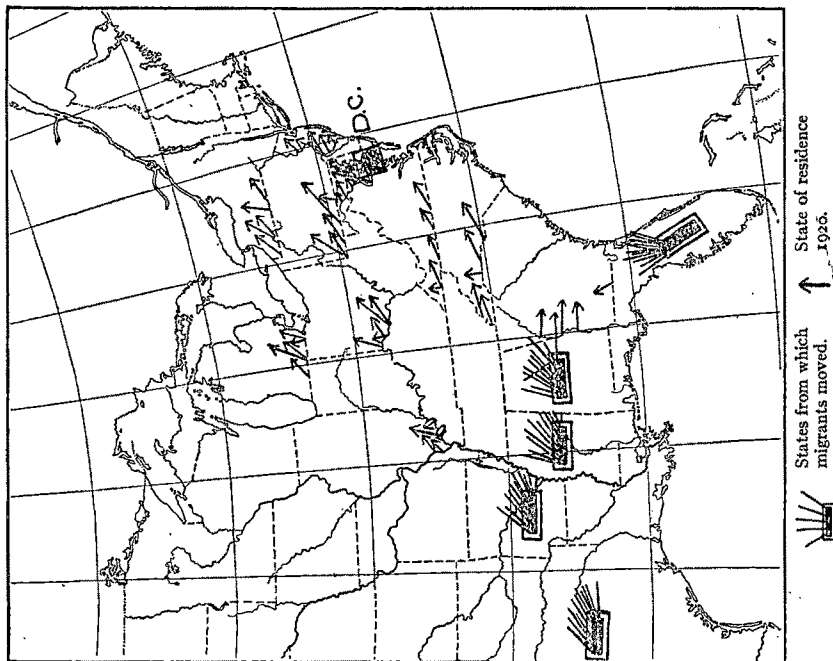


CHART II

SECONDARY MIGRATION OF 15,319 SOUTH CAROLINA-
BORN NEGROES 1910-20



a solid black circle was placed in the state of Georgia from which a dotted line points in the direction of South Carolina. Similar circles were placed with corresponding dotted lines in the five other states from which the migration might have come. To indicate that Georgia was the birthplace of the Negroes in question, a heavy circular band was drawn about the interior solid circle of that state.

The other aspects of the migration, namely, the movements of Negroes born in South Carolina, are much more complex. The following states showed gains in South Carolina-born Negroes in the decade:

State	Gain
North Carolina.....	11,356
Pennsylvania.....	9,511
New York.....	6,404
Virginia.....	4,521
Ohio.....	3,949
New Jersey.....	2,222
Michigan.....	2,124
Maryland.....	1,732
District of Columbia.....	1,482
Illinois.....	1,419
Georgia.....	1,329
All others.....	2,973
Total net migration.....	49,022

At least 49,022 South Carolina-born Negroes changed their residence between 1910 and 1920. But in 1920 there were only 33,703 more South Carolina-born Negroes living outside their native state than in 1910. To permit this difference of 15,319, some states must have lost in numbers of Negroes born in that state (South Carolina). The states having these decreases were:

State	Decrease
Florida.....	4,570
Mississippi.....	3,001
Arkansas.....	2,403
Alabama.....	2,297
Texas.....	1,070
All others.....	1,978
	15,319

Of the total net migration, therefore, of South Carolina-born Negroes during the decade 1910-20, numbering 49,022, at least 33,703 moved out of South Carolina while the remaining 15,319 migrated from other states to which natives of South Carolina had shifted prior to 1910. But from the census figures it cannot be determined how the 33,703 moving directly from South Carolina were distributed among the states showing gains in 1920. Consequently, on Chart I, this direction movement is shown by lines radiating from a rectangular box in South Carolina, the lines ending in those eleven states receiving most of the migration. Similarly, since it is not known to which of the states the individuals making up the decreases went, it is impossible to do more in picturing the secondary movement than to draw lines from each of these states to all of the eleven states receiving the major portion of the total net migration of South Carolina-born Negroes. To indicate that this is a migration of Negroes born in South Carolina, a rectangular box, similar to the one placed within the bounds of South Carolina on Chart I, was placed within the bounds of each of the states of origin of this secondary movement as shown in Chart II.

There is, then, a method of arriving at a more accurate figure for the movement of natives of a given area than the loss to that area during a decade of those born therein; and, further, there is a clear-cut method for portraying that movement in its major complexities.

It would be highly desirable to have devices that would make possible comparisons of the movements for a given area, decade with decade, or, for a given decade, of area with area. Thus, in the illustrations, it would be interesting to compare movements of South Carolina-born Negroes, 1900-1910, with similar movements 1910-20. Likewise, the migrations of North Carolina-born and South Carolina-born Negroes in the decade 1900-1910 have probably been different and might show interesting contrasts.

To facilitate such comparisons, indexes of various aspects of migration would be of great value. Tentative indexes of this sort have been devised by the present writers and their value tested by application to specific situations. Formulas for these follow.

INDEXES OF MIGRATION

$$\text{Index of Primary Migration} \quad I_P = \frac{100M_P}{P_{BR}} \quad (1)$$

$$\text{Index of Secondary Migration} \quad I_S = \frac{100M_S}{P_{BN}} \quad (2)$$

$$\text{Index of Total Migration} \quad I_T = \frac{100M_T}{P_B} \quad (3)$$

where M_P = Primary migration as already defined.

M_S = Secondary migration as already defined.

P_{BR} = Population born in and resident in area, averaged for two adjacent decades.

P_{BN} = Population born in and resident outside of area, averaged for two adjacent decades.

$$M_T = M_P + M_S$$

$$P_B = P_{BR} + P_{BN}$$

A further interesting index is that of the relative extent of secondary migration and may be expressed

$$I_{ES} = \frac{100M_S}{M_P}.$$

Illustrating these with the material for North and South Carolina given in the earlier illustrations, supplemented by figures for South Carolina for the decade 1900-1910 the results are found as shown in Table II (p. 444).

For comparative purposes, therefore, these indexes become valuable. For example, the shift of South Carolina-born Negroes in the decade 1910-20 shows, in respect to primary, secondary, and total migration, a marked acceleration as compared with the previous decade. On the other hand, the relative extent of secondary migration as compared with the primary migration was less in the former decade than in the latter. As between areas for the same decade the contrast is equally interesting. While the index for total migration of North Carolina-born Negroes in the period 1900-1910 was slightly less than that of South Carolina, the index of primary migration in the former was considerably less than one-half that of the latter.

The fact that the North Carolina index of secondary migration was much greater than that of its southern neighbor in spite of the opposite relations in respect to the index of primary migration would explain in part why the index of relative extent of secondary migration in relation to primary migration is so much greater for the former state than for the latter.

It would seem, then, that the following tentative conclusions might be drawn from these indexes. In the decade 1900-1910, North Carolina was losing its Negro population by reason of primary migration at a much slower rate than South Carolina. Yet North Caro-

TABLE II
NUMBER AND INDEXES OF MIGRATION

Requisite Data	North Carolina 1900-1910	South Carolina 1900-1910	South Carolina 1910-20
M_P	6,675	21,650	33,703
M_S	20,274	10,279	15,319
M_T	26,949	31,929	49,022
P_{BR}	630,143	794,328	834,042
P_{BN}	139,806	124,722	141,574
P_B	969,949	919,050	975,616
Indexes			
I_P	0.11	0.27	0.40
I_S	1.45	0.82	1.08
I_T	0.28	0.35	0.50
I_{ES}	30.37	4.75	4.55

lina-born Negroes who had moved from that state prior to 1900 were shifting at a greater relative pace than similar groups from South Carolina. In order to say that the greater relative primary movement out of South Carolina was due to conditions within the state being less favorable than those in North Carolina, this fact would have to be related to a knowledge of the internal conditions of both states. Concerning the contrast between 1910-20 and 1900-1910 for South Carolina, it is evident that there was a marked acceleration of primary, secondary, and total migration. But it cannot be said that this increase is peculiar to South Carolina until similar decennial comparisons have been made for other states. To make such comparisons for a number of decades and for a number of areas for the same decade will be the object of a subsequent paper.

STABILITY IN QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE

READ BAIN

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

ABSTRACT

A questionnaire consisting of 61 items of personnel information was given to 50 college Freshmen with careful directions to get uniformity in filling in the schedule. Two and a half months later the same questionnaire was given with the same directions. Tabulations showed that 709, nearly one-fourth of the 3,050 items, had been changed. The girls showed considerably greater stability of response than the boys on all three types of questions, factual family data, factual personal data, and subjective personal data. The whole group showed greater stability on the factual personal than on the other two types. A number of methodological questions are raised as well as suggestions for further research.

The following data are taken from a questionnaire prepared to elicit information which the writer hoped would be of value in the discussion of vocational, academic, and personal problems of students who frequently ask for advice on such questions. It was also thought that the data might be useful in writing recommendations for students who sometimes make such requests several years after they have been in one's classes.

For theoretical reasons, the writer has always been very suspicious of such data, so he decided to try to test the reliability of the responses to the questionnaire. He was even so "unscientific" as to hope that his doubts would be removed as he was anxious to use the data for the purposes cited above. Since analyzing the results, however, his doubt is increased rather than diminished.

He submits the material, hoping that other investigators will repeat the study on a larger scale, using more refined methods, to the end that we may discover whether any practical use may be made of such material. How large a percentage of error may be tolerated without rendering such personnel material relatively useless? How much of the blank-filling required by personnel officers and public officials, if repeated in three months, would prove to be as inaccurate as the data reviewed in this paper? How many case studies and personal interviews would be recognized by a third party if they were repeated two or three months later, to say nothing of the sea-

changes they would suffer if they were "repeated" by said third party? What is the validity of judgments of "attitude" or "personality set" when based on recorded verbal or written reports? If the following results are a fair sample and are methodologically sound, these and other similar questions are important and are worthy of serious study until some quantitative consensus can be arrived at.

The questionnaire, mimeographed on 5×8 inch cards, was first given in the middle of January, 1931. To insure uniformity, the meaning of the items, the method of filling the blanks, and the purposes for which the information was to be used, were carefully explained. For example, "much," "many," "often," "good," etc., were clearly defined. The subjects were given all the time they needed to fill in the cards. The sixty-one items required about thirty minutes for the majority of the students.

Two and a half months later, in the latter part of March, the questionnaire was presented again, with the following statement: "I was telling a friend of mine about this scheme and he said, 'Well, if you should give it to them again, there would probably be a lot of changes on the cards.' I replied, 'We'll just try it and see.' So I want you to fill in the blanks just exactly the same as you did the first time. If any changes have occurred since January, such as deaths, births, change of life-work, and so on, indicate them in the blank space below the line and they will not be counted as changes." The same uniformity in directions given in January were repeated, and the subjects were given all the time they needed.

I am convinced that the January response was a serious and honest effort to give the information asked for. There were no flippant or frivolous replies, and in the space, "Do you resent filling out this card?" "Why?", only three girls and one boy said "Yes—too personal." I believe these college Freshmen are more intelligent and capable of following directions than are 95 per cent of the people who are asked to make such responses. In March, the class enthusiastically entered into the spirit of the attempt to test the accuracy of their first effort. When asked at the conclusion of the second test whether they felt that they had substantially duplicated the first cards, they almost unanimously voted "yes." Nineteen of the thirty

boys and ten of the twenty girls gave explanations of the changes they had made. These seldom covered more than three items, whereas the average number of changes for the boys and girls was sixteen and twelve, respectively. I anticipated more changes than the students thought they had made but was greatly surprised at the result—nearly one-fourth of the possible changes on the 3,050 items! A general summary of the results is given in Table I.

TABLE I
CHANGES ON 61-ITEM QUESTIONNAIRE BY 50 COLLEGE FRESHMEN
IN SECOND REPLY*

	Items (1)	30 Males (2)	20 Females (3)	Totals (4)
<i>Group I:</i>				
Changes on 61 items		473	236	709
Percentage of changes		26—	19+	23+
Average changes per person		16—	12—	14+
<i>Group II:</i>				
Changes on 19 factual family items		171	86	257
Percentage of changes		30	23—	27
Average changes per person		6—	4+	5
<i>Group III:</i>				
Changes on 17 factual personal items		110	40	150
Percentage of changes		22—	12—	18—
Average changes per person		4—	2	3
<i>Group IV:</i>				
Changes on 25 subjective personal items		192	110	302
Percentage of changes		26—	22	24
Average changes per person		6+	5+	6+

* The base for percentages in each group is the product of the number of persons and number of items involved, e.g., Group III, col. 2, base is $17 \times 30 = 510$, col. 3 is $17 \times 20 = 340$, col. 4, $17 \times 50 = 850$. The same method is used in all four groups.

Group I refers to the total changes based upon the total items, $61 \times 50 = 3,050$. For a little more intensive analysis, the sixty-one items were broken up into three groups which were treated as indicated in the note to Table I.

Group II, factual family data, contained the following nineteen items: "college or school"; "age, sex, number, and deaths of siblings"; "father's and mother's age, vocation, and hobbies"; "average family income per year"; "nationality of father's and mother's families, and when each family came to the United States"; "father's and mother's church"; "size of place of residence."

Group III, factual personal data, contained the following seventeen items: "serious operations or illnesses"; "good eyesight and hearing"; "many colds and headaches"; "kinds of work done";

"travel"; "working in college"; "church membership"; "grades skipped, grades repeated, subjects failed"; "size of high school"; "take economics and sociology in high school"; "extra-curricular activities in high school and college"; "are you engaged?"

Group IV, subjective personal data, contained the following twenty-five items: "what life-work"; "chief hobbies"; "liking for work done"; "church preference"; "extra-curricular activity preferred"; "like opposite sex"; "like people"; "do people seem to like you"; "dream often"; "good or bad dreams"; "day-dream"; "worry"; "get along well with brothers and sisters"; "like one parent more than the other"; "which"; "what most afraid of"; "do you usually get a square deal"; "often feel tired and lazy"; "much trouble in making up your mind"; "favorite book"; "favorite author"; "most admired historical character"; "most disliked historical character"; "resent filling out this card"; "why."

No item was regarded as changed unless it was a clear case. All the points of difference in his two cards mentioned by the student were of course not scored as changes. Likewise, on income, for example, any difference of \$500 or less was not scored. If the first card stated "from \$2,000.00 to \$5,000.00" and the second card "from \$3,000.00 to \$5,000.00," no change was recorded. Similarly, "several generations ago" and "three generations ago"; "athletics" and "football, baseball, track," etc., were regarded as identical. Even with this liberal interpretation of change, not a single card out of the fifty was unchanged, and the most accurate ones contained at least four or five changes. If this is true under almost ideal conditions, what must be the "coefficient of inaccuracy" in the general run of questionnaires?

Space prohibits presenting the complete tabulation of the sixty-one items. Table I shows that there was a high degree of instability in the responses, but it does not indicate what items were changed most and least frequently. A rough measure of this is obtained by listing the items on which the largest and smallest numbers of changes were recorded. For the thirty boys, nine or more changes on an item show that 30 per cent or more of the group marked the item differently the second time. This indicates a very high degree of inaccuracy or instability of response. For the twenty girls, six or

more changes on an item gives a 30 per cent index of change or instability of response. Likewise, three or less changes on an item for the boys and two or less for the girls indicates that 10 per cent or less of the groups made changes. This shows a relatively high degree of similarity or stability in the two (January and March) responses.

Items showing 30 per cent or more change in Group II by both boys and girls: "college or school," "sex of siblings," "father's and mother's age," "father's and mother's hobbies," or six items. The boys also showed the same degree of instability on "age of siblings" and "income"; girls, on "when mother's family came to United States." This makes eight out of the nineteen factual family items on which the boys showed a high degree of instability as against seven for the girls.

In Group III, both sexes showed 30 per cent plus instability on three of the seventeen factual personal items, viz.: "at what have you worked," "travel," "extra-curricular activities." For the boys, the following items also belong in this category: "serious operations or illnesses," "many colds," "church membership." This makes six unstable responses for the boys and only three for the girls.

In Group IV, both sexes showed 30 per cent plus instability on seven of the twenty-five subjective personal items, viz.: "lifework," "hobbies," "church preference," "best liked extra-curricular activity," "good or bad dreams," "favorite author," and "disliked historical character." The boys were equally unstable on "day-dreams," "making up mind," "most admired historical character"; girls, on "what are you most afraid of," "favorite book." This makes ten very unstable items for the boys and nine for the girls in this group. It should be noted here that these items are the sort upon which "attitude" studies are often based and that over 30 per cent of the total group gave an unstable response to over 40 per cent of the twenty-five items.

In Group II, both sexes showed 10 per cent or less change on only two of the nineteen items, viz.: "father's vocation" and "mother's church"; boys, on "father's church"; girls, on "number of siblings," "death of siblings," "mother's vocation," and "size of place of residence." This makes three relatively stable responses for the boys and six for the girls.

In Group III, both sexes were relatively stable (10 per cent or less change) on five of the seventeen items, viz.: "good hearing," "grades skipped," "economics and sociology in high school," "engagement." The girls also showed 90 per cent or more stability on "good eyesight," "colds," "working at college," "grades repeated," "subjects failed," and "size of place of residence." This makes five relatively stable responses for the boys against eleven for the girls on factual personal data.

In Group IV, both sexes showed 10 per cent or less change on only three of the twenty-five subjective personal items, viz.: "do you like people," "usually get a square deal," and "best liked parent"; the boys, on "like one parent better," and "resent filling out card"; the girls, on "like opposite sex," "do people seem to like you," "dream often," "tired and lazy." This makes only five relatively stable responses for the boys and seven for the girls on this sort of "attitude" material; over 30 per cent of the whole group showed a reasonable degree of stability in response on only about 25 per cent of the items in this group.

No changes were recorded on three items only out of the sixty-one by the boys as against seven for the girls, while 50 per cent or more of the boys made changes on five items as against two for the girls. Thirty per cent or more of the group as a whole made changes on twenty-one items while 10 per cent or less made changes on only five items. Over four times as many items were characterized by marked instability in response as showed relatively high similarity in response. Only two items, "take economics in high school" and "good hearing", were unchanged by no one in the entire group. The "engaged" item was changed only once.

From the above analysis, it is quite apparent that the girls are quite noticeably superior to the boys in stability of response. This is especially marked in the factual personal data. In this, Group III, 30 per cent or more of the boys made changes on six items as against three for the girls, while 10 per cent or less of the boys made changes in five items as against eleven for the girls. The same tendency, to a slighter degree, is noted for the other two groups. Table I shows this sex difference in stability of response quite clearly.

This can be shown more strikingly, however, by noting the num-

ber of items on which the changes by the boys are three times or more greater than those of the girls. Since the groups are thirty and twenty respectively, the number of changes in each column is weighted by two and three to make them comparable. This assumes that the same ratios of change would occur if we had sixty boys and sixty girls instead of thirty and twenty. Making the computation on this basis, the boys show three times more changes than the girls on sixteen items, viz.: "numbers and deaths of siblings," "mother's vocation," "income" (26 and 9); "operations," "eyesight," "colds," "church membership" (30 and 12); "grades skipped," "grades repeated," "subjects failed," "like opposite sex," "like people," "do they like you?" (16 and 6); "dream," "tried and lazy" (16 and 6). The girls show three times or more changes than the boys on only four items, viz.: "take sociology," "engaged," "which parent do you like best?" "resent filling out card." It should be noted, too, that the highest number of changes on any of these four items by the girls was only three, which in itself indicates a very high degree of stability of response by the girls.

A word should be said about possible causes of change in response. Lack of information evidently looms large in Group II. They may have learned something about their families subsequent to the January test, but this new information should have been noted according to instructions, in which case it would not have been scored as a change. Over half of the entire group attempted to account for their changes in this manner, the boys in greater percentage than the girls, although the boys were consistently less stable than the girls in all three groups of items. It appears that very little dependence can be placed upon information about subjects' families when it is obtained by questionnaire.

In Group III, poor memory evidently plays an important part in change of response. Some of this is doubtless Freudian forgetting, as in the case of the boys who could not remember the grades they repeated and the subjects they had failed. It is probable that the boys had failed more grades and subjects than the girls. Girls are obviously much more stable than boys in this sort of response. Whether they are more accurate cannot be deduced from such a study as this.

In Group IV, changes are undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that students do not "know their own minds." Their subjective reactions are very variable to questions of what they feel, wish, hope, fear, and think about the various items. Over a period of two and a half months in the middle of the freshman year at college one might reasonably expect some changes in valuations, personality sets, or "attitudes," but such a large figure as 25 per cent of change should serve as a serious warning against assuming any great stability in response to such questions. Case study students, interviewers, "attitude" researchers, "opinion" tabulators, and questionnaire enthusiasts in general who would measure "social distance," "attitudes," "prejudices," "biases," "likes and dislikes," and other personality traits by this method should take note. One should also recognize that misreading and misinterpreting the questionnaire, and lack of seriousness in filling it in, also play a part, but, as was pointed out above, these factors were probably present to a less degree in this study than is usually the case. No one had anything to gain by a false or slipshod filling of the blank in January, but rather a great deal to gain by honestly furnishing the desired information. In the second attempt, there was no reason to make changes deliberately, and most of the subjects were sure that they had made no significant changes.

In conclusion, several questions are raised by the writer which seem to merit further research. He realizes that his sample is too small, although the number of items involved is quite large; therefore the study is presented as raising questions rather than as answering them. He hopes that more extensive studies may be made along similar lines.

1. Is it true that females are more stable than males in their responses to the three types of data covered by this study? Are they also more accurate? It would be a difficult and expensive task to test the data for accuracy.

2. Is there any correlation between stability of response and intelligence? Due to the small numbers of good and poor students involved, this aspect of the data was not studied, but the impression of the writer is that intelligence plays a very small part.

3. Would there be any significant difference between Freshmen and Seniors?

4. What would be the result if the test were repeated after one week, after a month, after three months, after one year? Four testings.

5. What would be the results from people who resent filling out such cards (only four in this group—one boy and three girls. Would this ratio hold? If so, Why?) compared to those who like it (two boys in my group. Would this ratio hold? And why should there be such a sex difference, if there is?)? If this ratio holds, we would have to have 2,500 subjects to get 100 who like it! One could separate them more sharply, however, by making the questionnaire more "personal." I purposefully avoided tabooed and too private items in order to reduce "resistance."

6. Does the sex difference mentioned in the discussion of the data indicate that girls are more honest, or have better memories, or are emotionally more stable, or know more about themselves (more introspective?) and their families (have more "family feeling"?) than the boys? Or would a thousand cases iron out this apparent difference?

7. How much of the change was due to ill-phrased statements? An intensive and extensive investigation of this sort might give us some much needed information on the technique of schedule-making for various kinds of information. Practically all the literature I have seen on the subject is almost wholly *a priori*. My questionnaire and my directions to the students applied all the knowledge on the subject of schedule-making that I possess.

Since it is undoubtedly true that much greatly needed information can be obtained by the questionnaire method more quickly and cheaply than by any other, and since so many of us persist in using the method even while we recognize its short-comings, it would seem that we could well afford the time and money to make a thorough investigation of the degree of reliability of various kinds of data thus obtained and to discover by carefully controlled investigation the best techniques of getting the different kinds of information obtainable by questionnaires.

A NEGLECTED UTOPIAN: CYRANO DE BERGERAC, 1619-55

J. F. NORMANO
Cambridge, Massachusetts

ABSTRACT

Although almost forgotten, Cyrano de Bergerac remains one of the most important precursors of Rousseau and the Natural Order movement. As a Utopian writer, he forms a connecting link between Campanella and the French movement of the eighteenth century. His Utopias are packed with an encyclopedia of knowledge, but they contain no political or social system. He did not possess a systematic mind, and his aim in the Utopias was to give his scientific ideas an attractive form.

In its modern interpretation, the character of Cyrano de Bergerac is strongly associated with the charming hero of Edmund Rostand's play. One immediately imagines the romantic duellist with his wild courage and valor—a kind of fourth musketeer—at once self-sacrificing lover and sentimental poet with his famous long and ugly nose. One seldom remembers that Cyrano de Bergerac was a real, living person, a man who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century; that he was a writer whose appearance, by reason of the universality of his interests and erudition and breadth of ideas, was of paramount importance, not only for his own, but for all time.

It is a mystery why Cyrano de Bergerac, so popular, so loved and esteemed by a few friends, has been so forgotten and neglected. "L'auteur est connu, l'ouvrage est estimé, mais le livre est disparu,"¹ states one of his few biographers who is convinced that "jusqu'à l'époque de la Révolution de 89, les éditions de Cyrano de Bergerac ont été détruites systématiquement par les soins infatigables de la mystérieuse confrérie de l'Index."² The Jesuits have been charged with murderous attempts on Cyrano and a systematic and continuous persecution of the writings of this atheist.

Then a strange mystery associated itself with the literary activity of Cyrano de Bergerac—thefts of his manuscripts and persecution, a mystery in keeping with the character of this romantic figure.

Cyrano de Bergerac has been so entirely forgotten that even

¹ *Histoire comique des États et Empires de la Lune et du Soleil*. Nouvelle édition revue et publiée avec des notes et une note historique par P. L. Jacob (Paris[?]), p. 1.

² *Ibid.*

André Lichtenberger, who made such a careful study of very remote French Utopians and pseudo-Utopians, began his investigation with the eighteenth century and altogether neglected Cyrano, the author of the *Voyage comique*,³ though he certainly has a better claim than several of Lichtenberger's heroes to take a place of honor as a "precursur inconnu" of Rousseau and the "Ordre Naturel" movement.⁴

The modern enthusiast for the personality of Rostand's hero will be disappointed in making the acquaintance of the real Cyrano. His life-long friend, Le Brett, in the introduction to the *Voyage dans la Lune* shows us the Cyrano who was but temperate and abstemious in his habits, and who practiced a great reserve toward the fair sex. His only interest was study. The chief characteristic of Cyrano was his devotion to science and to philosophy. In his youth he was anxious to force an entry into the circle of Gassendi, and in this he was successful; while during the last years of his life he formed his own circle—a kind of platonic academy.

The literary legacy of Cyrano, who died at the age of thirty-six years, is not large. He wrote, of course, dramas and epigrams, sonnets and pamphlets; being a contemporary of Molière, he was of the same school. But his most important work is contained in the two Utopias (both only fragmentary), which, though popular in manuscript form, were neglected after their appearance in print.

Cyrano, as a Utopian writer, forms a connecting link between Campanella and the French Movement of the eighteenth century. In his early years he was informed of Campanella by the poet Hérnaut.⁵ He studied his writings and developed a passionate liking for them. Just as Telesio was a magnet to Campanella, so Campanella was a magnet to Cyrano, and just as Campanella wrote his *Civitas Solis* in prison, it was in martyrdom that the death-seeking Cyrano undertook his last voyage to the *États du Soleil*.

³ *Le Socialisme Utopique. Études sur quelques précurseurs inconnus du Socialisme.* Paris, 1898.

⁴ J. Monmerque supposes that "les passages retranchés dans l'état de la lune, outre certaines bizarreries propres à Cyrano, sont les avant-coureurs de la philosophie du dix-huitième siècle, dont les auteurs n'ont cherché qu'à nier et à repousser toutes les bases religieuses." (Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 111.)

⁵ J. Lefèvre, *La vie de Cyrano de Bergerac.* Second edition. Paris, 1927. (Pp. 46-47.)

His Utopia is virtually the private Utopia of Cyrano, his personal ideal which he finds on the moon and on the sun. He locates on these bodies all that he loved on earth—birds, trees, philosophy, music, poetry. There he becomes free from worldly sorrows, there alone where one can pay for a meal with sonnets and epigrams; there “les alouettes tombent toutes rôties” (p. 130); there his long nose is esteemed (even this apology can be found on the sun). There he is free to philosophize for there “nous n’amions guère . . . à nous entretenir des choses basses” (p. 138). On the sun he finds Campanella, who becomes his personal guide like the Demon of Socrates on the moon. There they meet Descartes, talk of the “divine Gassendi,” and discuss Plato and Aristotle. Nature, back to nature! It is too wonderful! Every line of Cyrano’s writings proclaims this message. He writes the excellent, though forgotten, *L’histoire des oiseaux* in which nature is animated and the trees and plants talk, in which we learn the fairy story of the nightingale and language of music. We find there the charming tale of the “Arbres Amans” in their relation to love and friendship, with illustrations from ancient mythology.⁶ (But “l’engance de ce fruit c’est perdue en votre monde”—page 130.) Everything there breathes of pantheism—even penal death takes the poetic form of the “Morte Triste,” and Perrot, who knew Cyrano on earth and who is grateful to him for service rendered there, saves Cyrano’s life by releasing him from death.

There is no political or social system in Cyrano’s writings. The earth was too limited for him. He sought for a country, as the little Spaniard on the moon said, “ou l’imagination même fut en liberté” (p. 134); he sought *égalité* and stated that “les jeunes sont esclaves des vieux, les pauvres des riches, les princes des monarques.” He searched for truth and in a severe and malicious manner parodied the story of Galilee. “Il y a du vulgaire ici comme la, qui ne peut souffrir la pensée des choses ou il n’est pourit accoutumé” (p. 118). He was, to use a modern term, a pacifist. He tolerated monarchs, but in his Utopia he changed the kings every six months, and every “trois oiseaux mal satisfaits” is given a veto-right. (Does this not show the influence of his journey to Poland and knowledge of the

⁶ Why has no one yet written about the apple in history? What a resourceful theme it would be! Beginning with Adam, Hercules, Paris, and William Tell. One must remember the corresponding pages in Cyrano’s Utopia.

famous Polish Veto-Right?) He chose as kings "les plus faibles, doux et pacifiques," in direct opposition to the system on earth whereby preference is given to "les plus grands, forts et cruels." Does not all this go to prove that Lichtenberger would have been justified in admitting Cyrano to the gallery of his "Precurseurs"?

In his philosophy Cyrano was eclectic and not a prophet of new ways. As well as being influenced simultaneously by Gassendi and Descartes, he was continuously under the influence of Campanella, and traces of Rabelais⁷ are discernible. The historian is compelled to recognize Cyrano as a precursor of the Natural Order movement and *liberté-égalité* ideas, and to accord him his place with the spiritual fathers of the French Revolution.

Cyrano did not possess a systematic mind. An industrious dilettante in all fields, his aim in the Utopias was to give his scientific ideas an attractive form. He packed an encyclopedia of knowledge into his Utopias—astronomy, geography, kosmography, physics, medicine, technology, history, psychology, and philosophy.

In his work can be found a prophecy of modern flying as well as other frequent forecasts of modern technique. His phonograph was "le livre miraculeux, qui n'a ni feuillets ni caractères . . . on n'a besoin que des oreilles" (pp. 178-79). Even the modern calorie-diet theory is depicted by Cyrano—"selon qu'il (le physionome) a reconnu notre complexion, il a diversifié exhalaison de votre diner" (p. 163); and there can be found in his writings the most estimable solutions to modern eugenic problems (pp. 338-40).

The geography of the sun is enchanting—the kingdoms of lovers and of truth and of justice, the republics of peace and of philosophers, the fountains of the senses, the lake of dreams, and the rivers of memory, imagination, and judgment.

The modern reader of Cyrano can only desire that writers of our own time will more frequently undertake voyages to this realm of the "Region Lumineuse," populated by "spirits," while "vous autres hommes, ne pouvez pas les mêmes choses, à cause de la pesanteur de votre masse et de la froideur de votre imagination" (p. 270).

⁷ It is not clear whether Cyrano was influenced by the title of Godwin's book which appeared in 1648 in a French translation (*L'homme dans la Lune, ou le voyage chimérique fait au monde de la Lune, nouvellement découvert par Dominique Gonzalés aventurer espagne, autrement dit le courrier volant mis en notre langue*). J. B. D. (Jean Bodin)

THE INTERESTS OF MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1930¹

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG
Columbia University

During the last decade a number of articles have appeared on the subject of the distribution of interests of sociologists among the various subdivisions of the field as evidenced by the subject matter of the periodical literature and the membership and participation in the conferences and professional organizations of closely related fields.² These studies are of importance (1) in defining the field of sociology as at present conceived by its adherents, (2) in indicating the relative importance, in the opinion of sociologists, of different subjects or problems now included under the head of sociology, and (3) as a guide in the preparation of programs and other administrative details of the Society.

The necessary basis for a direct study of the distribution of the interests of members among the thirteen organized divisions (see Table I) of the Society is provided by the registration forms, which request each member to indicate his principal and secondary interests. The present paper presents the results of a statistical analysis of these data as contained in the membership list of 1930.³

Table I shows the total number of times a given division was indicated as (a) a major interest (col. I), and (b) a minor or general interest (col. III), and the rank of each division on this basis (cols. II and IV). It also shows what percentage of the 1832 members in-

¹ The statistical analysis here presented was first suggested by S. A. Rice and F. S. Chapin as part of the work of the Committee on Statistics of the American Sociological Society. On the request of the managing editor of the *American Journal of Sociology* the present incomplete analysis is submitted at this time.

² E.g., Read Bain, *Social Forces*, V (1927), 413-22; E. E. Klein, *ibid.*, IX (1931), 500-507; W. P. Meroney, *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXV (1931), 55-67; S. A. Rice, *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV (1929), 439-44.

³ *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XXIV (August, 1930). The question as to how accurately the divisions checked on the registration forms indicate the true interests of the members is, of course, beyond the scope of this study.

licated some interest in each division (col. VII) and what percentage of all indications of interest fell in each of the different divisions (col. VIII). Some of the more obvious conclusions from the table are:

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF INTERESTS OF 1,832 MEMBERS OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY (1930)

	TOTAL NUMBER OF TIMES A GIVEN DIVISION WAS INDICATED AS:					RANK OF ALL INTERESTS VI	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS INDICATING SOME INTEREST IN INDICATED DIVISION VII	PERCENTAGE OF ALL INDICA- TIONS OF INTEREST (5,867) FALLING IN THE DIFFERENT DIVISIONS VIII
	Major In- terest I	Rank of Major In- terests II	Minor or General In- terest III	Rank of Minor In- terests IV	Total V			
a) General and historical	110	(3)	347	(6)	457	6	24.94	7.78
b) Social psychology	118	(2)	505	(1)	683	1	37.28	11.64
c) Social research	88	(5)	460	(3)	548	3	29.91	9.34
d) Educational sociology	62	(9)	219	(10)	281	11	15.33	4.78
e) Social biology	14	(12)	138	(12)	152	13	8.29	2.59
f) Statistical sociology . .	35	(11)	235	(9)	270	12	14.73	4.60
g) Rural sociology	96	(4)	211	(11)	307	10	16.75	5.23
h) Community problems.	81	(6)	390	(4)	471	5	25.70	8.02
i) Sociology and social work	152	(1)	365	(5)	517	4	28.22	8.81
j) Teaching of social sci- ences	72	(7)	323	(7)	395	7	21.56	6.73
k) The family	88	(5)	484	(2)	572	2	31.22	9.74
l) Sociology of religion . .	65	(8)	291	(8)	356	9	19.43	6.06
m) Sociology and psychia- try	56	(10)	323	(7)	379	8	20.68	6.45
Special interest not indi- cated					479		26.14	8.16
Total interests indi- cated*					5,867			

* Including 479 cases in which no special interest was indicated.

1. Sociology and social work is the largest single major interest, with social psychology second in rank (cols. I and II). When both major and minor interests are combined, however, social psychology ranks first; the family, second; social research, third; and sociology and social work, fourth (cols. V and VI). Social biology ranks lowest of all the divisions. The doubtful definition of this division may be partly responsible.

2. Statistical sociology ranks next to the lowest in combined major and minor interest (col. VI). Its rating in all of the columns is one of the lowest. Only 270 members (about 15 per cent) indicate any interest in statistics. Since 479, or about 25 per cent, of all the members failed to indicate any special interest, however, about 20 per cent of all members indicating special interests, indicated some interest in statistics.

3. About 30 per cent (548) of the total membership expressed interest in research, and 40 per cent of those indicated some special interests.

TABLE II
RESULTS OF CROSS-TABULATION TO DETERMINE TO WHAT
DEGREE INTEREST IN STATISTICS IS COMBINED
WITH INTEREST IN RESEARCH

C=major interest in research; F=major interest in statistics; c=minor interest in research; f=minor interest in statistics.

C F.....	8
C f.....	30
c F.....	17
c f.....	140
Total number of members interested both in research and statistics.....	195

Table II gives the results of one of a number of possible cross-classifications of members according to their combination of interests. For example, how many of the 270 members indicating some interest in statistics also indicated an interest in research? Some results of this analysis follow:

1. Of 270 (Table I) indicating some interest in statistics, 75 indicate no interest in research ($270 - 195 = 75$).

2. Of the 88 (Table I) indicating research as a major interest, 35 indicated *some* (major+minor) interest in statistics, and 53 *no* such interest.

3. Conversely, 23 out of 35 indicating statistics as their major interest also indicated some interest in research. Twelve of them indicated *no* interest in research.

4. One hundred and forty-three members combine a minor interest in research with a minor interest in statistics.

TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

The American Sociological Society will hold its Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting in Washington, D.C., December 28-31, with headquarters at the Willard Hotel. Meeting in Washington during the same time are the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Farm Economics Association, and the National Community Center Association.

In the final program, some of the major topics listed below may be restated. An occasional speaker has accepted tentatively, and leaders of discussion have not all been provided for. Other speakers are to be announced.

DIVISION MEETINGS

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28

9:00-10:00 A.M. **Registration** of Members and guests of the Society and reservation of luncheon and dinner tickets.

10:00-12:00 A.M. **Division on Human Ecology.** R. D. McKenzie, University of Michigan, presiding.

"Family and Social Data by Local Areas in Chicago," E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago.

"Radial Variations of Rates in Juvenile Delinquency in Thirteen Large Cities," Clifford R. Shaw, Institute for Juvenile Research.

"The Cultural Significance of Population Segregation in Cleveland," Howard W. Green, Cleveland.

"Retail Trade Areas within the City of Baltimore," Inez K. Rolph.

8:00-10:00 P.M. **Division on Social Psychology.** L. L. Bernard, Washington University, presiding.

"Social Psychology Studies Adjustment Behavior," L. L. Bernard, Washington University.

"Differential Responses of Texas Convicts," Carl M. Rosenquist, University of Texas.

"Negro Religious Expression," E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University.

"Propaganda in Soviet Russia," Howard B. Woolston, University of Washington.

"The Primary Group—Essence and Accident," Ellsworth Faris, University of Chicago.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29

9:00-10:00 A.M. **Business Meeting** for Reports of Committees and Representatives of the Society.

10:00-12:00 A.M. **Division on the Theory of Sociology.** Pitirim Sorokin, Harvard University, presiding.

"Concept of Social Process," Read Bain, Miami University. Discussion.

"Problem of Social Process," Pitirim Sorokin, Harvard University. Discussion.

"Problem of Social Causation," R. M. MacIver, Columbia University. Discussion.

"Herbert Spencer's Ultimate Man," T. N. Carver, Harvard University. Discussion.

3:00-5:00 P.M. **Division on Social Process.** Earle Eubank, University of Cincinnati, presiding.

"An Analysis of Social Process," Florian Znaniecki, University of Poznan.

"Social Processes and Their Accompanying Relationships," Earle Eubank, University of Cincinnati.

"Social Process in Behavior Problems," E. H. Sutherland, University of Chicago.

"Social Process in Rural Civilization," Newell L. Sims, Oberlin College.

5:00 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.

8:00-10:00 P.M. **Presidential Addresses** of the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, and the American Sociological Society.

The American Sociological Society: "Social Process on the Pacific Coast," Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California.

The American Statistical Association: (Subject to be announced.) William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago.

The American Economic Association: "Pushing Back the Frontiers," Ernest L. Bogart, University of Illinois.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30

10:00-12:00 A.M. **Division on Social Research.** Hornell Hart, Bryn Mawr College, presiding.

Social Survey Techniques—"The Determination of Community Boundaries on the Basis of Social Traits," Murray H. Leiffer, Northwestern University.

Studies of Personal and Group Behavior—"Observation of Social Behavior in Industrial Work," Alice M. Loomis, Yale Institute of Human Relations; "Interrelations in the Behavior of Young Children," Ruth E. Arrington, Child Development Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Philosophical and Scholarly Techniques—"The Place of Behaviorism in Sociology," Read Bain, Miami University.

(After the session, which should last an hour, the audience will be invited to divide into three groups, in each of which the techniques will be discussed with the person presenting the paper.)

3:00-5:00 P.M. **Division on Social Process** (second session). Earle Eubank, University of Cincinnati, presiding.

"Social Process in Russia," Susan M. Kingsbury, Bryn Mawr College.

"Social Process in Asia," H. A. Miller, Ohio State University.

"Social Process in Hawaii," E. B. Reuter, University of Iowa.

"Social Process in Mexico," William Kirk, Pomona College.

6:30 P.M. **Annual Dinner of the Society.**

"Social Trends." Emory S. Bogardus, President, presiding.

Talks by William F. Ogburn, Robert S. Lynd, and others.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31

9:00-10:00 A.M. **Annual Business Meeting** of the Society.

10:00-12:00 A.M. **Division on Social Biology and Population.** Frank H. Hankins, Smith College, presiding.

"The Selective Effect of Differential Fertility in Economic Advancement," J. J. Spengler, University of Arizona.

"Some Phases of Differential Fertility," Edgar Sydenstricker and Frank W. Notestein, Milbank Memorial Fund.

"Negro Migration," Frank A. Ross, Columbia University.

1:00-3:00 P.M. **Joint session of the American Sociological Society with the American Association for Labor Legislation.**

SECTION MEETINGS AND LUNCHEON MEETINGS

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28

12:30-3:00 P.M. **Luncheon Meetings.**

Section on Rural Sociology, in joint session with the American Farm Economics Association. M. L. Wilson, Montana Agricultural College, presiding.

The Human Factor in Agriculture:

"The Human Factor from the Viewpoint of Farm Management." C. J. Holmes, United States Department of Agriculture.

"Agricultural Efficiency from the Viewpoint of the Family and Community Life." J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin.

1:00-3:00 P.M. **Meetings of Sections of the Society.**

Joint Session of the Section on the Community and the Section on the Sociology of Religion. E. C. Lindeman, President of the National Community Association, presiding.

"The Rôle of Religious Institutions and Community Control." General discussion.

Section on the Teaching of Sociology. H. C. Brearley, Clemson College, presiding.

"Advantages of Experimental Sociology," F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

"Dangers of Experimental Sociology," R. C. Angell, University of Michigan.
Open discussion.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. M. J. Karpf, The Training School for Jewish Social Work, presiding.

"Broken Homes and Delinquency," Clifford Shaw, Institute for Juvenile Research. Discussion.

Section on Sociology and Psychiatry. T. D. Eliot, Northwestern University, presiding.

"The Relations between Cultural Anthropology and Psychiatry," Edward Sapir, Yale University.

3:00-5:00 P.M. **Meetings of Sections of the Society.**

Section on Educational Sociology. John M. Brewer, Harvard University, presiding.

"The Work of the Schools in Connection with Community Chest Campaigns," A. J. Todd, Northwestern University.

Discussion led by Otto W. Davis, Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati.

Section on the Family. Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina, presiding.

"Some Social Values of Ecclesiastical and Civil Marriage Legislation," Edgar Schmiedeler, St. Benedict's College.

"The Origin and Development of Divorce Laws in the United States," Geoffrey May, Johns Hopkins University.

"Hotel Life and the Family," Norman Hayner, University of Washington.

Section on Social Statistics. F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, presiding.

"The Conditions of Social Measurement."

6:00 P.M. **Dinner meeting of the Section on the Community.**

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29

8:00 A.M. Breakfast Meetings, Alpha Kappa Delta; the University of Chicago.

12:30-3:00 P.M. **Luncheon Meetings.**

Joint Luncheon on Social Science Abstracts. F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, presiding.

1:00-3:00 P.M. **Meetings of Sections of the Society.**

Section on Rural Sociology. Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University, presiding.

Methods of Studying the Social Processes in Rural Life:

"The Farm Family," E. L. Kirkpatrick, University of Wisconsin.

"The Rural Church," Howard Beers, Cornell University.

"Farmers' Co-operative Associations," R. C. Smith, Ohio State University.

The above listed papers are published in the *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XXV, No. 4 (November, 1931).

Discussion led by C. E. Lively, Ohio State University.

Annual Business Meeting of the Section on Rural Sociology.

Section on the Teaching of Sociology. Malcolm Willey, University of Minnesota, presiding.

"The Introductory Course in Sociology."

Section on the Sociology of Religion. Benson Y. Landis, Federal Council of Churches, presiding.

Current Research Projects in the Sociology of Religion:

"Religion as a Factor in Juvenile Delinquency," John O'Grady, Catholic University of America.

"The Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry," Galen M. Fisher, Institute of Social and Religious Research.

Other projects to be announced.

Section on Educational Sociology. John M. Brewer, Harvard University, presiding.

"The Case Study as a Method of Research—with Special Application to the Program of the Boys' Club Study, Department of Educational Sociology, New York University," Robert Whitley, New York University.

Discussion led by Read Bain, Miami University.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. M. J. Karpf, Training School for Jewish Social Work, presiding.

"The Sociological Basis of Community Chest Organization," Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University. Discussion.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30

1:00-3:00 P.M. Meetings of Sections of the Society.

Section on Rural Sociology. E. A. Ross, University of Wisconsin, presiding.
The Comparative Influence of Culture Patterns on Rural Social Processes in the United States and in the Orient:

"The Relationships of Mohammedan Culture Patterns to Social Processes in the Mohammedan Community of India," J. L. Hypes, Connecticut Agricultural College.

"The Influence of National Cultural Patterns on the Rural Life of Japan," Fred R. Yoder, State College of Washington.

"Contrast of Some Major Elements in the Social Pattern of Rural China and Rural America," W. A. Anderson, Cornell University.

"The Family and Village in India," Warren H. Wilson, Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

The above listed papers are published in the *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XXV, No. 4 (November, 1931).

Discussion led by C. C. Taylor, North Carolina State College.

Section on the Community. LeRoy E. Bowman, Columbia University, presiding.

Reports of Studies and Projects.

Section on Social Statistics. F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, presiding.

Some Technical Problems of Social Measurements:

"Discrimination, a Study in Social Determinants," Howard Woolston, University of Washington.

Discussion.

Section on the Family. Mrs. W. F. Dummer, Chicago, presiding.

"Voluntary Parenthood and the Birth Rate," Niles Carpenter, University of Buffalo.

"Personality Disorganization and Domestic Discord," Harriet Mowrer, Northwestern University.

"Marriage Advice Stations, Here and Abroad," Robert L. Dickenson, National Committee on Maternal Health.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31

1:00-3:00 P.M. Meetings of Sections of the Society.

Joint Session of the Section on the Community and the Section on Rural Sociology. LeRoy E. Bowman, Columbia University, presiding.

"Regionalism." General discussion led by Louis Brownlow.

Section on Sociology and Social Work. M. J. Karpf, The Training School for Jewish Social Work, presiding.

"A Study of Residence and Place of Offense of Felons in Indianapolis," R. Clyde White.

Headquarters.—The headquarters for the annual meeting will be the Willard Hotel, where registration and information desk will be maintained. Members are requested to register as soon as possible after their arrival. Reservations should be made at an early date. Announcement concerning reduced railway rates will be made in the final program.

Committee on Local Arrangements

Elwood Street, Community Chest of Washington, *Chairman*

Mrs. Elwood Street

Earl S. Bellman

Hugh S. Carter

James L. Fieser

William J. Kerby

D. W. Willard

NEWS AND NOTES

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the September issue and up to September 5 are as follows:

Abbassi, Mostafa, 5721 Kenwood Ave., Chicago
Baxter, Jessie, 753 Mayflower St., Lincoln Park, Mich.
Beckelman, Moses W., Y.M.H.A., New York
Beynon, Rev. E. D., 8475 Dearborn Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Brindle, Paul L., 1736 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Concistre, Marie J., Morris Park and Elberon Ave., Bronx, New York
Farnell, Frederic J., 577 Angell, Providence, R.I.
Giffen, Mrs. Naomi M., 5851 Blackstone Ave., Chicago
Glaser, Lydia N., 919 University Ave., Madison, Wis.
Glick, Fred P., 2839 Gaul St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Gohdes, C. B., 1392 E. Mound St., Columbus, Ohio
Gruenberg, Benj. C., 18 E. Forty-eighth St., New York
Houghton, Alanson B., 1785 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C.
Kelly, Josephine Hull, 600 Lexington Ave., New York
Kinman, Lewis M., Pleasant Hill, Mo.
Mandelstam, Abraham, 40 W. Seventy-second St., New York
Mason, Frances V., 455 W. Thirty-fourth St., New York
McCanliss, Lee, 15 Broad St., New York
Meeman, Edward J., 3239 Dellwood Drive, Knoxville, Tenn.
Muncaster, Mary I., Highland Park High School, Highland Park, Mich.
Oswald, C. Jeanette, Couzens Hall, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Padgett, Alice E., 1833 Park Road, Washington, D.C.
Pretzer, Clarence A., 118 N. Main St., Providence, R.I.
Ritter, Dr. Sarah M., Head, Dept. of Sociology, Woman's College, Montgomery, Ala.
Rubenstein, Frank J., 305 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md.
Rumyanek, Judah, % Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Ave., New York
Russell, Elbert, Duke University, Durham, N.C.
Sampson, Jerome Norman, 5408 Ellis Ave., Chicago
Scheirer, Rev. Paul Crawford, 9219 Two Hundred and Forty-fifth St., Bellerose, L.I., N.Y.
Schindelman, Lily, 1122 Forest Ave., New York

Sletto, Raymond F., 3207 Fremont Ave. S., Minneapolis, Minn.

Taylor, Burton W., 20 W. Fifty-third St., New York

Thompson, A. W., Dept. of Public Instruction, Lansing, Mich.

Walsh, Richard J., 102 Cliff Ave., Pelham, N.Y.

Whitin, E. Stagg, 250 W. Fifty-seventh St., New York

Wilson, Luke I., Rockville Pike, Bethesda, Md.

Winokur, Arnold, 4630 N. Warnock St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Yacos, Julia Elaine, 1012 Sonman Ave., Portage, Pa.

The American Sociological Society.—President Emory S. Bogardus announces the appointment of the Committee on Nominations, as follows: Howard Odum, chairman, North Carolina; J. P. Lichtenberger, Pennsylvania; E. A. Ross, Wisconsin; Theo. B. Manny, U.S. Department of Agriculture; Floyd N. House, Virginia; Newell L. Sims, Oberlin; W. P. Meroney, Baylor University; Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington; Malcolm M. Willey, Minnesota; Harold A. Phelps, Pittsburgh. The chairman and members of the committee will be glad to receive suggestions in regard to nominations from members of the Society.

Three communications from Dr. M. Parmelee.—A letter from Dr. Maurice Parmelee requests publication of the following three communications. The material was received too late for the July issue, and publication was asked either in September or November. They are here printed exactly as received.

May 12, 1931

To Members of the American Sociological Society:

A group of members, including T. Abel, T. N. Carver, M. R. Davie, C. G. Dittmer, H. P. Fairchild, F. H. Hankins, M. Parmelee, P. A. Sorokin, and A. A. Tenney, have prepared and signed the two accompanying petitions to the Executive Committee. Their ultimate purpose is to raise the scientific standard of the Society in its programs and in its publications. They regard these petitions as preliminary steps toward attaining that end.

No attempt is being made to canvass the whole membership at present. In order to bring these petitions and this covering letter to the attention of all the members, the Editorial Board of the *American Journal of Sociology* is being requested to publish them before the annual meeting of 1931. It is hoped and desired that at that meeting there will be a thoroughgoing discussion, not only of the method of nominating officers and of the editorial control of the *Journal*, but also of measures to strengthen the scientific activities of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) MAURICE PARMELEE, *Chairman*

202 West Tenth Street
New York, New York

May 5, 1931

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Much of the financial support of the *American Journal of Sociology* is derived from the dues of the members of the Society. Its revenue would be greatly diminished if it was not distributed to the members.

Article II of the Constitution of the Society states that "The objects of this society shall be the encouragement of sociological research and discussion, and the promotion of intercourse between persons engaged in the scientific study of society." The *Journal* furnishes the most frequent opportunity for the publication of announcements and other information of interest to the members. It is the most suitable medium for the publication of their scientific articles and reports on research work. For these reasons the undersigned members of the Society are of the opinion that the *Journal* should become the official organ of the Society.

At present the editors of the *Journal* are the staff of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago. On the inside of the cover of the *Journal* is printed the following statement: "By agreement with the American Sociological Society the officers chosen by that body become, during their term of office, the *Advisory Council* of this *Journal*. This arrangement makes neither the *Advisory Council* nor the Society which elects them responsible for the conduct of this *Journal*."

We request the Executive Committee to take up with the proper authorities of the University of Chicago the question of vesting the editorial control of the *Journal* in the Society. If this end has not been attained in the meantime, we request the Executive Committee to provide ample opportunity for the discussion of this question by the members on the second day of the 1931 annual meeting of the Society with an announcement of this discussion incorporated in the printed program.

Respectfully submitted,

May 5, 1931

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

A motion adopted at the annual meeting on December 29, 1929, provides that the Nominating Committee shall present in nomination to the annual business meeting one or more candidates for each of the offices of president, the two vice-presidents, and members of the Executive Committee; and that additional nominations may be made from the floor.

Heretofore, the Nominating Committee has announced its nominations at the last business meeting just as the election is to take place. This does not give the members time enough to consider these nominations and to decide whether they wish to make additional nominations.

The undersigned members of the Society request the Executive Committee

hereafter to instruct the Nominating Committee to announce its nominations at the business meeting on the second day of the three-day session so that the members shall have at least one day in which to consider them before the election is to take place.

Respectfully submitted,

Conference on University Training for the National Service.—The Conference on University Training for the National Service, sponsored jointly by the University of Minnesota, the United States Civil Service Commission, and other agencies and departments of the national government, was held at the University of Minnesota, July 14-17, 1931. Particular attention was paid to the following fields of work: economics and statistics, law, agriculture and forestry, physics and chemistry, social welfare, engineering, and the consular and diplomatic service.

Institute for Administrative Officers.—The Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions was held at the University of Chicago, July 8-10, 1931. Under the central theme, "Recent Trends in American College Education," the following general topics were discussed: "Reorganization of the Junior College"; "Reorganization of the Senior College"; "Comprehensive Examinations and Tests." The reports have just been published by the University of Chicago Press as Volume III of the *Proceedings* of this institute, under the title *Recent Trends in American College Education*. The price is \$2.00.

Negro Year Book.—The eighth edition, 1931-32, of the *Negro Year Book: The Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro*, has just come from the press of the Negro Year Book Co., Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. The volume includes 544 pages and is divided into seven parts: "The Negro in the United States"; "The Negro in Latin America"; "The Negro in Europe"; "The Negro in Africa"; "The Negro in Poetry and the Fine Arts"; "Literature on the Negro"; "Directory—Newspapers, Agencies and Organizations."

Prizes for the studies of social sciences.—The Catholic Union for Social Sciences resident in Milan, Italy, at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, opens two competitions. The first is for a prize of thirty thousand lire for a work on the "Development of Christian Social Thought from the Institution of the Church to the Apostolic Fathers Inclusive." The study must be presented before December 31, 1932. The second competition is for a prize of twenty thousand lire for a work on "The Influence of the Encyclical 'Rerum Novarum' on the Contemporary Social Life and Thought." This study must be presented

before December 31, 1931. For further information regarding both competitions address the secretary of the Catholic Union for Social Sciences (Via S. Agnese, 2 Milano).

Society for Social Research.—The Tenth Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago was held August 28-30 at the University of Chicago. The central theme of the conference was "Regionalism," and the following subtopics were discussed:

1. The Metropolitan Area as a Population Unit.—Speakers: R. D. McKenzie, University of Michigan; C. E. Batschelet, geographer, Bureau of the Census.
2. The Metropolitan Area as an Economic Unit.—Speakers: Edward F. Gerish, chief of the Domestic Regional Division, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.; Edward A. Duddy, School of Commerce and Administration, University of Chicago.
3. Communication and the Metropolitan Area.—Speakers: Robert E. Park, University of Chicago; C. H. Sundberg, The One Hundred Thousand Group of American Cities, Chicago.
4. Organization of Life in the Metropolitan Area.—Speakers: Howard W. Green, Cleveland Health Council, Cleveland; E. W. Burgess, University of Chicago; Earl Johnson, University of Chicago.
5. Mobility Areas in the Metropolitan Region.—Speaker: W. L. P. Ireland, Chicago.

Two new publications of the Society were available at the time of the conference: Series I, No. 1, *Soziologische Vorlesungen*, by Georg Simmel, *Gehalten an der Universität Berlin im Wintersemester, 1899*; Series I, No. 2, *The Growth of an Institution: the Chicago Real Estate Board*, by Everett Cherrington Hughes, McGill University. These monographs are lithographed and are available to non-members of the Society at prices of \$1.00 and \$1.50 each, respectively. A few copies of *Soziologische Vorlesungen* in boards may be obtained for \$1.25 each.

Sociological prize competition.—The Sociological and Philosophical Societies in Vienna have organized a prize competition on "The Development of the Sociology of Cognition and Knowledge since Wilhelm Jerusalem." Essays must be submitted not later than December 31, 1932. For further information write to Dr. Walther Eckstein, Wien XVI, Kirchstetterngasse 49, Vienna, Austria.

Study of exotic customary law.—The "Salle de travail d'ethnologie juridique," founded in 1929 in the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris, has resolved to act provisionally as a central bureau for the study of exotic customary law. It therefore calls upon all those able to give

information about data concerning the non-codified law of one of the following eight groups, and proposes to publish such information in a bulletin once or twice a year: (a) oceanic law; (b) Japanese, Chinese, Annamite and Siamese law; (c) Indonesian law (Formosa, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malay Peninsula etc., the Chams of French Indo-China, Madagascar); (d) the indigenous law of India; (e) the law of Western Asia; (f) the indigenous law of northwestern Africa, of Tripoli and of Egypt; (g) the indigenous law of Central and South Africa; (h) the law of the indigenous populations of North, Central, and South America.

Communications may be addressed to M. le professeur René Maunier, 7 Avenue d'Orléans, à Paris 14e.

University of Arkansas: Dr. T. C. McCormick has been appointed assistant professor of sociology in charge of research and teaching in rural sociology, beginning September, 1931. Dr. McCormick was formerly at Oklahoma Teachers College at Ada, Oklahoma.

State Agricultural and Mechanical College, Jonesboro, Arkansas.—Carl W. Strow has been appointed professor of sociology beginning in the autumn, 1931.

Baker University.—William M. Balch, professor of sociology, has been appointed by Governor Woodring of Kansas to the State Commission for Crippled Children, and elected vice-chairman of that body. Some three thousand children are likely to become clients of the Commission.

Brown University.—Dr. Robert E. Lee Faris has been appointed instructor in sociology for the year 1931-32.

University of Buffalo.—Dr. Eleanor Larrabee Lattimore has been appointed as Assistant Professor of Sociology and Associate Director of the Curriculum of Social Work. Dr. Lattimore has been formerly on the faculty of the University of Missouri and of Bryn Mawr College.

University of Chicago.—Professor Robert E. Park is on leave of absence, and will be at the University of Hawaii as visiting professor for the greater part of the year 1931-32.

Professor E. H. Sutherland is on leave of absence for the autumn quarter 1931 in order to engage in special research in connection with the President's Research Committee on Social Trends.

Professor Samuel A. Stouffer will be engaged for the year 1931-32 in a study in England of "The Statistical Treatment of Small Samples of Sociological Data." The study is being made under grant of the Social

Science Research Council. For the year 1932-33, he has an appointment as assistant professor of social statistics at the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Louis Wirth is participating in the organization and the teaching of the first-year, general course in social science that is being offered in the college.

University of Hawaii.—Andrew W. Lind is returning to the faculty of the University of Hawaii after a year's leave of absence at the University of Chicago where he has just completed his work on his Doctor's degree.

University of Kansas.—Francis E. Merrill has been appointed instructor in sociology for one year beginning in the autumn, 1931.

University of Kentucky.—E. W. Montgomery has been appointed assistant professor of sociology beginning in the autumn, 1931.

University of Maine.—Professor Evelyn Buchan has been granted a leave of absence for one year in order to complete her work for the doctor's degree at the University of Chicago.

McGill University.—Everett C. Hughes, assistant professor of sociology, is on leave of absence for the year 1931-32, having obtained a research fellowship from the Social Science Research Council for study in Germany of "The Catholic and 'Christian' Trade-Unions, Co-operatives, and Political Parties of Germany in Their Relations to Secular or 'Neutral' Organizations Serving the Same Ends." His teaching position at McGill University will be filled by Paul F. Cressey, who has just returned from a year of research in India and parts of the Orient under grant of the Institute for Social and Religious Research.

New York University.—Paul G. Cressey is on leave of absence from Evansville College, where he was assistant professor of sociology. He will serve as instructor in educational sociology in New York University, and engage in the motion-picture study which Professor Frederick M. Thrasher is conducting.

University of Pittsburgh.—A special grant by the Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh has made possible some expansion of the Department of Sociology. A graduate Division of Courses in Social Work and Research has been established. The work in this division is entirely on a graduate basis. The staff has been reorganized to some extent. Dr. H. A. Phelps of Brown University has been added as professor of sociology and associate director of the Graduate Division; Assistant Professor Stephan is director of the Bureau of Social Research, filling the vacancy caused by

the resignation of Dr. G. A. Lundberg; Dr. V. C. Wright has been promoted to assistant professor; Dr. D. B. Rogers has been added as assistant professor; and Mr. Walter Lunden from Harvard, Mr. H. Kerr from West Virginia, and Miss Edith Nelson of Pittsburgh have been added to the former staff. The Department now has a staff of seven people devoting full time to the Department and nine devoting part time.

Sweet Briar College.—Professor Joseph K. Folsom, for seven years head of the department of economics and sociology, leaves Sweet Briar to become professor of economics and sociology at Vassar College. He has been on the faculty of the University of Virginia during the summer. His *Social Psychology* was published recently by Harper and Brothers.

Miss Belle Boone Beard, Lynchburg College, who is completing her graduate work at Bryn Mawr College, comes to Sweet Briar as associate professor of economics and sociology. Miss Beard will be the acting head of the department and will have immediate charge of the courses in sociology.

Miss Gladys Boone, Birmingham University, who has been a graduate student at Columbia University, will be an assistant professor of economics and fill a post that has been vacant for a year.

Mrs. Bertha Wailes, University of Virginia, will continue as the fourth member of the department, teaching courses in social work.

University of Washington.—Jesse F. Steiner, formerly of Tulane University, has accepted a position on the faculty as professor of sociology.

University of Wyoming.—Miss Cora K. Miller has been appointed as instructor in political economy and is also to teach courses in sociology. Her duties begin in the autumn, 1931.

PERSONAL NOTES

Samuel S. Dworkin, chairman of the Special Committee on Proprietary Nostrums, New York State Pharmaceutical Association, 151 St. Ann's Avenue, New York, would appreciate receiving from readers of *The American Journal of Sociology* materials in the way of newspaper clippings, pictures, books, bibliographical notices, or references to materials on folk medicine in Russia.

Mr. Paul Benjamin, secretary of the Social Hygiene Society of the District of Columbia, was in New York during July and August taking courses in social hygiene at the summer session of Columbia University.

BOOK REVIEWS

ies. Edited by KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: Henry
1931. Pp. xii+382.

Former students and colleagues dedicate this volume to W. I. Thomas in appreciation of his great influence upon the development of sociology and the concept of social attitudes. We have a regrettable tendency to emphasize some aspect of a man's work until it becomes a shorthand symbol for his entire contribution (Tarde, imitation; Giddings, gregariousness; etc.), resulting in distortion and neglect of his other contributions which may be very important. Unfortunate the thinker who coins a fortunate phrase. Some years ago it seemed "The Wishes" would come to symbolize Thomas. I hope this book will not cause students to think of "attitudes" whenever they think of Thomas. His contributions are too varied and stimulating to be reduced to a single concept, or magic phrase, especially to one so controversial and ill defined as "social attitude."

Despite the editor's statement that the essays give "some idea of the wide range of investigations in which the concept of social attitudes is found useful for analysis," it is little used in seven of the fifteen: E. F. Young, K. Young, McKenzie, Steiner, Znaniecki, Reuter, and Sutherland. Only five deal directly with it: Faris, Park, Bernard, Thrasher, and Bogardus. Three—Burgess, H. A. Miller, and Queen—use it incidentally. It may be argued that all use it by implication, but obviously a tool used only by implication is methodologically dangerous or useless, or both.

Further, the contributors do not show any great consensus in their use of "attitude." Faris and Park are probably in close agreement with Thomas and each other, but there are subtle differences between the three. Faris would substitute "object" for Thomas' "value" (pp. 10-11). Stating that Holt's "wish" is really the same as "attitude," Park regards wishes as components of attitudes but says that Faris distinguishes attitudes from wishes on the basis of latency and impulsiveness (pp. 30-31). Faris holds that attitudes are like Pareto's "residues," are always inferential, cannot be used to predict behavior in crisis situations or to predict surely any act, since the same stimulus may be a different object or different people. He says opinions and attitudes are likely to coincide

only when we are caught off our guard (pp. 12-13). Bernard says "attitude" is an incompleated, suspended, or inhibited act (p. 46) and disappears when complete intégration is achieved (p. 48). For Steiner, attitudes seem equivalent to folkways and mores (chap. vii); for Thrasher, the opinions of people about culture traits (chap. x); for Queen, tendencies to act as indicated by "gestures." Queen has a good brief discussion of the controversial nature of the concept (pp. 208-14). Bogardus says attitudes possess behavior-pattern bases which produce overt behavior that may be studied (pp. 291-92).

Space prevents special mention of all the essays, but those of Bernard on redirection of behavior, K. Young on language and social reality, with the suggestion that much so-called scientific thought is really derelictic, Bogardus on the Mexican immigrant, and Sutherland on mental deficiency and crime, seem the most significant to the reviewer. Queen's discussion of non-co-operation between clients and social workers may explain the futility of much social work. Park's section on mores is almost a classic.

The entire book is worth anyone's time and money.

READ BAIN

MIAMI UNIVERSITY
OXFORD, OHIO

Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. By GEORGES DAVY. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1931. Pp. vi+308. Paper, 40 fr.

Professor Davy's *Sociologists of Yesterday and Today* is not, as the title might suggest, a comprehensive review of recent development in sociology; except for brief mention of Tarde, Spencer, Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte, Le Play, Henri de Tourville, Demolins, and Paul Bureau, Davy confines his attention to four men: Espinas, Durkheim, McDougall, and Levy-Bruhl. This choice of material is justified by the author, in part, by the statements that (1) sociology as we know it today is essentially the product of the nineteenth century; and (2) the development of sociology in France in the nineteenth century is all that it is necessary to pay attention to in order to understand the contemporary status of the science. Those who are familiar with Small's *Origins of Sociology* will find it interesting to compare this short collection of essays by Professor Davy with the former work, in which Small sought to demonstrate that (1) sociology took shape in the nineteenth century, but (2) that the developments of history and social science in Germany may be so depicted as t

explain sufficiently the main characteristics and tendencies of present-day sociology.

In his Introduction, Davy dismisses the contribution of Tarde with the remark that Tarde was brilliant but not a sociologist; he was an individualist. The development of social thought and methods of investigation from Le Play through de Tourville and Demolins to Paul Bureau is treated as one of the main currents in the history of sociology in France, but is depicted as a special tendency which eventually converges with the sociology of Durkheim. The latter is assumed by Davy to be the climax and in some sense the norm of all sociological thought and method up to now. It is in this spirit that the four main essays which make up the volume are conceived. The author undertakes to show that the sociological theories of Espinas eventually come to agree with the riper and fuller thought of Durkheim. The treatment of McDougall is largely a critique based on the discrepancy between some of his assumptions and opinions and the Durkheim tradition. Levy-Bruhl's extensive writings on primitive mentality are examined with more discrimination, but here, too, Davy uses the theses of Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* as the touchstone by means of which to judge the soundness of Levy-Bruhl's analysis.

In other words, the volume before us is affected throughout with the character of special pleading. It is, however, worth-while reading for anyone who desires to increase or perfect his knowledge of recent and contemporary French sociology. The summary of Levy-Bruhl and Espinas is such as to be very serviceable to anyone who is not thoroughly familiar with these authors' books. Davy has taken as a sample of Durkheim's viewpoint and method one of the least familiar parts of his work, his treatment of the family.

The book lacks both index and bibliography.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Verhandlungen des Siebenten Deutschen Sociologentages. Edited by LEOPOLD VON WIESE. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1922. Pp. x+293.

The seventh German sociological conference was held in Berlin, September 28 to October 1, 1930. In the published *Proceedings* not only the prepared papers but stenographic notes of some of the extemporaneous discussion are given in full. The volume is accordingly an interesting

exhibit of the trend of interest and the divergence of points of view in German sociological circles. Perhaps the strongest impression which one gains by the examination of this volume is that the tendency of German sociologists to place first emphasis on fundamental, theoretical, and methodological questions continues unabated. In this seventh conference of the German Sociological Society there was one general sitting devoted to lectures and discussion on "The Press and Public Opinion"; while four "Untergruppen," corresponding more nearly to the divisions than to the sections of the American Sociological Society, dealt respectively with "The Formation of Concepts in Sociology," "The Sociology of Art," "Sociography," and "The German Race" (*Stämme*). Especially noteworthy are Professor von Eckardt's lecture on "The Press and Public Opinion," Dr. Stoltenberg's lecture on the sociological concepts, and the discussion aroused by Professor Tönnies' proposals for the formation of a separate subdiscipline to be called "sociography" (descriptive sociology, including statistical description of social situations). Professor Ferdinand Tönnies, the Nestor of German sociology, was president of the society at the time of this seventh conference.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

History of Fundamentalism. By STEWART G. COLE. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1931. Pp. xiv+360. \$2.50.

The Suffragette Movement. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931. Pp. xiv+631. \$7.50.

These two histories of social movements have much in common. They provide the sort of material which must be used in any attempt to analyze the mechanics of group action. Fundamentalism belongs to an important class of historical phenomena that has never been properly studied—the reactionary crowd and public. It is very like the Oxford Movement and the Counter Reformation and has many points in common with Fascism and the Hitlerites. Professor Cole may perhaps be too optimistic in his assumption that fundamentalism is defunct, but he is to be congratulated for the care with which he has collected and used many fugitive and ephemeral papers and pamphlets which give his narrative a vividness it would otherwise lack.

Sylvia Pankhurst's book makes great reading. It is more exciting than a dime novel and more rapid in its action than a movie. The British Suffragette Movement was autocratically managed by a small group of

beautiful and clever women who had command of a great deal of money. The stupid clumsiness of the government's attempt to repress these lovely "wild women" by police methods makes a perfect study of social pressures. Imagine the horror of the patrolman, the prison guards, and the chief inspector when young Jane Warton, seamstress, roughly handled in the police station for leading a violent mob, turned out to be the Lady Constance Lytton, sister of a wealthy and powerful nobleman! Herbert Gladstone, the cabinet minister responsible for the police, fled from his unlucky office and departed for South Africa as governor general. On another occasion the unfortunate bobbies locked up Lady Sybil Smith, the daughter of the Earl of Antrim. This beautiful, feminine aristocrat, we are told, "sat in her cell looking perfectly lovely in a delightful tea gown and golden slippers and obstinately refusing to taste the daintiest food." There was an ominous flutter among the nobility, and Lady Sybil was speedily released. Everybody concerned, including the magistrates, trembled at the danger of their position as law-enforcers. English society is hopelessly a caste affair, and a socially terrorized government gave women the vote. The idea that the suffrage was their reward for war service is political camouflage.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Essays on Population and Other Papers. By JAMES ALFRED FIELD.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xxix+440. \$3.50.

This volume includes all of the printed papers of the late Mr. Field, two manuscripts previously unpublished, three essays prepared by the editor from lecture notes and manuscript fragments, an outline of the university course on "The Standard of Living," and a catalogue of the population material in Mr. Field's library. The volume has a foreword by James Bonar and a brief biography by the editor, Helen Fisher Hohman.

The introductory essay on "The Malthusian Controversy in England" is printed here for the first time. It was written some twenty-five years ago probably as an introduction for a doctoral dissertation and was left unfinished. It is a piece of detailed historical investigation. The essay on "Eugenic Worth and Economic Value" is a general statement of the relation between material success and eugenic worth and admirably defines Mr. Field's position. It was read before the Toronto meeting of the

British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1924 but not previously published. "Malthus as the Starting-Point for Recent Discussion of Population Theory," "Paradoxes of Population Problems," and "Reflections on the Case for Birth-Control" are papers prepared by the editor from lecture notes and miscellaneous sources. The previously printed papers of Mr. Field require no comment here; they are well known to students of population.

The volume is competently edited and will be welcomed by the students of population as well as by the friends and former students of Mr. Field.

E. B. REUTER

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

The Key of Progress: A Survey of the Status and Conditions of Women in India. By SEVERAL CONTRIBUTORS. London: Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. ix+250.

Except for a mention of the obstacles which social custom sets up in the way of female education, there is hardly any reference in the Montagu-Chelmsford report to the women of India. It is a striking proof of the change which has come over the Indian scene in the last twelve years that no document discussing India's constitutional system and the directions in which it can be developed and improved could today omit reference to the women of India.

The object of this little volume is to present in convenient form to British readers the main facts concerning women in India and the various reform movements and efforts that are directed toward an improvement in their condition and status. The work was initiated and inspired by Miss Eleanor Rathbone, now M.P., one of the best-known leaders of the women's movement in Great Britain and well known in this country for her advocacy of the family-allowance wage given wide publicity by Professor Paul Douglas' book on the subject. The committee had the benefit of two great reports—the Interim Report of the Statutory Commission on Education and the Report of the Age of Consent Committee. In addition to these bodies of organized material, the opinion of experts was sought by means of a questionnaire which brought in extremely interesting testimony from many groups representing many of the innumerable bodies of experience and opinion that make up the thought of that unhappy subcontinent. The report deals first with the problem of education, giving the facts with reference to the pitiful illiteracy of 98 per cent of the female population and with reference to the increasing disparity

between the amounts of money spent on the schools for boys and on the schools for girls. The difficulty of providing educational facilities under the conditions of village organization, of caste separation, of child marriage, of lack of women teachers, can scarcely be imagined; it cannot be described. Yet progress can be discerned, and the items in an effective program can, at least, be enumerated. It is interesting to note that the first and most important is, to the writers, the nationalization of the administrative responsibility.

There is a chapter on health and sanitation in which the shocking conditions surrounding expectant mothers and the experiences connected with child-bearing are described always in terms of the official reports. There are widespread suffering, debility, and waste of life, a vast proportion of which is preventable. Larger expenditures on health programs, more health officials, the setting-up of a women's medical service, and the creation of a bureau of maternity and infancy are among the agencies urged by the writers.

The chapter on women in public life is interesting. The book was written before Madam Naidu sat in the middle of the street (after Gandhi had been put in jail), and held back the British officials. There is a Federation of University Women; there are five provincial women's councils having for their object the association of women of all races toward the furtherance of education and social welfare.

Since 1925 there is a National Council of Women, and, most important, an All India Women's Conference on educational and social reform to promote education and to deal with even such matters as child marriage and purdah. The proceedings of these conferences are published in English, Hindi, and Urdu.

There are chapters on home and marriage, women in rural life, women in industry, and a chapter is devoted to the two great evils, the Devadasis, or religious prostitution, and commercial prostitution. There is likewise an interesting chapter on the dependents of Indian soldiers, and an Appendix in which considerable portions of Sir John Simon's report are summarized and thus made easily available. There is likewise a very full and very valuable bibliography.

The writers have allowed the facts to speak for themselves, and they portray a picture of misery and suffering. Like many outstanding Indian reformers, however, they refuse to "abandon hope"; and they rationally emphasize the essential importance to the commonwealth of improving the status of the women. It is for the sake of the whole that a benefit to a portion is urged.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE

Ibn-Khaldoun, sa philosophie sociale. By GASTON BOUTHOU. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1930. Pp. 94. 20 fr.

The great Arab precursor of modern sociology and sociological history. Ibn Khaldoun (1332-1406) can no longer be overlooked by present-day sociologists, historians, and philosophers. Aside from Macdonald's notes and translations, done with Scotch-Presbyterian conscientiousness, they now have access to four excellent modern studies. The great Egyptian historian, Taba Husain, opens the dance with his Sorbonne dissertation in 1918. Our own Nathaniel Schmidt in a Columbia study (1930) gives the best bibliographical survey. Dr. Kamil Ayad in a German study, *Die Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Halduns* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1930), traces the connection of Ibn Khaldoun with his Arabic predecessors. And now Bouthoul does what Ibn Khaldoun himself would have desired; he explains him in the limits of his time and place. The four works complement each other admirably and should be on the desk of every modern sociologist interested in the history of his science.

M. SPRENGLING

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Introduction to Research in American History. By HOMER CAREY HOCKETT. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xiv+168. \$2.00.

Professor Hockett's little book is a valuable aid to beginners in research in American history. It is a conventional but intelligent and thoughtful guide to the formulation of a problem, the gathering of data, note-taking, the criticism of materials, the organization of knowledge, and the construction of historical narrative. The book should be of great practical utility to students who are first entering a seminary in American history. It will save much wasted time and give order and precision to the work of anybody fitted to be thus engaged. But there will be no stimulation to originality or curiosity. Even in his bibliography Professor Hockett seems deliberately to have excluded all books on historical method which attempt to breathe a breath of new life into the dead bones of historical research and interpretation.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
NEW YORK CITY

Lewis Henry Morgan, Social Evolutionist. By BERNHARD J. STERN.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. ix+221. \$2.50.

This book begins with an interesting and illuminating sketch of Morgan's life. The remaining chapters deal with major phases of his work: "The League of the Iroquois," "Systems of Consanguinity," "Animal Psychology," "Critique of Mexican Annalists," and "Ancient Society" (his *magnum opus*). This sketch will be valuable to students of the history of anthropology, since it pictures well the status of this science in the last half of the nineteenth century. Morgan's contacts with such men as Maine, McLennan, Taylor, Bachofen (who dedicated a book to Morgan), Darwin, Lubbock, and others are interestingly recounted. Morgan's influence among American and Australian anthropologists, too, was considerable.

Ancient Society became a classic among Marxian Socialists and is read assiduously and widely by them today. Mr. Stern's treatment of this phase of Morgan's work is illuminating and instructive.

Throughout his book Mr. Stern endeavors to set forth Morgan's work both in the light of his contemporaries and of his present-day American critics. This critical appraisal is chiefly with recording the views of others, and the account is faithful and useful. But the author occasionally expresses estimates and views as his own. To one of these the reviewer must take exception. He states: ". . . cultures, no matter how primitive, are too complex and the forms of combinations of social institutions too variable to fit into *any definite social evolutionary scheme*" (p. 135; reviewer's italics). Mr. Stern, like many preceding critics, points out errors of Morgan's procedure, and then throws overboard the concept of evolutionary development of culture. This is quite unwarranted, in the reviewer's opinion. Mr. Morgan's shortcomings in the seventies do not invalidate a concept of cultural evolution in 1931.

LESLIE A. WHITE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Story of a Village Community. By HENRY ORMAL SEVERANCE.
New York: Stechert. Pp. 178. \$2.00.

This is a chatty record of the history and daily life of Walled Lake, Michigan, by a "home town boy." Mr. Severance lived in or near the village from 1876 to 1890. His record contains nothing of value for the social scientist, although such chapters as "Development of Business

Interests," "The District School," "Religious Activities," and "Social and Political Activities" offer homely anecdotal material. Four pages of references on Walled Lake and an eighteen-page general bibliography assemble a wide range of citations on small community life and problems. The author is Librarian at the University of Missouri.

ROBERT S. LYND

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Labor and the Sherman Act. By EDWARD BERMAN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1930. Pp. xviii+332. \$3.00.

The thesis of this study may be stated very briefly. The Sherman and Clayton Acts are cumbersome and ambiguous. As interpreted by the courts, they have unreasonably restrained the legitimate activities of organized labor. But the remedy for the situation lies not in further legislation to clarify the meaning of these statutes, but in a willingness on the part of the courts themselves to adopt a new set of legal concepts in deciding cases under them.

In the first portion of the book, the author undertakes to refute the argument that the Sherman Act was intended by Congress to apply to organized labor. The evidence presented is strong, but one has the feeling that Mr. Berman relies a little too much on the expressions of opinion in congressional debates, as well as implications from amendments passed or rejected, to prove his case. After all, a statute is usually a compromise formula, agreed to by each member of Congress for differing reasons. In many cases it is certainly true that the members themselves do not grasp the full implications of the measure they approve. Certainly this was true with the Clayton Act. This makes it extremely difficult to prove congressional intent, regardless of the strength of the evidence presented.

The second part of the book is a study of the decisions of the courts interpreting anti-trust statutes. The author has made a special effort to secure all the cases obtainable, including those in the Federal District Court and the Circuit Court of Appeals, as well as those in the Supreme Court. The workmanship in this portion of the book is excellent. The field is exhausted, the decisions are carefully and accurately described, and the author has gone much beyond the printed reports of the cases in his efforts to secure information which will explain the decisions. Perhaps the crowning virtue is the fairness of the author. Although the concluding chapters reveal his distinct bias in favor of the trade unions, he has

not permitted this prejudice to influence the accuracy of his interpretation of the judicial decisions.

The third part of the book, containing the author's conclusions, is by far the most interesting and important section. It is pointed out that the courts hold unions liable under the anti-trusts acts if the overt acts were done with an *intent* to restrain interstate commerce. Mr. Berman insists that this criterion is most unsatisfactory. The courts have no satisfactory technique for locating and analyzing this intent. The result is an inevitable ambiguity resulting from conflicting decisions.

For this criterion of *intent* Mr. Berman would substitute a doctrine of *reasonableness*. Thus labor activity should be considered an unreasonable restraint of interstate trade if it substantially hinders that commerce, and if there is no counterbalancing social advantage. The difficulty with such a criterion of reasonableness is, of course, that the courts are fully as unable to reach agreement on it as on the concept of intent. Ideas like "socially desirable," "substantial interference," and "reasonable activity" are certainly not open to but one interpretation. The reviewer quite agrees with the author that it would be highly desirable for the court to take greater account of social considerations. But there is no need to raise the false hope that this will lead to greater certainty in the law. Social conflicts will make the law uncertain as long as judges are human.

RODNEY L. MOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Criminal Justice in Virginia. By HUGH N. FULLER. New York: Century Co., for the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia, 1931. Pp. ix+195. \$12.25.

Professor Fuller has in this book added a notable contribution to the growing mass of accurate information that we have about the criminal courts of this country. In the face of more than usual difficulties of securing the raw material, he has succeeded in producing a study which is a model of concise reporting and analysis. It will prove especially interesting to those students of criminal justice who have been wanting to know whether changes are taking place in our courts. The earlier studies in Cleveland, Missouri, Illinois, etc., have dealt with a single period of a year or two years. This work covers three years—1917, 1922, 1927; and certain facts paralleling discoveries elsewhere are found to be representa-

tive of a definite trend. The most notable of these is the growth in the use of the plea of guilty.

The study covers twenty-six counties and eight cities. The units chosen were carefully selected to be representative of the state as a whole. One chapter gives a careful analysis, with rates, of the amount and kind of crime, as measured by the cases entering the courts during these four years, for all areas combined and for each area separately. From 1917 to 1927 the felony rate (so measured) increased 105 per cent, the non-liquor felony rate 50 per cent, and the liquor-felony rate 3,277 per cent. Disposition of cases and a study of sentences are the subjects of the next two chapters. The chapter on "Official Opinions" of judges, justices, and commonwealth's attorneys is one of the best illustrations of the weaknesses of this method of studying the criminal courts, as contrasted with the statistical method which is the principal means used in the study.

A few of the outstanding results may be summarized as follows:

The jury is losing ground in Virginia. Sentences were longer in 1927 than in 1917, and pleas of guilty seemed to be associated with shorter sentences. Time elapsed is, as usual, shorter for cases pleading guilty than for those convicted, and for those in which guilt is established, than for all cases.

Due to the limits fixed by the quality of the court records, the number of items studied is small. Nevertheless, the picture resulting has a clarity and cogency which some of the more elaborate studies do not have. Professor Fuller has nowhere exceeded sound limits of inference from his data, and the work is a fine addition to the growing list of first-class studies that have been coming out of a number of the more progressive southern universities.

C. E. GEHLKE

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Middletown: a Study of Contemporary Culture. By ROBERT S. LYND and HELEN MERRILL LYND. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1929. Pp. x+550. \$5.00.

From many different standpoints *Middletown* is a notable work. As Clark Wissler points out in his Preface, it is "a pioneer attempt to deal with a sample American community after the manner of social anthropology." The techniques employed, however, were no slavish imitation of the procedure of the anthropologist, but a skilful and resourceful application of his viewpoint to the description of the life and culture of the small American city.

The Lynds, assuming the rôle of participant observers in the life of the community, did not confine themselves to the research methods of the anthropologists; they offer a telling exhibit of the result of combining the chief techniques available in American social science, namely, use of documentary materials, compilation of statistics, interviews, and questionnaires. In fact, their success in utilizing and presenting both case-study and statistical materials is one of the achievements of the volume.

An outstanding contribution to the methods of community study was their decision to concentrate upon community behavior in the two years 1890 and 1924, rather than to trace in detail community evolution in the intervening years. This gave the work the character of a study of social trends in American culture rather than merely that of a social history of an individual community.

The permanent value of the work, as in part indicated by the immediate and widespread interest it evoked, inheres in its picture not merely of one small city in United States but of contemporary American culture. The contrast between technological progress and cultural lag, particularly in intellectual and religious life, has nowhere else been so convincingly and dramatically expressed. Significant as is this volume to us, it will be still more interesting to succeeding generations in explaining the paradoxes of an age of scientific advance but of medieval survivals, an age of Thomas Edison and William Jennings Bryan, of Jane Addams and Aimee Semple McPherson.

With full recognition of the permanent place of this volume as a classic study of American culture, the suggestion may perhaps be made that further inquiries should probe into the interrelations between personality development and community life. This volume on the culture of an American town should have as its counterpart a study of the human nature of community life of the intimate and sympathetic kind suggested by the writings of Cooley and Mead and forecast impressionistically by Master's *Spoon River Anthology* and Hummel's *Sub-soil*.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Die Kunst der Massenbeeinflussung in den Vereinigten Staaten. By FRIEDRICH SCHÖNEMANN. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1926. Pp. 212.

The author introduces himself as a "Reichsdeutscher" who had to (*musste*) spend the whole war period in the United States, and therefore

had an opportunity to learn America "from an entirely special, and certainly, unforgettable side." He is a professional student of our literature and culture history. He evidently likes our fiction, especially *Main Street* and *Babbitt*. As a sociological survey of certain phases of our American culture the author's technique reminds one somewhat of *Middletown*. His book is a piece of real research, copiously documented with specific references to our periodical and general literature.

Dr. Schönemann apparently had two books up his sleeve—one on propaganda, and one on American life in general. He seems to have been unable to decide which one to "leave in the inkstand," so he mixed his material all together and called it "*The Art of Propaganda*." Like the old Yankee who mixed a little cider and a lot of dried apple sauce, with the explanation, "makes it *all* good." For example, one of his most interesting chapters is about American women as bearers, or agents, (*Träger*) of propaganda. There is nothing much about propaganda in the chapter; but evidently his wife envied our women their American liberties and wished she could stay here (if Fritz could only get a job!). Similarly, between the lines of almost every chapter he pays incidental, almost unintentional, compliments to various folkways and mores of American society—not including prohibition, however!

His chapter on our schools is especially interesting to an American educator—or ought to be, at least. Take this surprising accusation, for example:

That the broad American folk masses do not see the deep shadow-sides (e.g., the slums) of their democracy is in the end also a result of the education of their folk schools. The lower classes are educated . . . to regard the social conditions as not merely endurable but even noble, and to adapt themselves to the direction and regulation of the hereditary ruling classes. In which connection it must not be forgotten that these overlords operate not only through instruction and discipline but also—and without much thought—through force and brutality. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that the folk masses in America are better trained to stand under the social ferule than anywhere else in the world—the czarist Russians alone excepted. It is true that public opinion in America both during and since the World War indicates a decade-long mismanagement of schooling. For this reason there is scarcely a folk mass in the whole world that can, so easily as the Americans, be stampeded or led around by the nose.

His chapter on the press as a bearer of war propaganda is as comprehensive and enlightening a survey of the subject as could well be crowded into forty well-documented pages. The other bearers of propaganda, to each of which a chapter is devoted, are: the church, the movies, and the

various clubs—commercial, patriotic, and social. This last is under the chapter title, "The Business World and the Clubs"; but so far as the business world is concerned, the chapter is a disappointment.

To entitle this book "The Art of Propaganda" is a misnomer. The technique is not discussed, at least not the tricks of the trade behind the scenes. A more descriptive title would be, "The Scope, Aims, and Influence of War and Post-War Propaganda." The Professor is mad about the way we "lied" about the Germans; and he apparently thinks his fellow-countrymen ought to be "wised up" about it. He is undertaking to set the world right, not only about the "legends of Belgian atrocities," but also about the "ghost of the Belgian invasion." He not only wants the world to understand that Germany had nothing to do with starting the war, but also that America's primary motive for coming into it was to hamstring German competition in the world-markets. He even has a clear conscience over what Bismarck did to France in 1871. Nevertheless, despite the handful of salt with which Americans (due to propaganda!) would naturally take his rationalizations, the book would be exceedingly valuable to us, in three respects: first, the information it furnishes on the subject of war propaganda (including the surprising fact that Germany did not use it); second, but far more important, the opportunity it would give us Americans to see ourselves as others see us; and, third, its contribution to the discussion of public opinion in a democracy, including the formulation of the same. Some American publisher, therefore, should (and probably could at a profit) give us an English translation of this book, for which the author himself is apparently quite competent to furnish the copy.

ROSS L. FINNEY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The Martyrs, A Study in Social Control. By DONALD W. RIDDLE.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xiv+231. \$3.00.

The United States has long led the world in the study of the psychology of religion. If it can produce more books like *The Martyrs* it may attain a similar pre-eminence in the study of the sociology of religion. The religious sect is able to develop greater social solidarity than any other human group. The process by which this feat was accomplished in one important instance is explained in this book. Its subject is the methods by which the early Christian church controlled its members—controlled them so completely that in many cases they chose torture and death

rather than give up their membership in the Christian fellowship. The persecutions are studied as conflicts between the rulers of the church and the rulers of the state for the supreme allegiance of the people. The rulers of the church won because of their superior technique in producing attitudes of loyalty.

It is only just to say that while the author is a learned and able scholar, he acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor S. J. Case for his method. Dr. Case probably has done more than any other living man to co-ordinate the phenomena of early church history with the ordinary processes of social life. In fact, the findings of this book are, as the author states, to be regarded as data for the technical use of sociologists.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Catholic Encyclopaedic Dictionary. Edited by DONALD ATTWATER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. 576. \$4.00.

English Catholics, many of them recent converts to the Catholic church or sons and daughters of converts, continue to show amazing zeal for their new-found faith. Whether as members of the Catholic Evidence Guild they expound Catholic doctrine in Hyde Park, or as journalists and writers they engage with unsurpassed energy in the field of apologetics, their ardor excels that of the crusaders, and their catholicism is more orthodox than that of the pope. The latest product to come from this group is the *Catholic Encyclopaedic Dictionary*. It is put forward "as a general work of quick reference to the signification of the words, terms, names; and phrases in common use" in the Catholic church. In the main it is well done and scholarly. Why, however, it is necessary to conclude the article on "Economics" with "the science must conduct its investigations and present its conclusions with due regard to the moral law," or to define for either Catholic or non-Catholic "Evil sounding" as "a proposition . . . offensive to pious ears" is beyond the understanding even of the most sympathetic. Why the compilers enter into political controversy in concluding the article on "Wesleyanism" with "it played a considerable part in foisting Prohibition on that country [i.e., the United States]" is not readily explicable. The British Labor party is washed clean of the taint of Marxianism in the article on "Socialism," wherein we learn that the term *socialism* "has unfortunately been attached to more moderate reforming movements such as the Fabian

Society and the British Labor Party." With this the Third International is in unqualified agreement. It is comforting to note in the article on "Hell" that "the number of lost is unknown and the loss of no individual person has been revealed." All of which reminds us of the remark of the humble Franciscan who said that his Church teaches him to believe in Hell but does not insist that he believe anyone has gone there. Maybe when the place cools off life will evolve!

JEROME G. KERWIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Europe and the American Civil War. By DONALDSON JORDAN and EDWIN J. PRATT. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. Pp. xii+299. \$4.00.

The diplomatic side of the Southern war for independence has been adequately studied; but the public opinion that lay back of Europe's attitudes in that struggle has been largely neglected. To supply this need, two doctoral dissertations have, at the suggestion of Professor S. E. Morison, been re-worked into a single volume. Dr. Jordan has written the first seven chapters to reveal from newspapers, pamphlets, and contemporary writings the sentiment in England; Dr. Pratt supplies four chapters to cover the attitudes on the Continent. Together they have produced a volume of exceptional value.

The findings are largely those that might have been expected. In both England and France the people were keenly interested in the American struggle; and public opinion, as never before, exerted weight with the foreign ministers. Two groups appeared—the one favorable to the North, the other to the South—with the friends of "the republican idea" on one side and the supporters of European absolutism on the other.

In England, slavery upset the scale, and the "nonconformist conscience" of the plain people had its way. Neither Palmerston nor Russell dared to go against it. On this basis Dr. Jordan offers new evidence to show that the old notion of a hostile England is not well founded. She was far more friendly to the North than the average man has believed. He also questions the old assumption of extreme suffering on the part of labor from the cutting off of cotton, and makes it clear that even in the Trent affair there was a large element that kept its head.

Dr. Pratt, also, finds more of amity on the part of the French people than the hostile attitude of Napoleon III permitted to appear in diplomatic relations. Certain groups were susceptible to "the charming type of

Southern lady, who with her husband and daughters frequently made her home in Paris," but the yearly debates in the Lower Chamber on the "Reply to Address," were always "quite temperate." Lincoln's emancipation policy held the balance fairly well against the Mexican expedition, as far as the common man was concerned, and left little doubt as to the final action of the government.

The triumph of national integrity in the victory of the North brought new fears of America as a first-rate power; it stimulated English liberalism, and it left irritating problems as an aftermath which engendered hostility between England and the United States for many years. But it also represented a victory for the common man of the Old World and marked the triumph of liberal ideas in part.

The book is well written, and a splendid bibliography is appended.

AVERY CRAVEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social and Economic History of the United States. Vol. I, From Handicraft to Factory, 1500-1820. By H. J. CARMAN. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1930. Pp. xii+616.

Without creating an essentially new pattern or synthesis, Professor Carman has written, in a lucid and interesting style, what many social scientists will regard as the most satisfactory text on American history. Although the book is entitled *Social and Economic History of the United States*, its author wisely includes the political, intellectual, and aesthetic interests of the American people. Believing that social and economic factors constitute the warp and woof of our political life, Professor Carman has admirably correlated political behavior with economic and social motives and experiences. One sees, for example, in clear outlines the development of social classes and economic groups and understands many of their relationships with each other and with the mother-country. It is plain that Professor Carman has learned much from Charles Beard, from James Harvey Robinson, and, to a lesser extent, from Frederick J. Turner. But he has not learned as much from social scientists other than historians as one could wish. He has not, for example, succeeded in explaining the intellectual, emotional, and aesthetic problems and achievements of the American people nearly so well as he has their economic and political behavior. Though he has devoted almost a hundred pages out of five hundred and seventy to religious, intellectual, and aesthetic mat-

ters, this treatment is too often superimposed and descriptive rather than expository and interpretative. One is pleased with the attention given to propaganda—a new note in comprehensive surveys of our history. When an author has been so successful in producing an unusually catholic picture of our civilization, it is perhaps ungracious to wish that he might have included still other things. Yet one cannot but regret the omission of so important a matter as attitudes toward sex and morals.

Some day someone—will it be perhaps a sociologist or social psychologist rather than a historian?—may write an American history not only as inclusive and lucid as this one, but with a really fresh organization and insight which will throw further light on the perplexing problem of why things happened as they did, and what the meaning of the historical process in America really is. Until then, this admirable book of Professor Carman will be a boon to teacher and student and will rank high among the syntheses of our historical development.

MERLE CURTI

SMITH COLLEGE

The Marxian Theory of the State. By SHERMAN H. M. CHANG.
Philadelphia: J. Spencer, 1931. Pp. xi+230. \$2.50.

The author introduces his interesting study with the remark that the Marxian theory of the state has been neglected in the social sciences. As Marx denies the state, it is evident that we would not find too much of his theories in books which deal with that subject. But whether this remark holds true for sociological publications may be doubted. This, however, does not diminish the value of a very accurate and conscientious study of Marx's theories. After an introduction on the philosophical background, Mr. Chang outlines the class-domination doctrine and the other phases of the Marxian theory of the state. He tries to prove the identity of original Marxism and modern communism. This part shows dialectical ability but is not convincing in its statement that the guiding rôle of the Communist party does not interfere with the idea of a proletarian dictatorship. It is certainly not possible to regard Russian communism as a strict realization of the Marxian theory, and all efforts of Lenin's philosophy in this direction sound somewhat artificial.

At the end of the book a few little-known publications on Marxian theory are added.

BARTH LANDHEER

ROTTERDAM

America's Way Out: A Program for Democracy. By NORMAN THOMAS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. ix+324. \$2.50.

Like all treatises on socialism, Mr. Thomas' book is more interesting in the critical than in the constructive part. He paints in a vivid way the absurdities and inconsistencies of modern society. The social sciences are condemned for their rationalization of the main tendencies of the individualistic and capitalistic system. The great errors of our present society are evident in waste of various sorts: "wastes of idle men, wastes in the production of profitable illth rather than true wealth, wastes in lack of co-ordination or social planning, wastes in the reckless exploitation of raw materials" (p. 31).

Mr. Thomas points out that to deny the necessity of a planned and co-ordinated control means to be content with a chaotic and unadjusted society. No solution can be expected from the modern managerial policies, which work mainly as a palliative and are at the same time undemocratic.

After treatment of the different socialistic theories, the author develops his ideas about "realistic socialism." This experimental socialism takes into account the rapid changes in the mental and economic structure of our society and tries to avoid all dogmatism. Its ideals are based more on the desire for justice and brotherhood than on the resentment against class injustice.

The further development of these ideas into concrete proposals for adjustment of the economic system shows the author's thorough knowledge of the American scene. The book is altogether one of the ablest contributions of the last years toward a better solution of social problems.

BARTH LANDHEER

ROTTERDAM

Politics. By HAROLD J. LASKI. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1931. Pp. 160. \$1.00.

In this delightful little volume, which is intended to be read in an hour but which furnishes food for many hours' thought, Professor Laski summarizes his views regarding the nature and organization of the state and its place in contemporary society, behind and beyond national frontiers. The views expressed are, on the whole, not new, for they have been set forth at length in the author's *Grammar of Politics* and in his various books on sovereignty. But they are here presented so charmingly, so

lucidly, so suggestively that the book is no mere popularization of what, under another's pen, would be dull, but rather a sparkling literary presentation of the more fundamental problems of political science and of the answers given to them by a keen and refreshing liberal thinker.

With Laski, as with all pluralists, there is no line between political and social theory. The state is but one among many social institutions, all of which play their rôles in regulating human conduct. The assumed "sovereignty" of the state is his favorite target; and he here insists, as always, that it is a pernicious fiction, having no relation to reality either in domestic or in international affairs, but all too often constituting a cloak for tyranny within the state and for anarchy between states. The state must justify itself by promoting the happiness of its subjects and by serving the interests of the groups which are affected by its acts. In dealing with other states it must put general interests above special interests and subordinate national sovereignty to international organization if disaster is to be avoided. In this double endeavor to make the state the servant instead of the master of the race, success is potentially attainable. But Professor Laski is not too hopeful. "A generation . . . like our own, whose feet lie so near to the abyss, has no right to optimism about its future; the fact that it knows the way is no proof that it will choose the way."

This line of logic raises innumerable questions of immense importance to every social scientist—far too many to be dealt with lightly in a passing résumé. Only one calls imperatively for comment: the rôle of a state based upon a theory of political democracy and of collective social action on behalf of the general welfare in a society based upon economic oligarchy and the pursuit of private gain by the holders of economic power. Can the state fulfil the broad purpose of contributing to general human welfare in a social and economic order in which the chief incentive to action is personal acquisitiveness and the quest for profits? Professor Laski does not shirk the question. But he does not answer it. He concedes that the existence of great economic inequalities renders futile all efforts at "socializing" the state. He grants that all efforts to make the state an agency to serve the needs of all its citizens are largely thwarted by the interests of the privileged groups which control governments. But here he stops, as all liberal democratic theorizing stops, before a wall, not quite willing to accept the implications of the premises, not quite able to forge weapons to break down the wall, not quite prepared to join in any assault upon privilege and property, fearing, perhaps, that in the resulting chaos even pluralistic liberalism would become irrelevant. Here are the limits

which circumscribe all political philosophizing in a sick bourgeois society. And here, perhaps, are the sources of its own pessimism.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Economic Life of Soviet Russia. By CALVIN B. HOOVER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. 361. \$3.00.

Making Bolsheviks. By SAMUEL N. HARPER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. 167. \$2.00.

The Ochrana: The Russian Secret Police. By A. T. VASSILEYEV. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1931. Pp. 305. \$4.00.

Amid the endless flood of books on Russia only those are of value which make a genuine contribution to a better understanding, on the part of an uncomprehending and hostile world, of a gigantic adventure. All three books under consideration here make certain contributions in this direction: the first, by sketching the problems of industry and agriculture in a controlled economy directed by a proletarian dictatorship; the second, by painting pictures of the new types of leaders who have emerged out of the Revolution; and the third, by furnishing a first-hand account of one of the most effective instruments of power of the tsardom—the secret political police. Professor Hoover's analysis is suggestive and useful, so long as he confines it to economics, as he does throughout most of the book. When he seeks to deal with social, political, and ethical implications, he falls into difficulties and sometimes into absurdities, since his historical background appears meager and his perspective limited.

Professor Harper's attractive little volume, admittedly a popular portrayal of the Party-Worker, the Young Communist, the Shock-Brigade Worker, the Collectivist Peasant, the Social-Cultural Worker, and the Red Army Man. The portraits are well executed, and the painter's brush is deftly used to lend life and color to the new *cadres* of Soviet Russia. The visitor to this gallery will catch more of the spirit and of the driving social forces behind the new order than he could possibly grasp from painful perusal of many volumes of dehumanized dissection.

The posthumous memoirs of the last chief of the tsarist political police constitute a significant social document, with many illustrations and an introduction by René Fülöp-Miller. The book is a personal apologia and a defense of tyranny by a faithful servant of tyrants. For the lay reader

it is an exciting story of plot and counterplot, of murder, oppression, and revolution, culminating in the assassination of Rasputin and the final débâcle of the autocracy. For the social scientist, it is enormously revealing of the mechanisms of espionage, the technique of provocation, and the administrative organization developed by the tsardom to suppress the inevitable explosion of an outraged populace. It also throws light, unwittingly, on the psychology of anti-Semitism and on the political and social attitudes of reactionary bureaucrats everywhere. Vassilyev's comments on the revolution and the Soviet régime show that he died a Bourbon, never realizing that the sowers of the wind must reap the whirlwind. His blindness is paralleled by the bewilderment of a puzzled world at the whirlwind itself. To those who are baffled by the inadequacies of an old way of life and who lack the vision and imagination to restore youth to a decrepit civilization, the storm and furor of a new way of life must remain largely incomprehensible, however many books may be written to describe it.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

England, the Unknown Isle. By PAUL COHEN-PORTHEIM. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1931. Pp. 237.

Within the last few years, a number of books have appeared which endeavored to explain the English to some non-English group. Dibelius addressed the Germans, Siegfried the French, Gaus the Americans, and now Cohen-Portheim, who was born in Berlin of Austrian-Spanish-Jewish stock and who has lived in Austria, Italy, Spain, France, England, and other parts of Europe, has discovered England anew. His discovery has all the freshness of a first exploration. From the standpoint of literary style, his book, translated by Alan Harris, is far superior to any of those mentioned. He is not as exhaustive as Dibelius, he is not as well versed in economics as Siegfried, and he is not as politically minded as Gaus; but within a short compass he has given a brilliant analysis of British traits. In his conclusion, he states:

I have attempted in this book to investigate these characteristic features of the English nature in many spheres, alike in social life and town-planning, in literature and education, in politics and sport, and to demonstrate that the guiding lines are everywhere the same and never consciously realized. . . . England is individualistic, convinced of the inequality of individuals and races, and hence believes in the aristocratic principle and the hierarchical structure of

society, and for that reason also in toleration, which is the recognition of inequalities, in individual liberty and in justice, which respects all divergencies.

This theme has been elaborated in a skilful and entertaining manner. Particularly discerning are his discussions of the spiritual bond that ties the Empire together, the varied character of London, why vice is absent from the older university towns, why there is no Jewish problem in England, why the *London Times* exercises such an important influence on journalism, and why England is the great champion of the world-supremacy of the white man.

Cohen-Portheim is more sympathetic than Dibelius, more optimistic than Siegfried, and somewhat more critical than Gaus.

The author recognizes the danger of trying to get a common denominator for a whole nation, but this does not save him from talking about "The Englishman." He has oversimplified his subject matter, and he is prone to sweeping and startling generalizations, but he has done these things in such a charming manner that one is inclined to excuse him.

HAROLD F. GOSNELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

God in Freedom. By LUIGI LUZZATTI. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. xxxix+794. \$5.00.

This book might serve as a compendium of source material on the struggle for freedom of conscience. Professor Luzzatti has put into it the devotion of a lifetime. His materials are assembled from the culture histories of all the world and from all ages. Included are stories of religious persecution, dramatic struggles for religious freedom, and little-known expressions of liberalism from heroic spirits of all time. The documented history of the achievement of freedom in religion in modern states is especially valuable. The status of the Jew in the world of today, as one of the problems of emancipation not yet solved, stands forth in historical perspective, with the materials unified and the specific nature of the problem in each country clearly indicated.

The English translation of Luzzatti's essays is issued as a volume in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of religious freedom in America. To Luzzatti's work is added an American supplement which is largely devoted to the contribution of Americans to the all-too-tardy emancipation of Jewish minorities in various parts of the world.

In developing his theory of religious freedom the author cites three typical forms of adjustment of the state to religion, illustrated by the United States of America, Japan and India in Asia, and France in Europe. His ideal is complete freedom of religion and of science within the sovereign state. So great is his devotion to freedom that he gives praise for liberality in cases where more disinterested observers might discover more lowly motives, as, for instance, in the case of British policy in India or of the new governmental action in Japan. Moreover, Buddhism finds it historically, psychologically, and socially much easier to preach and to practice religious tolerance than could ever be possible in the case of the Christian church with its necessary claim to revealed eternal truth and divine authority.

The importance of Professor Luzzatti's work is historical. The principle he fought for during all his life has been established. But the form of religion to which he sought to give freedom is now passing away. If religion becomes, as in the new world it promises to become, once more a vital thing, a way of social living, the hope of separating such a religious program from business and political structure by detachment will be impossible. When religious ideals can be actualized only through intelligent direction and organization of economic and social relations the detachment of religion from the effective controls of group living would be not freedom but futility.

A. EUSTACE HAYDON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Lectures on Ethics. By EMMANUEL KANT. Translated from the German by LOUIS INFELD, and an Introduction by Dr. PAUL MENZER. New York: Century Co., 1930. Pp. 253. \$2.50.

This book represents an attempt toward the construction of a text of Kant's class lectures on ethics from three students' notebooks. The notebook taken as the basis was apparently on lectures delivered by Kant for the semester 1780-81, though there is internal evidence that the lectures were written in whole or in part by 1775. The editor presents the book, then, as substantially the lectures of Kant between the years 1775 and 1781. It will be remarked that this covers the period just before the publication of his first critique, and represents the background from which still later his critical work on morality was to issue. Since Kant was publishing nothing else during these years, the lectures help us more fully to document the continuous growth of his mind. As would naturally be

expected, the style is more informal than that of the critiques. The sentences are short. Illustrations abound. We see here a mind of great abstract power moving over the concrete problems of life and conscience from which imperatives, hypothetical and categorical, were destined to emerge.

The book falls into two parts, "Universal Practical Philosophy" and "Ethics." The range of subjects is very large—from occupations to world-peace, from prayer to adultery. The main emphasis is what we already know as Kantianism in ethics, duty for duty's sake. Freedom is the central principle, not only for moral autonomy, but for moral progress in the world. "The end, therefore, for which man is destined, is to achieve his fullest perfection through his own freedom. God's will is not merely that we should be happy, but that we should make ourselves happy, and this is the true morality" (p. 252). This is not to be understood to mean, here any more than in his later system, that happiness is to be the motive of moral action: "Ethics is no analysis of inclination but a prescription which is contrary to all inclination. . . . For a moral law states categorically what ought to be done, whether it pleases us or not" (p. 37). These lectures will lessen the notion that the earlier Kant was greatly influenced by Shaftesbury and other English moralists of the same school. At the time of these lectures at least, he is an open critic of Cumberland (p. 39) and of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson (p. 12). The deistic spirit had already done its work: "The uses of prayer are only subjective" (p. 99), and even as subjective prayer has no significance with reference to "the satisfaction of our wants" (p. 98). The only hope of progress toward moral perfection lies in education, "In education, and in nothing else" (p. 252). Even so, "the hope of it is still distant; it will be many centuries before it can be realized" (p. 253).

T. V. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Humanism and Science. By CASSIUS JACKSON KEYSER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. xxxii+243. \$3.00.

Already one of our most indefatigable popularizers of ideas significant for the understanding of modern science, Professor Keyser essays here a critical definition of humanism and a formulation of its essential relations with science and with mathematics. Following Mr. Walter Lippmann, the author conceives humanism as "the intention of men to concern themselves with the discovery of a good life on this planet by the use of human faculties." Such a concern clearly involves the demand for the establish-

ment of sound propositions about the world of actualities in which human life is set (the task of science), and propositions about the world of possibilities (the task of mathematics). Hence the fundamental importance of these enterprises from the point of view of a wise humanism.

If Professor Keyser's prejudices as to how important words ought to be used are somewhat dogmatically paraded, the book is none the less a clarifying contribution to its subject.

E. A. BURTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Our Changing Morality: A Symposium. By BERTRAND RUSSELL AND OTHERS. Edited by FREDA KIRCHWEY. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1930. Pp. ix+249.

The atavistic identification, in the title of this book, of "morality" with sexual relations does not raise high hope of light upon either sex or morality. With the exception of Bertrand Russell's chapter, the book may most charitably be described as hackwork. Russell, try as he may to say nothing, usually manages to say something, or at least to say his say in such a fashion as emits light. His present "Styles of Ethics" states so lucidly, as almost to make believe, the truism that our sexual morality is but a custom and might by intelligence be ameliorated if not improved. Of course, he offers free advice as to the direction for improvement. There are two other essays I should like to exempt from the foregoing censure, both by women: Isabel Leavenworth's "Virtue and Women" and Sylvia Kopald's "Where are the Female Geniuses?" The only other possible exception is Floyd Dell's "Can Men and Women Be Friends?" The other eleven essays are by more or less well-known names—Hays, Parsons, Gilman, Vaertings, Krutch, Lewisohn, Muir, Fischer, Seabury, and Hinkle—attached to all-too-well-known facts and opinions. Worse than that, Alexander Goldenweiser prostitutes the prestige of science to bolster up the ancient prejudice against the potential, equal creativeness of women. Than which, what can be whicher?—especially in a book where women clearly run away with the laurels of creativeness.

T. V. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Battling the Crime Wave. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: Stratford Co., 1931. Pp. vi+245.

Of the five contributions to criminology by Professor Barnes listed on the title-page of this book, *Battling the Crime Wave* is decidedly of the

least consequence. The author disarms critics by calling his book merely an exercise in the "humanizing of knowledge." Dr. Barnes has (very slightly) adapted some newspaper editorials to book presentation. Part I has some continuity and contains the author's popularized program for the treatment of criminals and the prevention of crime. The latter requires only five small pages! Part II is a miscellaneous collection of short essays on criminological topics. Yet, as always in Professor Barnes's books, the reader will find statements stimulating thought or antagonism. Thus we read that most first-degree murderers are not reformable; that fitness for release from prison should be tested largely by demonstrated ability to get along under a system of self-government; that "good citizens" should carry pistols and practice shooting; that judges should spend two weeks of each year in prison; that science makes a place for the lash for certain types of criminals; that we need bigger and better prison riots; and that suicide is better than execution for murderers.

DONALD R. TAFT

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Life among the Lowbrows. By ELEANOR ROWLAND WEMBRIDGE.
New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. Pp. 301. \$2.50.

We say "the rank and file," "the masses," "the hoi polloi," or "the man on the street," when we speak of the greater portion of our democracy, and hope that people will understand just what we have in mind. Descriptions of them are very few; Mencken attempted it in two pages of his study, *The American Language*, and called his composite "Middle Americans." On the whole these are people who have no chronicler of their own; biography is always of the articulate and usually of the accomplished. The human documents in our literature thus represent the gifted, who are, as the author points out, far outnumbered by the slow-witted. Though the young people Mrs. Wembridge knows well are all delinquent, their sins are not the theme of this book; it is what goes on in their minds. In the chapter on morons, she gives a demonstration:

We ask, 'What is pity?' That seems easy, 'You're sorry.' Encouraged, we proceed 'What is justice?' 'Peace,' answers Lucille, 'I got married by one.' 'Envy' is 'enemy,' or 'You like them,' or (hesitating) 'You *don't* like them.' 'Insure,' to Flora, means 'sure,' or 'You get it when you're dead,' or 'They get it at the house,' or 'It's in the company like,' or 'It's when you get hurt.'

There is a splendid chapter on the technique of family quarrels, stated as coolly as the Marquis of Queensberry's rules, and another good section

on "Negroes in Custody," in which the prestige of the colored mother and, *ad fortioorem*, the colored grandmother, "whose girlish escapades still have the power to set her offspring fighting," is shown to be a characteristic and distinguishing element. The book is a fine series of sketches of the people, undiscovered by most of us, who drive taxis, sling hash, cast votes, and yearn to see their photographs in the tabloids.

HELEN GREGORY MACGILL

McGILL UNIVERSITY

By the Waters of Babylon. By LOUIS WALLIS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. 222.

The author of this book belongs to the growing group of modern scholars who seek to give life to the historical study of the ideas and ideals of religions by a knowledge of the social situations which produced them, changed them, or displaced them with others which have more functional value. He is especially anxious to revitalize the Bible, which he feels has been neglected since the traditional dogmas of authority and inspiration have lost significance for modern men. The development of the religion of Israel and the creation of the god of Israel are dramatic and thrilling themes when approached sociologically. The author believes the biblical culture development should have a central place in the history of human cultures, and that, properly presented, it is capable of challenging the mind of our age. This novel, with a historical setting in the time of Jeremiah, is a contribution to that end.

The love of a son of a princely family for a maiden of the oppressed people runs as a tenuous thread through the tale. It is not enthralling as a love story, but the theme serves as a device for revealing the conflict of the interests of classes, the struggle of priest against prophet, the intermingling of the heritages of Israel and of the earlier agricultural peoples of the land, and the gradual transformation of the nomadic god of Israel into the god of righteousness and mercy, and with the destruction of Judah, into the one God of the earth. The author presents an imaginative picture of the making of the Bible to embody this social ideal of righteousness, mercy, and peace read into the idea of God. The language of the book is biblical.

It is certain that most modern readers will be more attracted by the interpretation of the social situation which Mr. Wallis knows so well than by the artistry of the novel or the interest of the love theme; and this is probably what he would desire.

A. EUSTACE HAYDON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Source Book in Anthropology. By A. L. KROEBER and T. T. WATERMAN. Revised edition, illustrated. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931. Pp. viii+571.

As compared with the original edition of 1920, this edition retains thirty-six of the original fifty-four selections, alters sixteen of these, mostly by cutting, and introduces nineteen new ones. In physical anthropology, papers by Gregory, Hooton, Louis R. Sullivan, Boas, and Laurence H. Snyder (on human blood groups) replace extracts from writings of Darwin and Huxley. In archaeology, A. E. Douglass presents his tree-ring method of establishing chronology. Four excellent and important papers appear in social anthropology—Radcliffe-Brown's "Social Organization of the Kariera of Australia," Thurnwald's "Banaro Society," Hoernlé's "Social Organization of the Nama Hottentot," and Sapir's "Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes." The selections are now grouped under eight heads. The last group, "Dynamics of Culture," is largely new material; it includes contributions from Nordenskiöld, Laufer and Margaret Mead, Rivers' paper on "The Disappearance of the Useful Arts," and Kroeber's on "Sub-Human Cultural Beginnings." The bibliographies of the old book are not brought up to date, but omitted entirely; but there is a new and useful Index. The format and typography are much improved. The book retains its character as an excellent collection of concrete materials and some theoretical discussions derived from these. Its only rival is Calverton's recent collection called *The Making of Man*, and the Kroeber and Waterman covers a wider range of topics.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Dissatisfied Worker. By V. E. FISHER and J. V. HANNA. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. 260.

This little book serves admirably to call attention to the importance of emotional maladjustment in vocational life. Half the book is given over to a rather popular presentation of psychoneurotic symptoms and their psychoanalytic interpretation. Later chapters deal more specifically with the evidences of emotional disorders which appear in industry. The central thesis is that maladjustments in work are largely emotional in nature, that they usually have their roots deep in the past, and that the present mental difficulties are very frequently traceable to influences having nothing to do with the job itself. The thesis is illustrated with many cases from the author's experience.

The discussion is realistic, suggestive, and plausible, but it is subject to the usual weakness of interpretations based on individual clinical case studies. The interpretations may be accepted or rejected; they are not open to proof or disproof. One may feel, for example, that too little emphasis has been placed on objective conditions contributing to maladjustment. One may suspect that, for each case of maladjustment cited, there are a dozen other equally unstable persons who have adjusted successfully. Obviously, maladjustment and dissatisfaction are not produced solely by childhood experiences. Professors Fisher and Hanna have pictured the workers who visited their clinics. They have forgotten that coal miners in West Virginia are also "dissatisfied workers."

ARTHUR W. KORNHAUSER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Case of Frank L. Smith. By CARROLL HILL WOODY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. vii+393. \$3.00.

Here is a dramatic portrayal of the degradation of American democracy. *The Case of Frank L. Smith* is at the same time a portrait and a portent. Highly entertaining, it is nevertheless a disheartening tale of men and machines, i.e., political machines. From the tangled threads of Illinois Republicanism Mr. Woody weaves a tessellated tapestry of purchased politics, challenging alike to those who believe in, and to those who scoff at, the democratic way of life.

As a "Who's Who in Illinois Politics," this book is of immense value to all students of practical politics. Here are the chiefs and their myrmidons—the bosses and the bossed. The central figure is, of course, Frank Smith, "land man of Dwight," guided by no principle, inspired by no ideal, but like a rudderless ship ready to respond to any favoring breeze regardless of its source. Son of the village blacksmith, he rose in the accepted American manner from "errand boy and peanut vender to clerk, from clerk to real estate dealer, and from real estate dealer to banker—a position of power and affluence within his community."

But Smith, like Caesar, was ambitious—ambitious for political power—and this was his undoing.

In 1926, while he was chairman of the Republican state committee and also chairman of the Illinois Commerce Commission, he entered the race for United States senator. McKinley, the incumbent, and Smith's opponent in the primary, was a wealthy traction man with all "the strength and weaknesses of the 'Fat Cat' in politics." He had defeated Smith in

the 1920 primaries by a narrow margin, but this time the tables were turned and Smith triumphed.

During the primary, charges were made that both Smith and McKinley were spending vast sums of money. After the primary, on June 26, Senator Caraway of Arkansas called attention to these charges and suggested that the Reed Committee include Illinois along with Pennsylvania in its studies.

On July 26 the Reed Committee began its hearings in Chicago. It was then revealed that both sides had spent money freely.

The Reed revelations came as a dark cloud before the rising sun of Smith's political future. Prominent Republicans urged him to withdraw from the race in favor of someone less heavily insulated. This Smith declined to do. Under the leadership of Julius Rosenwald, an independent Republican candidate in the person of Hugh S. Magill was placed in the field against both Smith and Brennan, the Democratic nominee. But in spite of the rift in the Republican ranks, Smith, with the backing of the regular machine and the Anti-Saloon League, again came off a winner with a plurality of 67,000 votes.

The rest of the story—the trial in the Senate—Mr. Woody describes as a comedy in three acts with prologue and epilogue.

And the moral of the tale in Mr. Woody's words is that "the case of Frank L. Smith is merely a reflection of a maladjustment which has resulted from the perpetuation of the mechanisms of frontier democracy in a highly complicated, industrialized, and urbanized civilization."

PETER H. ODEGARD

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

La généralisation des allocations familiales en Belgique. By GEORGES HEYMAN. Louvain, Belgique: Société d'Études Morales, Sociales, et Juridiques, 1931. Pp. 298.

Systems of family allowances were made generally applicable in Belgium in August, 1930, and in June, 1931, the economic committee of the French Senate recommended the adoption without change of a new bill sent forward by the Chamber, which also requires all employers in industry, commerce, agriculture, and the liberal professions to pay allowances. There has been continuous interchange of the experiences of these two countries during the development of this radically new policy in the distribution of wealth, so that this comprehensive analysis of the provisions and methods of administration of the Belgian family-allow-

ances pictures also what will soon be enforced throughout France. The ready acceptance and rapid growth of the movement can be judged by the fact that Belgium had only five funds in 1922, but by 1929 the number had grown to forty-three. At present four types of funds are paying the allowances for the support of children: (1) those founded by the initiative of groups of employers; (2) funds specially created by royal decree; (3) auxiliary public funds; and (4) the national compensation fund. The author gives the history, scope, and rules for distribution of each type. Allowances in accordance with an established, minimum scale are given for the support of children until they are fourteen years old, or until sixteen, when the children are apprenticed or continuing their education. Allowances are given also for older children who, because of sickness or other incapacity, are unable to support themselves. Foster children, illegitimates who have been recognized, children in the care of relatives, as well as those living with married parents, are beneficiaries of the law. There are elaborate regulations for the prevention of fraud or duplication in the payment of allowances. The book gives the forms used in the administration of the law and a commentary on the seventy-eight articles of the present statute.

LUCILE EAVES

SIMMONS COLLEGE

The Infant Welfare Movement in the Eighteenth Century. By ERNEST CAULFIELD. New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1931. \$2.00.

This is a lively account of the way young children were treated in London in the eighteenth century, with emphasis on their physical and medical care. The author himself defines "true" infant welfare as "measures taken or advocated which, if carried out, would ultimately reduce infant mortality." He has collected curious and startling statistics of the causes of death of infants in London about 1741, at which time, he estimates, 75 per cent of all children christened were dead before they reached five years of age. Thomas Coram, William Cadogan, Jonas Hanway, and George Armstrong, to whose lives and work for infant welfare the author devotes the main portion of the book, were radical reformers when they advocated that mothers nurse their own babies, that babies wear comfortable clothing, and that doctors concern themselves with obstetrics and infant health instead of leaving that work to "old women." The brief history of the Foundling Hospital shows not only the increasing interest in infant welfare but also the pitfalls that beset the path of charity, however well-meaning its sponsors may be. The institution which set out to

prevent cruel exposure and death of infants became the great dumping-ground for the unwanted babies of England and "of the fifteen thousand infants received, over ten thousand paid with their lives for this little 'noble experiment' in paternalistic government."

ETHEL VERRY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Long View. By MARY E. RICHMOND. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. Pp. 648. \$3.00.

This volume comprises papers and addresses by Miss Richmond arranged chronologically into five periods of her life and accompanied by introductory notes of a biographical nature. The editor, Joanna C. Colcord, did well a very difficult task, and produced a memorial volume of some interest to social workers and especially to those who had known Miss Richmond intimately and had fallen under the spell of her leadership. The papers selected by the editor cover a period of almost forty years and include a wide range of subjects, for the most part within the field of social work.

Perhaps the chief justification in rescuing from oblivion papers either unpublished or hidden away in old periodicals is the light they throw upon the various stages of Miss Richmond's intellectual development and their revelation of her as a many-sided personality with keen literary as well as humanitarian interests. One wonders, however, whether this purpose could not have been accomplished in a much shorter space by a different method. The introductory and biographical notes contributed by the editor are very well written and might easily have been expanded to much greater length. Greater attention to a systematic presentation and analysis of Miss Richmond's contribution to social work, together with the publication of a few of her more important fugitive papers that have permanent value, would have resulted in a different type of book of greater interest to a wider public.

J. F. STEINER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

The International Institute of Agriculture. By ASHER HOBSON. "University of California Publications in International Relations," Vol. II. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931. Pp. xi + 356. \$3.50.

Asher Hobson, who was for seven years the representative of the United States on the Permanent Committee of the International Institute of Agriculture, has written a critical history of that organization as well

as a technical, highly competent survey of its various functions. The amazing story of Lubin's struggle to organize the Institute, of his ultimate success with the king of Italy, and of the gradual submergence of the organization in Italian and Fascist bureaucracy is told with candor and objectivity. It seems quite clear that the Rome organization is ripe for absorption in the general structure of the League of Nations; no other method will safeguard its significant functions against the Italian government's tendency to swamp the technical and economic work with a deluge of political considerations.

Thus far the diplomats accredited to the Institute have hesitated to carry their criticism farther than Rome itself. The situation urgently demanded a frank and authoritative general survey, and Hobson's courageous volume may turn out to be a significant factor in this period of transition.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Labor-Movement in Post-War France. By DAVID J. SAPOSS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. xviii+508.

Saposs has written a valuable and original contribution to the literature of his subject. An enormous amount of field work, conferences, and close observation has given us the first thorough study of the French labor movement as it actually functions, supplemented with chapters on labor legislation, political affiliations, employers' organizations, and the co-operative movement.

The author brings out clearly that the syndicalist tendencies which were so characteristic of the labor movement in France during the pre-war period have undergone sharp revision. The main current of the French labor movement now follows the tendencies of Western European organized labor. Meanwhile the Communists have gathered together the remnants of the syndicalist army. The picture that emerges is one of sharpening struggle, accentuated by the anti-union position of organized employers' groups.

As far as the reviewer knows, there is no comparable study even in French. The literature of the subject is redundant with metaphysical treatises dealing with the teachings of Karl Marx and Georges Sorel. Saposs' matter-of-fact description of what has actually taken place in the French labor movement since the war will improve our perspective on that earlier literature.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Robots or Gods. An Essay on Craft and Mind. By ALEXANDER GOLDENWEISER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931. Pp. 138+vi.

This well-written little book, in substance a contribution to social psychology, is in form a string of essays, for the author talks not from documents but from himself, and he pursues his theme into whatever by-paths it is driven by his own intellectual excitement.

The theme is defined in a contrast between "craft mind" and "intuitive mind." "Craft mind" is practical behavior, functioning as an instrument, and, though constantly disciplined by experience, coming as the habituated tool to release attention from anything but the goal to be achieved. "Intuitive mind" is not so explicitly defined, but the term is used to describe mental behavior that is not instrumental, that is not so disciplined by experience, and that exists for its own sake and in terms of itself.

This dichotomy is carried with originality into a variety of phenomenal fields, where it becomes a whole series of related pairs of opposites. The first contrast, between the artisan and the magician, does not illustrate the contrast quite as sharply as some others, for the magician is a kind of artisan too. His task is to shape nature to a defined end; but the end and the means are never brought closely enough together so that the end comes to shape the means. Goldenweiser, however, apparently lets "magician" stand for all dealings with, and definitions of, the supernatural.

Another chapter points out, incisively, the position of the inventor midway between craftsman and scientist, for, though like the craftsman, practical and guided always by experience, he is nevertheless "a muck-raker, a restless spirit. . . . He pursues nature more deliberately and far more restlessly than does the craftsman, nor is he afraid of taking a chance." The scientist, on his part, wants guidance from nature not toward a specific practical end, but toward his thought itself.

The artist, though embodying the craft mind, is nevertheless subject to the exigencies of craftsmanship, and to these his art may become bound. So may behavior for its own sake disappear from play, where, as in chess or even technically perfect tennis, "play vanishes, and the game, however skilful, becomes standardized, craft performance, dominated by a social goal: 'win the game.'"

An interesting section deals with this difference as it appears in language, where the instrumental character of grammar is contrasted with the expressive nature of words. Grammar is a device for dealing with experience; it is impersonal, and its categories are merely convenient. But

with words one expresses one's self. "Grammar is limited but precise, whereas word meanings, children of intuition, are rich but vague. When we say 'he spoke,' 'he speaks,' 'he will speak,' little is conveyed, but what is conveyed is conveyed: there can be no doubt about it, the message is precise. But when we say 'he is kind,' or 'he is handsome,' or 'I love him,' the rich content of these words conveys but the faintest idea, it is a hint, rather than a message. . . ."

The contrast between types of mental behavior is so emphatically stated as to become almost an allegory: craft-mind and intuitive-mind, two fundamental principles in eternal conflict. This is most nearly true in the last chapter, where it is suggested that the predominance of the tool in modern civilization so extends the pattern of instrumental thinking as to produce a "tension . . . of critical proportions."

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Prehistoric Man: An Introduction to Anthropology. By GEORGE S. DUNCAN. Boston: Stratford Co., 1931. Pp. 142. \$1.50.

Brevity, chiefly, distinguishes this book; the history of human race and culture is told in about fifteen thousand words. Part II, chapter i, entitled "The Universe," contains two hundred words. Archaeological information as to human origins is presented and supplemented by references to customs of primitive peoples. The material presented is correct enough, but there is very little of it. Some recent data are included, as for example the Folsom, New Mexico, finds; the Peking man is not mentioned. Some statements are naïve: "It is the general belief of anthropologists that there was originally one human pair. There would thus be monogamy." An air of genuine piety animates the work. Learned authority is cited to testify to the truth of organic evolution, and to support many other assertions. The book offers an opportunity to acquire anthropology in minute doctrinal doses.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social Organization of Manua. By MARGARET MEAD. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 76. Honolulu: published by the Museum, 1930. Pp. 218.

Miss Mead brings unusual gifts to the tasks of the field ethnologist: she has a swift and sensitive understanding of the fundamental patterns

of an alien culture; she knows how to resolve the variety of instance to essential generalizations; and in expressing these generalizations she is vivid and incisive.

The viewpoint and interests of "functional" anthropology are illustrated by this monograph, partly because of this quality, a sort of intellectual sympathy with the culture she deals with, and chiefly because her interests are not in the history of Manuan culture, but in what she calls "cultural dynamics." This is to say, Miss Mead is concerned with scientific things rather than events, with the relation between culture and individual behavior; and she seeks to describe the characteristics of these sorts of behavior as they appear in Manua. She is therefore not interested in culture traits, for traits are the formal resemblances that survive borrowing; they are just what the historian of preliterate culture must watch for, because they constitute the footprints of past culture contacts. But to the functionalist there are no traits, but only the culture, the world of thought and action common to the members of a stable community, and this world is one ordered whole. So Miss Mead presents her materials under the categories that they suggest, not under the conventional headings. The reader will find especially interesting the contrast between the theoretical patterns of culture, as conceived by the Samoan, and the actual deviations of practice from these patterns.

Yet Miss Mead supplies the student interested in historical problems with excellent accounts of practice and belief, and she herself presents a summary hypothesis for the history of Samoan culture. The documentation that was lacking in *Coming of Age in Samoa* is given in this book. It is a monograph of exceptional merit.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mexican Labor in the United States. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. By

PAUL S. TAYLOR. "University of California Publications in Economics." Vol. VII, No. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931. Pp. ix+24. \$0.30.

This brief monograph carries Dr. Taylor's meritorious studies of Mexican labor out of the region of first settlement, the Southwest, into a later and industrial colony of the East. The paper contains a brief history of the colony, an analysis of employers' statistics, and a statement as to "social relations" based on interviews. A ballad, "Corrido Pensilvania,"

Equality. By R. H. TAWNEY. "Halley Stewart Lectures," 1929. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931. Pp. xii+280.

When the Bastille fell, there fell with it a social order based on privilege and tyranny. But on the ruins of the old society there insidiously grew up a new one based on the control of capital and the centralization of economic power which was seriously to jeopardize the achievements of the French Revolution. This could not have been foreseen. Nor could the fathers of the American Revolution, which proclaimed that men are free and equal, have foreseen that the equality, which was a reality in an agricultural country, sparsely populated, would have no application in an industrial and capitalistic society. Their astonishment would be great to find corporations controlled by six financial groups employing more than two and a half million wage-earners, and owning, in some cases, not only the factories, but the streets through which the workers walked, their homes, and the halls where they could meet, if allowed to meet. Not content with such power, these corporations often hired spies, detectives, and private troops in case they felt bellicose (p. 228). To argue that equality and equality of opportunity exist under such conditions is to ignore the profound changes that have occurred since the American and French revolutions. It is to ignore the stratification of society and its class structure about which Mr. Tawney gives an excellent analysis. It is to ignore the fact that the access of children to the sources of education are manifestly unequal. Not many are given the opportunity to breathe the pure air of effortless superiority provided by Oxford and Cambridge; and in England at least, as the author shows, public schools are private. Nor must it be forgotten that a large part of the population, simply because it is compelled to live in certain quarters and work at certain occupations, has a very high mortality and morbidity rate from many diseases that puts it at a disadvantage compared with the rest of the population. These conditions are to a large extent preventable and avoidable. They would not be tolerated by a society that had the ideal of equality at heart.

It is to a consideration of these inequalities, and of the ways to establish a social and economic democracy that this book is devoted. In a sense it supplements his *Acquisitive Society*, for it is in such a society that the material means to a good life will be preferred to the end, and that a pitiless competition will enable some to acquire more than others and use their riches not for society's benefit but their own. Such a society will be dominated by violent contrasts in power and riches. Class antagonisms will rend it. Its culture will be effete and futile for it will not have its roots in a common life participated in by everybody. Nor is the aping of an

aristocracy, culture. The reader should turn to the author for an acute criticism of Mr. Clive Bell's position.

The equality that Mr. Tawney demands is, of course, not mathematical, as some critics have assumed. It in no way argues that society will be reduced to a dead level of uniformity. It asserts that, while individuals may differ in many characteristics, all are equally entitled to those rights without which they cannot develop as harmonious members of society. Distinctions of office and power will not be abolished. They may be necessary. But the criterion will be in how far they contribute to, and share in, the common good.

The mechanism by which these social and economic disparities will be reduced already exists in some form or another in many countries. On the one hand, it involves an extension of social services and communal provision, and on the other, progressive taxation by which the surplus wealth of a small minority will be spent by society in insuring those conditions of health and education that would lessen inequality. Finally, certain restraints will have to be imposed on industry so that it function in a manner conducive to the general welfare.

It need hardly be added that Mr. Tawney writes with the brilliance we are accustomed to meet in him. His lucid exposition and orderly marshaling of facts coupled with a remarkable felicitousness of phrase make this book a joy to read. It is one of those books one need not agree with to enjoy.

J. RUMYANECK

LONDON, ENGLAND

About Zionism. By ALBERT EINSTEIN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. ix+94. \$1.25.

In Palestine as in Russia, but on a much smaller scale, a significant experiment in social life is taking place. Within the last ten years the foundations have been laid for a reconstituted Jewish national homeland by pioneer immigrants who, in the face of immense obstacles, transformed desert and swampy soil into fertile and productive country. And out of their experimenting with socialist, communist, and co-operative colonies and enterprises, there is slowly beginning to emerge in Palestine a political and economic democracy that is unique in the Near East.

Simultaneously profound changes have occurred in its intellectual life. With Hebrew as a national language an impetus has been given to the development of a distinctive Jewish culture which finds remarkable ex-

pression in the activities of the recently founded Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Professor Albert Einstein, a member of the governing body of the University, welcomes, with that wide humanity which distinguishes him, a movement that offers so much to the world. He is impelled to Zionism not merely because Palestine will afford a physical asylum to his oppressed countrymen in Eastern Europe, but because it offers a mental haven to those scattered, lonely, and uprooted Jews who have found no happiness in assimilation. He believes that the birth of a Jewish civilization will restore to them dignity and self-respect, and will harness once again their energies to creative effort.

He makes an earnest plea for friendship between the Jews and Arabs, for he realizes that the permanent values of Zionism will best develop where Jew and Arab will co-operate in the maintenance of a common economic life. He is not forgetful of the great civilization carried on by these two peoples in the Middle Ages.

Mr. Leon Simon has translated these fragments from Professor Einstein's speeches and letters, woven them into a pattern of unity, and provided them with a stimulating introduction.

J. RUMYANECK

LONDON, ENGLAND

An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, R.I. By BESSIE BLOOM WESSEL.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xxi+290. \$4.00.

This book is an intensive study of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, in terms of ethnic ancestry. The data obtained by means of questionnaire and supplemented by personal investigation deal with 4,978 children. Since the history of almost every child contained information about six other members of the family (two parents and four grandparents), more than 20,000 persons form the basis of this study. This research also embodies the fruit of experience which Mrs. Wessel obtained when conducting similar surveys in New London, Stamford, and Providence; and embraces the very large total of 168,000 individuals, a range sufficiently great from which to arrive at generalizations.

The survey clears up the general confusion which prevails between ethnic derivation and regional derivation. Her analysis of the data for national and technic origins, checked in many cases by the dominant language and social ideals within the family, showed that only 50.8 per cent of the fathers claimed nationality which coincided with birthplace.

By the method of counting grandparents as the most direct way of obtaining the numerical equivalents for ethnic and regional origins, it was shown that the population was derived from at least twenty-eight ethnic groups emanating from thirty-eight geographic regions. In spite of this diversity 80 per cent of the stock was homogeneous in descent. Of especial interest are the results pertaining to the trends of intermarriage, which indicated that 9.6 per cent of all the first-generation parents had married out of their group, 20.9 per cent of the second generation, and 40.4 per cent of the third. These figures lend a hitherto unknown precision to the term "melting-pot." Significantly enough the rate of biological mixture and change was appreciably greater than the acculturation rate.

The strong influence of tradition was seen in ethnic preferences for marriage. The elements that at first initiated admixture were represented to a larger degree in the admixture of later generations. Thus the French-Canadian, British, and Irish intermarried frequently while the Slavs kept to themselves. With the increase of cultural similarities intermarriage tended to increase, the more so if the factors of contact and proximity were present. The survey also discusses other factors such as the differential birth-rate, etc., which would affect the ultimate ethnic composition of the population.

More important, perhaps, than the results actually obtained, or the basis which the investigation yields for an understanding of social processes within the community area, are the methods of procedure and technique which Mrs. Wessel devised. Here is a meticulously careful study with every term and concept in it clear and precise. This survey offers a key to other investigators to make similar studies whose results would be both comparable and applicable over a wider area in this country.

J. RUMYANECK

LONDON, ENGLAND

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THE TRIPLE-APPEAL PRINCIPLE: A CONTRIBUTION OF PSYCHOANALYSIS TO POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

HAROLD D. LASSWELL
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

Psychoanalysis makes three divisions of the personality: the id—including biological needs; the superego—the socially acquired inhibitions; and the ego—the testing of reality. The id may be said to correspond with impulse, the superego with conscience, and the ego with reason. These three divisions function in special ways in person-to-person relationships, in the rôle and meaning of institutions, and in person-to-occasion relationships. Selection of personnel as well as responses to “superiors,” “leaders,” “models,” can best be understood on the basis of a tripartite personality, which usually shows the predominance of one aspect. Institutions take their meanings from their respective appeals: economic, political, scientific, and technological to expediency; religion and fundamental law to conscience; art and sociability to natural impulse. Person-to-occasion relationships also follow this general pattern. Elections are appeals to rational considerations; patriotic holidays to conscience; carnivals and various celebrations to natural impulse. The tripartite principle may also be extended to analysis of policies and practices, doctrines, and myths and legends. It is particularly promising when applied to the problem of social dynamics.

I

Psychoanalysis divides the personality into three main divisions, which include biological needs, socially acquired inhibitions, and the testing of reality. The newborn infant is a biological organism characterized by its nutritive, excretory, and allied necessities, and by its capacity to be impelled by sexual impulses when certain glands shall have matured. Very few of the primitive biological needs of the individual can be directly gratified, owing mainly to the restrictions which are imposed by representatives of the particular social

order into which the individual is born. When these restrictions are no longer dealt with as obstacles in the outer world, but are observed on the basis of acquired modifications of behavior, the individual has achieved a new and important personality structure, which is technically known as the "superego." The perceiving of external relationships, and the modification of impulses in the light of current reality, are the special functions of the third division of the personality, the "ego." In the technical language of psychoanalysis, the original biological needs are the "id," the inhibitions are the superego, and the reality adaptations occur in the ego. About the proper connotation is conveyed by speaking of personality as divisible into the realms of impulse, conscience, and reason, although some distortion is involved in this usage, inasmuch as the conscience and the reason are not categorically different from the impelling drives of the individual, but rather complications which arise in the process of elaborating these drives in relation to one another and to surroundings.

Since social and political processes take place among people, there can be no major contribution to the understanding of personality which fails to carry with it certain immediate implications for the analysis of collective processes. Within the last thirty or forty years psychology has received a new and powerful impetus from the study of those major deformations of personality growth which we speak of as mental diseases. Where this study has been conducted with full attention to the interconnection between processes capable of description in physiological terms, and processes capable of description in psychological or sociological terms, significant progress has been made. Investigations that began in the clinic with some single distortion of personality refine and generalize their methods and their theories until a comprehensive account of personality development in both its healthy and its pathological aspects is the result. In all this Freud is the epochal figure, and it is to psychoanalysis with its insight into the tripartite structure of personality that we may recur in search of a promising starting-point for the reconsideration of politics and society.

If the personality system is divisible into the reaction patterns assignable to impulse, conscience, and reason, it follows that the

meaning of any social object to any particular person is to be interpreted in terms of its appeal to one or more of these main divisions. Persons, institutions, occasions, policies and practices, doctrines, and myths and legends may be examined for the purpose of discerning their appeals to impulse, conscience, and reason. And we may go farther: In so far as politics is the science and the art of management, politics must direct its means to the three levels of personality structure. The principle of tripartite division implies the principle of triple appeal as a method of political management.

We may begin our exploration of the applicability of the tripartite principle by studying the relations which subsist between one person and the cluster of persons who have some fairly constant connection with him. In view of its significance for the theory and practice of administration, I shall first recite some extracts from an intensive study of the personality of a successful executive, who had associated various subordinates with him in the conduct of his daily work. It was possible to carry through a very intensive inquiry into the conscious and the unconscious motives which led him to choose and to abide by his choice of personnel. In certain cases there appeared to be a clear-cut predominance of an appeal to but one of the principal portions of his personality. We shall take as representative the case of the controller, the private secretary, and the field representative.

The case of the controller was very simple. He was a middle-aged, taciturn, conscientious technician. His sense of responsibility and dependability had been recognized and he had assumed his present responsibility. He was of high character and integrity, and although he was in many social situations, his position was distinctly an ego selective one. The question was undisturbed.

The significance of this case is that you first see

rears. She was exasperated almost beyond endurance at the slightest error, or at the slightest deviation from office routine. Punctually at eight-thirty she sat in front of her desk, brushing mostly imaginary flecks of dust off the chair, the desk top, and the shade of the droplight. Her stationery, her pencils, and her erasers were invariably in order. Office assistants came and went, usually leaving a trail of complaints about the impossibility of working with Miss X. The executive was himself not infrequently rallied good-humoredly about his "office nurse," but he passed off every comment with a shrug. The truth was that in spite of her admitted inefficiencies, he found it unthinkable to do without her. During the course of the study of his personality he candidly admitted that he was as much at a loss as anybody to understand why he should cling so tenaciously to Miss X. He just did, that was all.

Whenever there is a striking lack of proportion between an act and the reasons alleged for it, there is a presumption that some unconscious impulses are involved in the act. So it proved in this instance. In the course of his long self-scrutiny by free-association methods,¹ it eventually appeared that Miss X owed her hold on this man to the very fact that she caricatured those rules of promptness and exactness which he found so onerous. Mr. Z was one of those impetuous, imaginative, somewhat erratic individuals who are in some measure hampered by their juvenile consciences, with all the demerit of a desire for consistent conformity to prudent rules. He was fighting this inner and quite unconscious legacy from his childhood, and it was costing him too much inner discomfort. He put up with it, but he was not satisfied. He made a powerful appeal to his conscience, and he found that the demands of his presence were penances for his impetuous and impulsive reactions of conscience, this was a necessary part of efficient living. He was not satisfied with the secretaries available to him, and he was not satisfied with his case to

culties to his retention than did Miss X. After all, the secretary was principally a nuisance. But the young man who served as field representative was often a serious problem. Everyone agreed that he possessed exceptionally captivating ways, and that he bound prospective clients to him by his open-handed generosity, his never failing good humor, and his great personal charm. But these very assets were frequently expended upon dangerous quests which seriously damaged his own reputation and that of his superiors. He was continually becoming involved in clandestine love affairs with the wives of his associates—affairs which were not always handled with that discretion which, in the absence of true abstinence, is the better part of safety. The tenacity with which Z stood behind the young man was a matter of continual amazement as well as embarrassment to the influential members of his organization. His attitude appeared all the more remarkable because the private life of Z was well known to be exemplary, and in spite of a certain gusty looseness of language, he had been known to deal severely with men who allowed sex to interfere with professional obligations. As for Z, himself, he was never quite at ease in discussing the matter, usually asserting tartly that he believed the young man had very good stuff in him, and that it would be a mistake to act too harshly without giving him a chance to settle down. Every responsible person agreed that the young man was promising enough, but opinion was practically unanimous that he had so repeatedly and so shamelessly imposed upon the tolerance of his superiors that he had lost all claims to special consideration in the future.

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hood companion of Z had played the rôle with girls which Z had secretly envied. This companion had been carried off early by an infection, and Z had always felt a sorrowful and protective attachment to his memory. Quite without being conscious of it, Z had read into his young field representative his own admiration and attachment for his boyhood friend, the emotional power of which is indicated by his long-suffering forbearance. In part, Z secured an indirect gratification of his own deeply buried impulse life by virtue of this identification.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the history just referred to is, in principle, exceptional. The details of the picture vary as individual backgrounds vary, but the main point is clear enough. We select our personal circles according to the appeal made to the principal components, both conscious and unconscious, of our personalities. It may be that within our official rôle as superintendent, director, department head, bureau chief, manager, foreman, editor, or publisher we are principally governed by rational calculations of efficiency in our choices of personnel, and that our intimates are chosen from among those who appeal to the life of impulse and conscience. But the study of actual administrators has shown that this subordination of discretion to considerations of mere utility is never fully achieved. Private motives of the kind mentioned not only continue to operate, but not infrequently predominate, in the choice of personnel.

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scruples (consciences) of the original founders led to the choice of men incapable of the acts of illegality and brutality necessary to success? Do we find, reversely, that the brutal aggressiveness of the original clique, traceable to defective conscience formation and to great sadism, brought together a band of men who ruined the enterprise by needlessly provoking the resentment of society? Or do we find that the organization was handicapped by internal strife, owing to the selection of men representing extremes of overscrupulousness and overruthlessness by the founder, as the asocial or the conscientious parts of his personality won temporary ascendancy? Do we find that the organization is left in the hands of men who are incapable of taking the initiative in modifying their policies to changing circumstances—men who appealed to the original leader precisely because of their inability to challenge his narcissistic satisfaction in originating all policies himself and in looking after the details of their execution?

If it is necessary to remind one of the relevance of these considerations, I may refer to the personality factors which are alleged to have influenced Woodrow Wilson's cabinet selections, or to have enabled Lincoln so to subordinate himself in the selection of prominent collaborators as to attach them to the service of the government. Or, in the field of business, one may remember that one factor in the decline of a great packing-house was the policy of picking socially agreeable and "fast young men" who were boon companions to those in high positions.

The study of the personality factors which affect the course of institutional growth is a matter of general interest to the scientific student of culture, and it is not devoid of relevance to the task of social engineering. An adviser on personnel policy who can assist in giving a certain self-awareness in these matters can do something to protect organizations against the destructive tendencies released within it, owing to the complication of judgment by unconscious impulses. A new and important chapter in personnel in government, industry, and education can be written when the factors affecting personnel have been carefully

So far, in this discussion of person-to-person appeals, reference has been exclusively made to those who are choosing associates and subordinates. The point of view is equally applicable to the study of the behavior of those who are responding to "superiors," "leaders" or "models." Since the rank and file of mankind is in no position to know many relevant facts about the men whom it trusts, who mean to all intents and purposes, be as remote as God, it is compelled to project its loyalty by a simple act of faith, if it would escape a barely tolerable state of suspended judgment or of bitter skepticism. Few characteristics of men are so obvious as their capacity for strong emotional attachments and aversions in respect to a handful of public characters. Since this can scarcely be said to rest upon extensive first-hand observation and sifted knowledge, it must rest chiefly upon the appeal value of the few to the irrational components of the many.

Man is prepared for dependence upon others by the circumstances of his early relationship to his social environment. Every infant passes through a period in which the one who performs the maternal rôle looks after its primary needs without specific recompense, thus furnishing the experiential base for the infant's primitive mother-sentiment.² This primitive mother-sentiment becomes detached from particular individuals in the environment as restraints are imposed by those in custody of the infant and child, but the early sentiment leaves its residue in the form of a deep yearning for the establishment of complete dependence. This underlying sentiment is reinforced in many ways by subsequent sentiments, but it is always present, capable of becoming attached to some substitute object like God, or some human symbol of universal, protective omnipotence. So man is prepared to trust those whom he cannot rationally assess, and his seemingly inexhaustible yearning for dependent submission, for worship, for admiration, for loyalty, is so noticed that many theorists have imputed a biological basis.

Little less conspicuous than man's willingness to the outpouring of feeling against many of those with whom he comes in contact. Here, again, we are compelled to invoke the evidence of the studies of the early growth of the personality.

² I follow the terminology here of Harry

person-to-occasion relationships. Every culture includes many special occasions which are stylized in relation to particular institutions, and which might quite properly have been discussed in the previous section. But they may usefully be considered separately, since the same institution may provide episodes which appeal to quite different components of the personality than the one to which the major appeal of the institution is addressed. We were previously concerned with the most general aspect of the relation between an institution, considered as a whole, and the personality; we are now in a position to refine the analysis somewhat.

In spite of all the attendant complications introduced by irrelevant motivations, elections—particularly referendum elections—are episodes in government in which rational considerations are emphasized. The situation is defined in terms of definite alternatives for which preferences are to be expressed in a peaceful procedure. This is a definite contrast to the major appeal of patriotic holidays, when the graves of fallen soldiers are decorated, or where patriotic dogmas are ceremonially reiterated. Such occasions are appeals to conscience, stressing unity with the collectivity and devotion to shared values. And there are celebrations and carnivals of all descriptions where the customary restraints of propriety are swept aside for the nonce, and where the primary impulses are allowed to express themselves unveiled by the customary cloaks. The war crisis is essentially religious in character, demanding, amid greatest excitement, the fulfilment of the imperative obligations of the good citizen. There is no time to deliberate; there is but time for consternation and prompt action.

Acts of popular justice are under the domination of the conscience, but they display the peculiar character of primitive punitive measures in that they likewise involve the direct gratification of very deep destructive tendencies. Mobs which form when the moral order is supposed to have been outraged by a brutal sexual assault, or by the hoarding of food in time of want, or by acts of aid and comfort to the enemy, are forms of popular justice. They very often display semiformal modes of action which lend a certain air of responsibility to what they do. A "court" is set up for the hearing of the charges, and "sentence" may be passed with the greatest solemnity.

The close association between the indulgence of the primitive nature of man and the exactions of the authoritarian order is shown in the close association which has historically existed between rites of worship and sexual orgies. It is notorious that religious fervor among sectarians is often closely connected with orgiastic indulgences. When waves of patriotic enthusiasm capture the masses, the soldiers are offered and permitted exemptions from more commandments than "Thou shalt not kill."

The tripartite analysis of institutionalized occasions may be extended to the policies and practices of institutions. Many of the intricate practices of governmental agencies are conspicuously concerned with safeguarding the operations of the ego function. Court processes show the most involved web of formalities of this character, but the purest case of ego dominance is in the laboratory work of the physical scientist. Legislative practices, administrative curbs to irresponsible discretion, and personal modes of politeness in discussion are all germane to the preservation of ego operations with a minimum of distortion from appeals to prejudice or lust.

Reminders of duty are conveyed in the solemn trappings of state. The national emblem figures prominently in every decorative scheme. The practice of opening legislative sessions with prayer is reminiscent of the days when theocracies held sway in various sections of our own country. The solemn declaration or oath which is taken by incoming officials and court witnesses, the references to duty and conscience which commonly figure in the charge to the jury, and the moralistic denunciations and admonitions so frequently heard from the judicial bench are all supposed to reinforce the claims of the superego portion of the personalities involved.

The whole drama of litigation and punishment is profoundly linked to the exactions of conscience. A considerable number of those who fall afoul of the law have been driven to make clumsy errors which led to their detection owing to the unconscious self-punishment reaction of their own consciences. They demand punishment to relieve the inner discomforts of living. Many of them, as soon as they have paid off the debt they owe to conscience, are once again free to indulge their antisocial impulses in destructive acts against society.³

³ The importance of the compulsion to confess has been developed by Theodore Reik; the neurotic character as a criminal type has been treated by Franz Alexander.

The spectacle of any violation of the accredited order arouses the repressed impulses of the spectator to indulge his own antisocial whims. This produces a crisis of conscience within the personalities of those who see and hear of the violation, and the individual is driven to relieve himself of his own discomfort by externalizing his aggression against those in the environment who threaten the inner equilibrium of his own life. To punish and to have punished the performer of a criminal act is to perform a vicarious act of propitiation of one's own conscience.

It is to a comparatively limited sphere that the conscience analysis applies in interpreting the significance of legal penalties. When the law rests on no moral consensus, an unsuccessful violation is little more significant than an unsuccessful business venture. The individual has often calculated in advance that his chances of being fined or imprisoned were "so and so," and he wipes off a "bum rap" to profit and loss.

Society is so organized that it gives many opportunities for the direct gratification of exceedingly primitive impulses of the personality. The oral (mouth) pleasures are among the most elemental of all, and the examination of our culture shows that oral pleasures may be indulged in biting, smoking, swallowing, chewing gum and tobacco, talking, singing, cheering, and spitting; the anal pleasures are permitted to a very limited extent. Handling and touching are permitted in the handshake, the permissible embrace of good fellowship, and kissing. All these primary satisfactions are involved in different varieties of the sexual act.

Many opportunities for brutality are offered in society, especially in the field of conflict, or politics. Killing and maiming may be enjoyed by soldiers and by policemen, and judicial murder by judges, prosecuting attorneys, and a prurient, bloodthirsty public. Codes of decency in intimate intercourse may be violated in the heat of electoral and parliamentary oratory. Hostile tendencies may be indulged in anti-authoritarian crusades of various kinds, and in the corruption of officials. The ubiquity of bribery in society is due to the fact that it is learned as a by-product of the experience of being a weak child in a world of strong adults. Indulgences can be secured from nurses and parents if one is willing to make "amends," especially if one is able to make available something that they desire.

Bribery is one of the most common of all the techniques by which the weak or the preoccupied can deal with the strong or the obstructive. It has the special lure of damaging the authoritative object even as he is being granted tangible advantages, and as such is particularly designed to throw authority into contempt, and to gratify the antisocial impulses of the personality. Keen pleasure is taken by many bribers in the very act of corrupting those who profess to represent the pomp and circumstance of the conventional order.

It would be possible to make an extensive analysis from the tripartite point of view of the meaning of social doctrines, myths and legends. Some popular sayings appeal to the ego: "Doubt is the beginning of wisdom." Some appeal to the conscience: "Honor thy father and thy mother." Some appeal to the id: "You're only young once." Stories of heroic and villainous acts, prophecies of heroic and villainous events, theories of social permanence or social flux—all combine to arouse different components of the personality, stimulating the ego, reinforcing the superego, and unleashing the id.

IV

Thus far our analysis has been essentially classificatory and static as we discussed the predominant appeal of persons, institutions, occasions, policies and practices, doctrines, myths and legends.⁴ The tripartite principle is particularly promising when applied to the problem of social dynamics, since it implies not only the concept of equilibrium, but indicates the specific dynamisms of the process by which the moving equilibrium is continually redefined.

It is not within the scope of the present paper to develop this further. The essential principle may be succinctly formulated as follows: Prolonged ego and superego indulgence produces redefinitions in directions gratifying to the id; prolonged ego and id indulgence produces redefinitions in directions gratifying to the superego.

⁴ Cultural patterns which predominantly appeal to the superego of most of the personalities in a group are the "mores" of current sociological theory. The patterns which predominantly appeal to the id may be called the "counter-mores." The patterns which predominantly appeal to the ego may be called the "expedencies."

PRESUPPOSITION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

BARTH LANDHEER

Rotterdam

ABSTRACT

The social sciences at present are suffering from methodological confusion. Much of what passes for social science is social philosophy. On the other hand, the mere accumulation of facts does not lead to understanding. The awareness of the point of view of the scientist, which underlies the interpretation of his findings, is one of the most significant methodological tasks. The extent to which the presuppositions of the scientist influence his conceptions of facts and determine his conclusions is illustrated in the case of "scientific socialism." Social and political doctrines aim at action, while the corresponding scientific theories aim at knowledge. The question of evaluation is, therefore, the central one in scientific method in the social sciences. The intellectual atmosphere in which the scientist works must be known before his conclusions and his method can be accepted or even criticized. It is no longer a question of whether or not the scientist is objective, but rather what his peculiar cultural perspective is. The relative nature of truth looms thus as the orienting principle of science. Spranger has shown that it is the common elements in different universes of discourse that form the unifying bond in what otherwise would be an anarchy of scientific viewpoints. Objectivity in scientific investigation must rest, therefore, upon frank recognition of the investigator's own point of view. A critical attitude toward the ascertainable presuppositions is the best method for keeping science free from dogma.

There seem to be at present two main currents in the social sciences. On the one hand, we find highly developed systems of social philosophy building up more and more complicated structures with more or less disregard for the concrete events of life, so that they leave the student with the feeling of having obtained a nice ornament but without being much wiser about the problems he has to face. On the other hand, and this is especially true for America, we find scientists occupied with accumulating facts without being very certain about the concepts which could give to these data a scientific significance. This situation seems to have given rise to a general feeling of dissatisfaction and confusion, which is one of the factors in the present crisis of culture and science. There is, doubtless, more uncertainty in the world of thought of today than in the period before the World War. But doubt and skepticism have very often been the beginning of a new constructive period. In Germany the long methodological struggles have resulted in the recognition, at least, of the possible points of view. In the other countries, which were not uprooted to the same degree, the same problems begin to attract

attention especially where, as in the United States, the cultural background is of a diversified pattern.

Inquiries into the methods of the social sciences do not seem to have contributed much to the solution of the problem. Scientific method in general consists in abstraction, and an investigation into the nature of abstractions shows clearly that they rest upon a process of evaluation. The technique, which every special science develops for its own field, does not necessarily reveal the underlying principles of this science and does not help to make distinct the presuppositions which involve its limitations. Most scientists are quite unconscious of the method they employ, and an analysis of their work, however brilliant, would yield little of general validity, as the method of working is inseparably connected with the individual's point of view, and the results obtained are, not only in their content but also in their form, determined by the investigator's individuality.

Without aiming to analyze more closely the problem of method in the social sciences, it seems to the author that a useful approach to the study of the general applicability of scientific conclusions could be made by trying to establish the relations between conceptions of social facts and science.

What gives a social or political doctrine the right to be considered a scientific theory, and how do the scientific, social, and sociological theories differ from common-sense doctrines and opinions? Or, is there no essential difference between the two, and have they equal right to the claim of scientific validity? One way to approach this problem is to use some social theory as illustration. A suitable example of a social theory which had a great influence on social life, and which at the same time was brought into connection with science, is socialism. Even the earliest socialistic doctrines tried to establish a relation with science, though these efforts were not very definite. The problem becomes a very vital one for Marxism, which calls itself from the very beginning "scientific socialism." The structure of Marxism was based mainly on two laws: the law of surplus value and the law of concentration of capital. It is not the place here to test the validity of these laws, as the problem is to analyze only the relation between a social theory and scientific laws.

All laws referring to social facts imply the causation or motivation of certain facts by other ones; and, in so far as they claim the

validity of these principles for the future, they are speculative. The utopian socialists tried to be scientific in the sense of proceeding logically in the construction of their doctrines, but Marxism sees in its underlying principles laws which work with the absoluteness of natural forces.

How Marxism saw this relation may be illustrated by Bernstein's essay: *Wie ist wissenschaftlicher Sozialismus möglich?* Bernstein sees in science the knowledge of the real nature and relations of things, and as such only one science is possible in every field of knowledge. This has found acceptance long ago in the natural sciences, where nobody speaks of "liberal physics," "socialistic mathematics," etc. Bernstein claims that the same point of view has to be extended to the social sciences, and that it is illogical to regard social science as liberal, conservative, or socialistic. In the cases where this is claimed, the difference between social science and political doctrines has been ignored for the sake of some practical purpose or for the sake of formal requirements. But a formal logical structure cannot be regarded as the only criterion of science. Its presuppositions must be free from all conscious evaluations. These evaluations, however, are the essential elements in all political and social doctrines, and for this reason evaluative doctrines do not belong to the realm of science.

Social and political doctrines differ from their corresponding sciences in that the former definitely settle the points which constitute the problems for the latter. Social doctrines are dominated by definite purposes, so that they do not aim at knowledge but at action. Social science, on the contrary, has as its object the ever-changing structure of society and does not know, therefore, laws of absolute validity. For this reason socialism could never be scientific, because, according to Bernstein's arguments, it deals with the future situation of society and is not based on experience. On the other hand, it would be possible for socialism to use the knowledge of social facts procured by science in order to reach its aims. The consequence which interests us is that Bernstein denies socialism the right to call itself "scientific" on account of its evaluative presuppositions and practical goals. Some points of these arguments deserve a closer observation.

Though Bernstein's theory of science seems to be justified, its

application to Marxism does not seem quite fair. The difficulty is that, on one side, the laws of Marxism have to be regarded as natural laws, independent of recognition by the human mind, while, on the other hand, they have the function of ethical postulates which do not deal with the "being" of society but with the "ought." The presupposition of Marxism, which seems doubtful in the light of science, is that the working of the natural law depends on its recognition by the human being who is at the same time subject to the same law.

This dualism resulted in the untenability of Marxism as a scientific theory and of all similar theories which have not confined themselves, either to the "being" or the "ought" of society, but tried to combine both principles. In the famous struggle about *Wert* and *wertfreie Wissenschaft* this problem became the crucial question of social science to which a number of attempts at solution have been made. Some schools tried to follow the old postulate of objectivity; others denied absolutely this possibility and decided deliberately in favor of evaluation. Other systems were satisfied with stating the problem and developing it in both directions, thus leaving the decision open. This brings us to the main subject of this article: the problem whether social science can be free from presuppositions and evaluations, and if so, to what degree.

It was the generally accepted aim of the social sciences to discover laws determining the relations between social facts. The absolute validity of these laws, however, has proved questionable in almost all sciences, so that the point has been reached where even the basic principles, and therewith the presuppositions of the sciences, are being tested with reference to their validity.

The reliability of scientific data has always rested upon the assumption that man can approach the field he wishes to explore purely objectively. The approach of *Geisteswissenschaft*, however, rests upon the recognition that living man and reasoning man have grown together, that man is not a "cold demon of reason."

Man lives in a mental world in which certain facts must first present themselves as worthy of exploration. This psychic atmosphere has its roots in philosophy and religion. Exactly how this *Weltanschauung* of the scientist affects the individual branches of knowl-

edge is a problem which at present is not very clear. In any case the *Geisteswissenschaften* are dependent on the spiritual content and form of the specific historical epoch out of which they grow. For all understanding is derived, consciously or unconsciously, from a peculiar individual and epochal slant, and only by virtue of this origin can it become a basis for ultimate evaluations. It is a question of a philosophical *a priori*.

An ideal forms the standard of measure in any point of view. Every attempt at a definition of the state, for example, transcends a factual description; it contains the individual's idea of what a true state should be.

The objectivity resulting from the desire to understand, the subjectivity of the individual perspective, and the absoluteness of the critical approach are all mysteriously interwoven. Direct attention to the object and subjective evaluation may participate in unequal measure. The many-sided sympathetic understanding which is permeated by the richness of intellectual life is predominant in the aesthetic, contemplative, humanistic type. The radicalism of absolute decisions we see today operative in science through those whom Kierkegaard inspired or through those who, with Luther, are conscious of being always in the presence of God. Here the wide realm of the spirit and of culture recedes, as it were, before the demand for eternal values made by the one thing that is essential above all else.¹

Yet, even if science today arrives at clarity concerning its ultimate foundations, the greatest difficulty still stands: a variety of final conclusions. The multiplicity of perspectives cannot be overcome, and in the face of this fact the question arises whether the unity and universal validity of science can be preserved, or whether we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that every point of view produces its own science. A development in this direction already exists: the various religious sects claim to have their own systems of science; likewise one hears talk of socialistic or proletarian science. In the face of this critical situation two viewpoints are possible: one can regard this multiplicity of universes of discourse as an indication of retarded culture, as Spengler has done, and resignedly accept it; or, one can attempt, in spite of this, to believe that science has a purpose and a meaning. This meaning one might find in the

¹ Edward Spranger, *Sinn der Voraussetzungslosigkeit der Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1930. Argument in the following pages is based on Spranger's theory.

fact that science must now make clear its own presuppositions, a task which may be shifted to philosophy. However, since there is no dominating and universal system of philosophy, it becomes the task of the individual investigator constantly to focus his attention on the basic presuppositions of his science and to draw his conclusions with reference to them. The relative nature of truth becomes thus the orienting principle of science.

Just as all legislative efforts may be reduced to and derive a common meaning from the concept of justice, even though the specific ideals of justice may differ, so the concept of science is based upon the supposition that it is possible to arrive at common understanding through reasonable explanation. As long as there is a common universe of discourse, there exist bonds between the different scientific points of view. The Neo-Kantians, particularly, have always regarded this formal idea of the truth of factual knowledge as basic to their investigations. Rickert, above all others, has shown, for example, that the singularity of the historical situation out of which thought and research proceed does not annul the existence of the absolute validity of truth. Perhaps the assumption of a static, purely epistemological consciousness, of a "pure" or transcendental reason is a remnant of an unhistorical way of thinking that must yet be overcome. For it is obvious that the investigator, as a living, historical individuality, never proceeds from zero as the normal point of departure in his investigations, but that he must or should continue his thought with logical consistency and according to an external law from the point where he stands, which is the spark coming from truth itself. But this law, too, is never completely discovered, but is always sought after. Even in its implicit, binding force, however, it is the tie by means of which the idea of genuine knowledge lives on. Thus, though one person may hold Catholic convictions, the other, perhaps, Marxian ones, the moment they argue in terms of reasonable explanations they place themselves under the authority of the same basic law which permits of their arriving at an understanding, or, at any rate, at least makes it appear possible that one may convince the other.²

The very fact that we pretend or make an attempt to understand the various worlds of thought, contains the presupposition of an all-embracing consciousness of truth. Science is contrasted with dogma in that it is ready to make its presuppositions the objects of criticism and, if necessary, to revise them. It is not the lack of presuppositions that is the characteristic thing of science, but the self-criticism to which its principles may be subjected. A stimulus to such self-criticism is afforded by the various systems of philosophy and

² *Ibid.*

Weltanschauungs systems which are constantly raising new questions and problems. It must be the aim of science, however, to remain, as far as possible, a stable pole in the stream of new phenomena, even when its own presuppositions seem to be tottering. There will always be times when individual research will go its own way unheeding—then again, times when fundamental questions will stand in the center of interest. The test of the foundations of science formerly came from metaphysics. Latterly we have turned to the religious-philosophical views of the scientists for this purpose.

For science, in any case, the point to which all systems can refer is clearly the idea of truth. The methodological efforts to trace divergent systems of science along with divergent logical systems to a higher unity is commonly designated, since Hegel's time, as dialectics. Through this method the *Geisteswissenschaften* may, in the end, be able to overcome the present logical and methodological crisis.

This renewal of dialectics, which is striven for chiefly by Rothacker, is not clear in its content. One must picture a pyramid-shaped development wherein two principles are always surmounted by a third. To what extent one or more fundamental principles remain in the last analysis unreconciled is an open question.

Whether the sciences will again contract to closed, normative systems or whether they will always exclusively serve the given realities is also a question which cannot be solved theoretically. Certainly there must always be a tension between science and reality, inasmuch as reality consists of action and the problem of science is always that of maintaining a detached view of the motives that exist in the mind of the man engaged in the action. Science will always consist of reflection, and is therefore always removed from the concrete instances of reality.

Accordingly, the student in his research should not seek to cultivate his own peculiar philosophy which always remains individually conditioned, but he should free himself as much as possible from it. Therein lies the possibility of an objectivity without which no science can exist. As long as so many philosophies conflict, as in the present day, the only possibility is, in so far as the contradictions do not cancel each other by synthesis, to agree upon a philosophical mean, as for example, the English principle of common sense, which

has stood the practical test. For in this principle there is preserved nothing less than the demand for objectivity. Science will always remain the reflection that ought to precede action, the latter following according to an ethically free decision for which science is never responsible.

The crucial point for science, therefore, is not method in general, but the effort to ascertain the truth within a specific and limited field of knowledge. A part of this problem is the examination of the presuppositions of the science in question, in so far as these presuppositions have reference to the problem arising, or appear questionable. The fact that there are ultimate presuppositions lying beyond reason must not lead to a neglect of the ascertainable ones. To neglect them would reduce science to a rigid dogma. Only through the constant endeavor to arrive at and understand the truth can science be kept free. As soon as the presuppositions are revealed, to which any theory can be traced back, science must test these and allow the theory to stand only if the presuppositions upon which it is based are adequate from the point of view of the principles of the science in question.

THE WISH NEVER TO HAVE BEEN BORN

RUTH SHONLE CAVAN
Rockford, Illinois

ABSTRACT

Although juvenile suicides in the United States are negligible, the wish never to have been born occurred to about 30 per cent of a widely scattered sample of adolescent boys and girls. This wish occurred most frequently among children with high scores (poor adjustment) on a test of neurotic traits and also among those rated by their teachers as poorly adjusted socially, emotionally, and on conventional moral traits. It also occurred most frequently among children from homes which lacked harmony and intimacy between parents and children. Social contacts were less closely associated with the wish than were home conditions. The wish never to have been born, which may be considered as an evasive attempt at adjustment, indicates both a poorly adjusted personality in the child and lack of unity and harmony in the home.

JUVENILE SUICIDES

So few children in the United States commit suicide that juvenile suicides are not a problem. Thus in the year 1920 the rate of suicide per 100,000 children between the ages of ten and nineteen was 2.1. The rates for each succeeding ten-year age period were, respectively, 0.5, 13.7, 18.5, 22.6, 26.0, 27.0, 34.0, and 27.5.¹ In 1928 suicides of boys between the ages of ten and fourteen constituted but 0.19 per cent of the total number of male suicides, and the suicides of girls of the same ages constituted only 0.49 per cent of the total number of female suicides. In this year there were no suicides among children under ten years of age (see Table I).

RELATION OF DEATH WISHES TO SUICIDE

Wishes for death occur much more frequently among children than does suicide. This wish may take several forms. It may be the thought or statement "I wish I were dead." It may be the more passive wish never to have been born. Fantasies of death and of their own funerals come to some children. Other children threaten to kill themselves as a means of control over their elders.²

Two questions present themselves with reference to these wishes

¹ For recent discussions of suicides of children in the United States see Arthur L. Beeley, "Juvenile Suicide," *Social Service Review*, III (1919), 35-49; Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Suicide* (University of Chicago Press, 1918), pp. 313-17.

² Cavan, *op. cit.*, chap. x.

of children: Under what conditions do they appear? And do they tend to cause the person having such wishes to resort to suicide at a later age? Upon the second question the writer has no new data. Upon the first question a new body of data has been collected, in connection with a study of personality and family relationships made for the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.³ The data for this study consisted of questionnaires filled out by some

TABLE I*

NUMBER OF JUVENILE SUICIDES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1928 AND THE
PERCENTAGE WHICH THEY CONSTITUTE OF THE TOTAL
NUMBER OF SUICIDES

AGE IN YEARS	BOYS		GIRLS	
	Number	Percentage of Total Male Suicides	Number	Percentage of Total Female Suicides
10-14.....	23	0.19	17	0.49
15-19.....	238	2.00	207	5.94
20-24.....	550	4.62	380	10.91
25-29.....	884	7.42	371	10.64
30 and over.....	10,210	85.77	2,510	72.02
Total.....	11,905	100.00	3,485	100.00

* Based on *Mortality Statistics, 1928* (Government Printing Office, 1930), pp. 138-39.

nine thousand junior high school pupils widely scattered over the United States, and a rating scale filled out by the teacher for each pupil. Included in the questionnaire was a brief list of neurotic traits, based upon adaptations of the Woodworth neurotic scale for use with children. One question of this test of neurotic tendencies was: "Did you ever wish you had not been born?"

By comparing the children who stated they had wished they had not been born with those who said they had never so wished, family conditions and personality traits of the two groups of children become apparent as significant concomitant factors, for in some respects the two groups of children differ to a marked degree.

³ The study in question was on "The Function of Home Activities in the Education of the Child," by a subcommittee of Sec. IIIA. Professor E. W. Burgess, of the University of Chicago, was chairman of this subcommittee and the writer was research assistant. The material here reported was incidental to the study as a whole, which is to be published in full elsewhere.

From a fourth to a third of the public-school adolescents stated that they had wished they had not been born. The age range of these children was ten to seventeen years, with the median at fourteen years. Table II shows that the Mexican children had the highest percentage (35) who wished they had not been born; rural white children, with 34 per cent, came next. In both the Negro and the white groups a higher percentage of rural than of urban children had wished they had never been born. It will be recalled that suicide

TABLE II

THE WISH NEVER TO HAVE BEEN BORN AMONG JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL CHILDREN

Classification of Children	Percentage of Each Group Who Had Wished They Had Not Been Born	Percentage of Each Group Who Had Not So Wished	Total Number of Children
White urban children with American-born fathers*	26.6	73.4	1,969
White small-city children with American-born fathers†	29.5	70.5	1,200
White rural children, chiefly with American-born fathers‡	34.1	65.9	771
Negro urban children*	25.9	74.1	1,224
Negro rural children from Alabama	29.7	70.3	239
Children with Russian-Jewish fathers, chiefly urban§	30.9	69.1	955
Children with Italian fathers, chiefly urban	29.8	70.2	795
Children with German fathers, chiefly urban	23.2	76.8	401
Mexican children, chiefly from one western city	34.5	65.5	278

* "Urban" refers to cities of 75,000 and over in 1920. Seventeen such cities are represented.

† "Small city" refers to cities with 5,000-75,000 population. Twenty-two such cities are represented.

‡ "Rural" includes towns under 3,000 and open country.

§ I.e., the fathers were born in Russia.

rates in the United States are much higher in cities than in adjacent rural areas, both for Negroes and whites. Nor do the children who are foreign born or of foreign-born parents have an unduly high proportion who had wished they had not been born, although the suicide rate for foreign-born people in the United States is very high. Table III shows that among urban white children with native-born fathers a slightly higher percentage of girls than of boys had wished they had not been born, although the suicide rate for males is higher than for females.

It is not clear, then, that the wish never to have been born, considered as a wish for death, follows the same trend as the suicides

which occur among the adults in the same population groups. The hypothesis, therefore, is not justified that the wish not to have been born indicates a suicidal tendency in a given group. For the present it must be accepted at its face value, as a wish on the part of the child that he had not been called upon to accept the responsibilities of living.

Without an attempt to analyze in detail what the wish never to have been born means to the child, it has nevertheless been found that this wish is indicative of a definite home situation and personality type which tend to be characteristic of many of the children who

TABLE III
SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE WISH NEVER TO HAVE BEEN BORN

Classification of Children	Sex	Percentage Who Had Wished They Had Never Been Born	Percentage Who Had Not So Wished	Total Number of Children
Urban white children with American-born fathers....	{Male	22.8	77.2	949
	{Female	30.0	70.0	1,020

wish they had not been born. As already noted, the wish is not a universal childhood wish, but characterizes a minor though fairly numerous group. The discussion which follows points out some of the personality traits and home situations which are found associated with the wish never to have been born.

PERSONALITY RATINGS

A detailed analysis was made for one group—the urban white children with native-born fathers. With boys and girls grouped separately, the children who wished they had never been born were compared with those who had never so wished on many of the items in the child's questionnaire and the teacher's rating scale. Table IV compares the two groups on the score on neurotic traits and on the teachers' ratings.⁴

⁴ The scale for neurotic traits contained twenty-four questions, such as "Have you always gotten a square deal out of life?" "Do you like the nicknames you have been given?" "Can you easily imagine stories to yourself so strongly that you forget where you are?" The questions were ones which previous investigators had found distinguished delinquent from non-delinquent boys. With a sample group of 471 children, scores on paired halves of the test had a correlation ratio of 0.533 ± 0.024 , which became

Table IV-A indicates very clearly that the children who at some time have wished they had not been born are also the children who

TABLE IV
THE WISH NEVER TO HAVE BEEN BORN AND
CERTAIN PERSONALITY RATINGS

	DO YOU SOMETIMES WISH THAT YOU HAD NEVER BEEN BORN?					
	Percentage of Girls Replying		Total No. of Girls	Percentage of Boys Replying		Total No. of Boys
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
A. Score on neurotic traits:						
0-5 (good adjustment)	7.0	92.9	485	5.6	94.3	387
6-11 (fair adjustment)	43.4	56.5	419	28.6	71.3	465
12-24 (poor adjustment)	81.2	18.7	112	67.4	32.5	89
B. Teacher's rating on moral traits:						
Good*	27.3	72.6	505	22.5	77.4	310
Average	31.3	68.6	459	21.2	78.7	536
Poor	44.6	55.3	56	31.0	68.9	103
C. Teacher's rating on emotional stability:						
Stable	26.5	73.4	467	18.7	81.2	406
Average	32.0	67.9	509	25.4	74.6	500
Unstable	46.5	53.4	43	29.2	70.7	41
D. Teacher's rating on social ag- gressiveness:						
Compliant	27.7	72.3	419	23.1	76.8	273
Average	30.5	69.4	498	21.4	78.5	521
Disorderly	38.2	61.7	102	26.6	73.3	154
E. Teacher's rating on physical de- velopment:						
Good	27.8	72.2	356	20.3	79.6	256
Average	31.3	68.6	578	21.7	78.2	551
Poor	30.6	69.4	88	30.8	69.2	143

* The scores on the rating scale were divided into five equal intervals. The lowest two intervals constitute the group called "poor," the middle interval the "average" group, and the highest two intervals the "good" group. The same system of division was used in C, D, and E.

0.695±0.017 when extended by the Spearman-Brown formula. The test also distinguished delinquent from non-delinquent adolescents in our study.

The teacher's rating scale was an adaptation of the *Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedule*, published by the World Book Co. It yielded a score on each of five aspects, each score being the sum of the ratings on seven specific questions. The five aspects are physical development, social aggressiveness, emotional stability, conventional moral habits, and mental alertness.

have other undesirable attitudes, as judged by the list of twenty-four neurotic traits. They are, for instance, the children who feel lonely, unpopular, who do not get along well with other children or with their teachers, who have fears and suspicions. Of the girls who indicated five or less neurotic attitudes (the group which may be thought of as having good adjustment), only 7 per cent had wished they had not been born. Of the boys in this group, only 6 per cent had wished they had not been born. But among the girls who indicated twelve or more neurotic attitudes, 81 per cent had wished they had not been born, and 67 per cent of the boys in a similar group wished they had not been born.

The teacher's ratings indicate the impression which the child has made upon the teacher. They are limited to what the teacher can observe of the child in and around the school. Strictly speaking, they may not indicate what the child's traits are. They do indicate, however, the reputation which the child has with one of the major adult groups to which he must adjust, and hence they are important criteria of the child's social adjustment. Of the girls whom the teachers rated as having good moral traits, 27 per cent had wished they had not been born, as compared with 45 per cent of those rated with poor moral habits. For the boys the same trend appears, but in less well-marked degree. So, too, more of the emotionally unstable children had wished they had not been born than had the emotionally stable children. According to the teachers' ratings on social aggressiveness, the disorderly and very aggressive children were somewhat more inclined to wish they had not been born than the compliant children. Among the boys the group of "average" aggressiveness has the lowest percentage wishing they had not been born. This may indicate that, for the boys, both great compliance and great aggressiveness indicate maladjustment. There is also a tendency for fewer of the physically well-developed children than of the poorly developed children to wish they had not been born.

Thus, by all the tests used to group the children on the basis of well-developed and poorly developed personality, the children who were contented, who conformed to social standards, who were emotionally stable and physically well, showed much less tendency to wish they had not been born than did the children who were not so

well adjusted. The wish never to have been born may thus be regarded either as an integral factor of many types of maladjustment or as a resultant of such conditions. In either case it is symptomatic of some type of maladjustment which is reflected also in the personality and character of the child.

HOME AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The complete report of the study, made to the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, indicates that neurotic traits, as measured by the test used, and adverse ratings by the teacher are found principally in children who come from certain undesirable family and social backgrounds. A similar relationship is found between the wish never to have been born and certain family and social factors as indicated by the children in the questionnaires which they filled out. Table V gives the most important set of related factors—those concerning the harmonious and intimate relationship of the child with his parents.

For both boys and girls the percentage who had wished they had never been born increases as intimacy with the parent decreases. Almost half of the girls had wished they had not been born in the groups which criticized both parents, regarded the mother as nervous most of the time, did not confide in father or mother, did not kiss the mother, and had been punished during the preceding week. Among the boys almost a third of the corresponding groups had wished they had not been born. Only a fifth to a fourth of the girls and less than a fifth of the boys in groups on harmonious terms with their parents had so wished. There is, then, a definite association between lack of intimacy between parents and children and the occurrence of the wish never to have been born in the children.

Likewise, the children from broken homes had wished they had not been born in somewhat higher proportion than had the children from unbroken homes. Table VI shows that whereas 38 per cent of the girls from broken homes had wished they had not been born, only 27 per cent of the girls from unbroken homes had so wished. Among the boys the difference between the two groups is negligible.

Low socio-economic status of the family and employment of the mother are associated with the wish never to have been born among

the girls but not among the boys, as is shown by Table VII. In fact, among the boys the sons of professional men tended to have

TABLE V
THE WISH NEVER TO HAVE BEEN BORN AND
PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

QUESTIONS ASKED CHILDREN*	DO YOU SOMETIMES WISH THAT YOU HAD NEVER BEEN BORN?					
	Percentage of Girls Replying		Total No. of Girls	Percentage of Boys Replying		Total No. of Boys
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
A. What does your father (mother) do that you do not like?						
No criticism.....	22.2	77.7	332	14.4	85.5	276
Criticized father.....	36.8	63.1	141	28.9	71.0	138
Criticized mother.....	35.2	64.7	51	26.6	73.3	45
Criticized both parents.....	52.8	47.1	104	43.0	57.0	100
B. Is your mother nervous?						
Never.....	22.4	77.5	214	17.2	82.7	238
Sometimes.....	30.3	69.6	597	24.4	75.5	565
Most of the time.....	45.4	54.5	110	33.8	66.1	71
C. Do you tell your mother your joys and troubles?						
Almost always.....	22.7	77.2	603	19.2	80.7	368
Sometimes.....	39.9	60.0	298	24.3	75.6	432
Almost never.....	48.5	51.4	70	30.9	69.0	97
D. Do you tell your father your joys and troubles?						
Almost always.....	13.4	86.5	208	19.9	80.0	231
Sometimes.....	28.5	71.4	428	19.1	80.8	418
Almost never.....	42.9	57.0	261	30.5	69.4	206
E. How often do you kiss your mother?						
Every day.....	25.3	74.6	639	21.4	78.5	443
Occasionally.....	37.4	62.5	259	21.0	78.9	337
Almost never.....	42.6	57.3	68	33.3	66.6	114
F. Were you punished at home last week?						
No.....	26.7	73.2	759	20.5	79.4	682
Yes.....	43.2	56.7	118	30.8	69.1	217

* With the exception of A, the children were given the questions with the answers printed after them. They then checked the answer which was correct for them in each case. In A, they wrote down the thing which each parent did which they disliked.

this wish in slightly higher proportion than did the sons of men in other occupational classes.

Clinical and statistical studies have tended to show that only, oldest, and youngest children receive somewhat different treatment in the family than do middle children, and hence that they may develop different types of personality.⁵ Order of birth seems to make no difference in the appearance of the wish never to have been born, however. A range of only five years in the age of the children was covered by the data. No trend is discernible during this five-year

TABLE VI
THE WISH NEVER TO HAVE BEEN BORN AND BROKEN HOMES

HOME CONDITION	DO YOU SOMETIMES WISH THAT YOU HAD NEVER BEEN BORN?					
	Percentage of Girls Replying		Total No. of Girls	Percentage of Boys Replying		Total No. of Boys
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
A. Homes broken by death:						
Both parents alive.....	28.3	71.6	846	22.7	77.2	805
Father dead.....	41.8	58.1	98	20.0	80.0	80
Mother dead.....	37.2	62.7	59	25.5	74.4	47
Both parents dead.....	30.0	70.0	10	36.3	63.6	11
B. Homes broken by death or separation:						
Both parents home.....	26.9	73.0	753	22.4	77.5	716
One parent dead or parents separated.....	37.5	62.5	216	23.7	76.2	198

period from twelve through sixteen years in either decrease or increase in the wish never to have been born. As to religious affiliation, almost the same percentage of Protestant and of Catholic children had wished they had not been born.

Of the factors thus far considered, family relationships seem more closely associated with wishes not to have been born than do such factors as order of birth, age, or religious affiliation. Another group of factors remains—social contacts. Three indices of social contacts were used: number of close friends, number of organized clubs to which the child belonged, and number of visits per week with friends. As with the other data, this information came from the children's

⁵ See chap. xiv on "Order of Birth and Personality Development," in the report of the subcommittee, *op. cit.* (White House Conference on Child Health and Protection).

replies to the questionnaires which they filled out. Table VIII gives the results, which are somewhat difficult to interpret and which clearly do not show the consistent pattern shown by the family relationships.

TABLE VII
THE WISH NEVER TO HAVE BEEN BORN AND CERTAIN
INDICES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

INDICES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	DO YOU SOMETIMES WISH THAT YOU HAD NEVER BEEN BORN?					
	Percentage of Girls Replying		Total No. of Girls	Percentage of Boys Replying		Total No. of Boys
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
A. Occupational class of father:*						
Professional.....	23.2	76.7	112	25.9	74.0	108
Commercial and managerial.....	26.7	73.2	116	21.5	78.4	102
Skilled trades.....	27.3	72.6	300	20.7	79.2	303
Skilled labor.....	31.9	68.0	244	23.3	76.6	240
Unskilled labor.....	37.5	62.5	64	17.5	82.5	40
E. Employment of mother:						
Mother not employed.....	26.8	73.2	777	22.7	77.2	729
Mother employed.....	42.1	57.8	209	22.1	77.8	194
C. Socio-economic status by Sims scale:†						
Wealthy, scores 32.5-39.6..	30.2	69.7	86	26.5	73.4	83
Upper middle class, scores 21.7-32.4.....	25.4	74.5	365	22.3	77.6	304
Lower middle class, scores 10.9-21.6.....	32.0	68.0	400	21.5	78.4	403
Poor, scores 0-10.8.....	41.5	58.4	101	30.0	70.0	80

* The classification used was a "common-sense" one worked out by Counts and adopted by Sims for use in his scale of socio-economic status. For a copy see Vernon Sims, *The Measurement of Socio-economic Status* (Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Ill.).

† See *ibid.* A short form of the scale was used. Therefore the scores are not comparable to the scores obtained in other studies in which the Sims scale was used. The scale gives weighted values to education of the parents, number of books and magazines in the home, possession of a telephone, automobile, bathroom, occupation of the father, etc. The descriptive terms here used have been assigned arbitrarily by the author of this article.

Since the family relationships were more significant for the girls than for the boys, the girls were chosen for a study of the total home background in its association with the wish never to have been born. The percentage of girls in each category who had never wished they had not been born furnished a value for that category. Thus, on the matter of confiding in the mother (Table V-C), 77 became the value for almost always confiding, 60 the value for sometimes confiding,

and 51 the value for almost never confiding. In like manner, each of eight factors in the home received values for the categories under it. The eight factors chosen were employment of the mother, broken homes, criticism of parents, nervousness of the mother, confiding in the mother, confiding in the father, kissing the mother,

TABLE VIII
THE WISH NEVER TO HAVE BEEN BORN AND SOCIAL CONTACTS

	DO YOU SOMETIMES WISH THAT YOU HAD NEVER BEEN BORN?					
	Percentage of Girls Replying		Total No. of Girls	Percentage of Boys Replying		Total No. of Boys
	Yes	No		Yes	No	
A. Number of close friends:						
Four or more.....	26.4	73.5	480	20.4	79.5	513
Two or three.....	34.1	65.9	398	26.4	73.5	314
One.....	26.3	73.6	110	20.4	79.5	88
None.....	61.1	38.8	18	22.2	77.7	18
B. Number of clubs to which child belongs:*						
Three or more.....	26.0	74.0	73	23.7	76.2	80
Two.....	29.0	70.9	231	17.8	82.1	224
One.....	29.1	70.8	450	25.5	74.4	396
None.....	36.2	63.7	185	23.0	76.9	178
C. Number of visits with friends during preceding week:						
Six or more.....	30.3	69.6	528	24.3	75.6	468
Four or five.....	30.6	69.3	212	22.8	77.1	158
Two or three.....	29.4	70.5	173	18.9	81.0	153
None or one.....	28.5	71.4	91	22.7	77.2	141

* This section of the table is based upon replies to the following question: "Check all of the following clubs or organizations of which you are a member: Boy Scouts, Hi-Y, other Y.M.C.A. club, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Girl Reserves or other Y.W.C.A. club, 4-H Club, school club not already checked, church club not already checked, other club (what kind?)."

and punishment. By adding the eight values for a given girl a score was arrived at which indicated the presence or absence in her home of the desirable categories under these factors. The scores ranged from 470 to 614, the low scores indicating homes in which factors associated with wishes never to have been born were prevalent, the high scores indicating homes in which the conditions not associated with this wish were present. The percentage of girls at each score level who had, and who had not, wished they had not been born

was then computed in order to discover whether the homes with a greater number of undesirable features produced more girls who wished they had not been born than did desirable homes. The results are given in Table IX.⁶ A more detailed table, not published, shows that the 10 girls with the lowest scores all had at some time wished they had not been born and that the 20 girls with the highest

TABLE IX
THE WISH NEVER TO HAVE BEEN BORN AND SCORES
ON TOTAL HOME BACKGROUND

SCORE ON HOME BACKGROUND BASED UPON EIGHT FACTORS*	PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS FROM EACH LEVEL OF HOME BACKGROUND WHO		TOTAL NUMBER OF GIRLS AT EACH LEVEL
	Wished They Had Not Been Born	Had Never So Wished	
470-74.....	(1 case)	.....	1
475-84.....	(1 case)	.....	1
485-94.....	91.7	8.3	12
495-504.....	81.0	19.0	21
505-514.....	69.6	30.4	23
515-524.....	82.8	17.2	29
525-534.....	68.3	31.8	63
535-544.....	62.7	37.3	67
545-554.....	52.8	47.2	72
555-564.....	44.1	55.9	93
565-574.....	43.6	56.4	55
575-584.....	42.6	57.4	61
585-594.....	23.3	76.7	60
595-604.....	24.2	75.8	33
605-614.....	.....	100.0	20

* The eight factors used were employment of mother, broken home, criticism of parents, nervousness of mother, confiding in mother, confiding in father, kissing mother punishment.

scores had never so wished. With only one marked deviation from an even trend, the percentage of girls who had wished they had not been born decreases as the scores on the home background increase. Clearly, homes may be classified as to the amount of tension and conflict which the child feels is present, and a prediction may be made of the probability of children from different types of homes developing a wish never to have been born.

Three related factors thus appear: conflict and lack of intimacy in the home, ratings indicating maladjustment on various tests of

⁶ All the girls who had wished they had not been born were used in this table, and an equal number of girls was chosen at random from the entire number of girls who had never so wished.

sonality makeup, and the wish never to have been born. The data here presented show the relation between the wish never to have been born and each of the other two factors. The report made to the White House Conference shows the relationship between tension in the home and maladjusted personality. The wish never to have been born does not appear as an isolated wish. It is part of a rather general outlook on life which may be thought of as neurotic. Moreover it appears, as do the other neurotic attitudes covered by the test of neurotic traits, among children from homes in which the child feels out of harmony with his parents.

The statistical findings are supported by data from another section of the White House Conference Study—a series of descriptions of family life secured from 602 students in fifteen colleges. Among other questions the students were asked whether they had ever wished they had not been born or that they were dead. Of 112 women who replied to this question, 46 per cent had wished for death in some form, and of 107 men, 60 per cent had so wished. The most frequent situations calling forth this wish among the women were punishment or scolding (10 cases), denial of something by parents (12 cases), not understood by parents (4 cases), and when angry (4 cases). Among the men the most frequent situations were punishment or scolding (17 cases), denied something by parents (6 cases), and misunderstood by parents (3 cases). Only 3 girls and 1 man mentioned quarrels with friends as the occasion for a wish for death.

The wish for death or wish never to have been born when it appears in children may be taken as indicative of a more general neurotic outlook on life, which, in turn, is found in conjunction with a home situation in which the child feels out of sympathy with his parents and that he cannot confide in them. Thus, although a relationship between wishes for death among children and later suicidal tendencies cannot be established on the basis of these data, wishes for death appear as common to a minority of children who are characterized by other very definite personality trends and home conditions.

HOUSING IN VIENNA: A SOCIALISTIC EXPERIMENT

ROBERT E. CHADDOCK

Columbia University

ABSTRACT

In 1919 the socialist government of Vienna, through special legislation and powers of taxation, assumed ownership of large areas of building land. This enabled the erection of flats and houses for the working classes on a large scale and at relatively low cost. Pre-war housing was a menace to the health and efficiency of the working classes. The socialistic system provided modern, sanitary, well-equipped living quarters at a cost of something more than one dollar per month—the sum necessary to provide for upkeep only. Municipal housing has gradually reduced crowding and eased the pressure of high rents upon the standard of living of the working classes and has become an important factor in raising standards of health and comfort. The plan was devised to meet a crisis and seems likely to succeed in accomplishing its main objectives.

I

Under the national constitution the city of Vienna enjoys great freedom in the conduct of its affairs, both administrative and fiscal. The Social Democrats gained control at the first municipal election after the World War and still hold about two-thirds of the seats in the municipal council. Their socialization program is drastic and comprehensive. It includes municipal ownership and management of public utilities, competition with private business, distribution of property through taxation, acquisition of land, and the extensive building of houses for the masses.

The city is engaged in many forms of business. It conducts without profit more than four-fifths of the funerals; it controls nine-tenths of the advertising space from which a small annual profit is derived; it owns a municipal brewery which produces about one-fifth of the beer sold in the city. Special legislation permits the city to subscribe for the capital of private enterprises, at present chiefly engineering and building concerns. City officials serve on the directorates of these companies. The municipality has a monopoly of transportation, gas, and electricity. Official statistics indicate substantial decreases in cost of service and increases in number of consumers, while the population of Vienna has been declining since the war.

The municipal housing program is regarded as the outstanding

achievement of socialistic policy. Special legislation for the city of Vienna and powers of taxation unhindered by the federal government have made this possible. The municipal council acts as both city council and provincial diet. It elects an administrative executive, the mayor, and twelve assistants, eight of whom head city departments. The mayor is also governor of the province.

The Socialists in 1919 assumed control of an almost bankrupt city. Immediately the taxation system was so reorganized as to rest lightly on the poor and heavily upon the wealthy. A great variety of consumption and luxury taxes were imposed. First, a rent-restriction act lowered rents, made private building unprofitable, and reduced ground values. This law was followed by an increment-value tax on the conveyance of land, paid by the vendor or, in default by him, paid by the purchaser. A third act imposed a house tax upon all occupiers of property for either dwelling or business purposes, scaled so as to fall most heavily upon luxurious quarters.

These measures brought promptly into the municipal treasury large funds and rendered much private property unprofitable, including large areas of building land. The city purchased much of this land at prices representing only a fraction of its former value. Vienna now owns between one-quarter and one-third of its total area, in parcels large and small, distributed over all parts of the city. Having acquired both land and funds, the municipal government began to build flats and houses on a large scale. At present, accommodations in these new city-owned dwellings have been provided for at least two hundred thousand occupants.

II

An examination of post-war housing policies and practices in different countries indicates at least two points of view. Some maintain that the situation is temporarily abnormal, owing to scarcity caused by the lack of building during the war and continued by high costs of materials and labor, and owing to the difficult financial conditions of the reconstruction period. The government must, therefore, take a hand temporarily, by lightening tax burdens on buildings, by furnishing capital at low rates of interest, as in England, France, and Germany, or even by acquiring land and building

houses from public funds to meet the demand for reasonable rents. However, since conditions have been abnormal, they will pass and private initiative will be able to provide housing as before.

Others take a very different view. Adequate housing is a fundamental need of every community, directly related to the health, morals, standard of living, and efficiency of the population. Especially, since the Industrial Revolution in urban communities, the low-income classes have suffered the consequences of bad housing. They have not been able to secure decent housing, because adequate, sanitary dwellings could not be built with private capital, in competition with other forms of investment, on a sufficiently large scale to provide housing at a rental which the poor could afford. But the standard of living is kept low, and the health and efficiency of the working classes are continually impaired by bad housing. Therefore, the community, through its government and in its own interest, should adopt some plan which will provide the low-income group with decent living quarters as a permanent social policy, designed to raise the standard of living as is done through other social policies.

The Socialist government of Vienna faced an acute housing situation in 1919. There was no prospect that private initiative could cope with the crisis. Moreover, it was in accord with the general policy of the Socialist régime to undertake the housing of the working classes as a community enterprise of first importance.

III

Pre-war housing in Vienna was a menace to the health and efficiency of the working classes and their children. A survey of 1917 revealed that almost three-quarters of all living quarters consisted of small flats of two rooms or less—utterly inadequate accommodations for even the most essential needs. A considerable proportion of the population lived in one-room dwellings, badly ventilated and inadequately lighted.

A typical flat provided a kitchen and one other room, constructed in large units by speculative builders. Many rooms had no direct light and air, or opened on a shaft of such limited area as to be entirely inadequate. The lavatories and running water were usually

situated in the common hall and were used by several families on the same floor. Very few dwellings had gas or electricity. The houses, as a rule, covered practically the entire site, providing inadequate courts and no play space except the streets.

The low-income families of large size occupied the worst flats. For these inadequate quarters the tenant often must pay one-quarter of his total income, relatively the highest rents. Many families were forced to receive subtenants and lodgers, which increased the density of population per room. This room-crowding had already become a menace to health and the standard of living. At the close of the war the housing shortage was acute, owing to the general cessation of building, thus increasing the crowding and aggravating the long-existing menace of bad housing.

IV

The Socialist government, in order to meet the housing crisis, decided to become builder and landlord on a large scale, as the most promising solution. The equity of the owners of the pre-war buildings was a relatively small proportion of their value. The capital for their construction had been borrowed on mortgages and was derived, for the most part, from the savings of many individuals. The currency inflation during and after the war rendered it possible to take up mortgages on property for almost nothing. Those who had accumulated savings lost them. The special legislation already described made it easy for the municipality to acquire large real estate holdings at small cost. Upon these sites homes for the working classes have been and are now being constructed.

To understand this unique experiment in municipal housing it is necessary to keep in mind the difficult financial and industrial position of Austria, and of Vienna in particular—a single city with almost one-third of the entire population of the country. Austria imports essential raw materials and considerable foodstuffs. Much of her productive territory had been taken from her under the terms of the peace treaty. Her wage scale and standard of living were already low before the war, and now competition with surrounding countries seemed possible only by continuing a low wage scale.

Low rents seemed a necessary economic and social policy under

the circumstances. A rise in rents, or even the old rent scale, would have necessitated a struggle for higher wages, which might have endangered the country's economic position and would probably have resulted in more unemployment. Therefore, the Vienna government regards the present housing policy as the only one likely to meet the situation successfully.

These municipal dwellings for the working classes are built out of current taxes, and when constructed their capital value is placed at zero, requiring no amortization or interest funds. Since the war the municipality has expended on this construction about 640,000,000 Austrian shillings (at present worth about 15 cents), and the present plans call for a total of 64,000 dwellings by the end of 1932. The incredibly low rents are meant to provide merely upkeep and repairs, and, since most of the houses are new, there is little need for repairs.

The flats are arranged in units built around large courts, with gardens, playgrounds, and sometimes wading pools for children in the center. Many of Vienna's leading architects have co-operated in submitting plans. The buildings are grouped in a manner pleasing to the eye, and in many cases the stucco outer walls are in colors. Extensive use of balconies contributes to the appearance of the houses, as well as to the comfort and health of the tenants.

All building materials are purchased on a large scale, for the sake of economy, and are furnished by the city to the contractor who hires his own labor. As indicated before, the city owns an interest in a number of building material enterprises. It is clear that large-scale building is a very important factor in cheapening construction. The buildings are strictly fireproof, with reinforced concrete floors covered with oak flooring. The earlier construction was of concrete, but now bricks also are being used. The cooking recesses, sinks, and lavatories are tiled and finished with waterproof plaster.

The building must not cover more than one-half the area of the site, and often occupies less. All rooms have direct light and air. The houses are not over five stories in the later construction, without elevators but with many entrances by stairways. A maximum of four flats on each floor open on the same stairway.

The typical flat in these municipal houses consists of a very small

entrance hall, a kitchen, one larger and one smaller room, and a lavatory—covering in all about 430 square feet. Over one-half of all the newly constructed flats are of this type. All have lavatories and running water within the flat. Each flat has electric light, a gas stove for cooking, and a small metal stove burning coke for heating, both furnished by the municipal gas company. Central heating and bathrooms have been omitted from the plans in the interest of economy. The authorities maintain that an individual stove for each flat is cheaper, since the poor families cannot afford much heat.

The rental for a flat of the type described above is about seven shillings per month (somewhat more than one dollar per month), inclusive of the housing tax which every tenant in the entire city must pay. This tax on a worker's dwelling is very small, but larger apartments and business premises not only rent for much more but are taxed at a progressive rate, according to the number of rooms or amount of space occupied. This low rental is designed merely to provide current upkeep.

V

Especially in the larger housing units a number of services are provided for the common use of all the tenants. In buildings housing three hundred families or more a central steam laundry has been constructed, equipped with all the most modern devices—electric washing machines, driers, mangles, etc. Here housewives may do their own laundry, both washing and ironing, by power equipment, for a small charge added to the rent. It is usually possible to allow each family the use of the central facilities only once in two weeks. Small cubicles are provided for each individual washing, with tubs and washboards, thus insuring privacy in handling the clothes. In buildings with a smaller number of flats facilities of the ordinary kind are provided and tenants have the use of drying-rooms.

Central baths for tenants are provided in the large housing units. The same boilers used for the laundry furnish hot water for shower and tub baths, located in small rooms adjoining the central laundry. A small fee is charged for each bath. These facilities compensate somewhat for the lack of a bath in each flat. Besides, the city has built and operates extensive public baths, at present over fifty in number, with about 10,000,000 attendance per year, as compared

with 3,000,000 before the war. In a section of the city with a large factory population is found the largest public bath, recently constructed at a cost of 10,000,000 shillings, and with a capacity of 3,000 persons at one time.

Kindergartens to the number of 100 have already been established in these municipal buildings, supervised by trained personnel. Day homes for the children of working mothers, health centers, libraries, social rooms, and sometimes a cinema have been provided in the large building units. The street floor in many houses is leased for shops in a variety of businesses, convenient for the patronage of tenants.

One of these units of buildings may be described in some detail as an example. Sandleiten was formerly an unsightly dumping ground for refuse, now transformed into a beautiful housing development with 1,576 dwellings, mostly flats, in large units with numerous, ample garden courts and abundant park area near by. These flats are accessible by means of 103 stairway entrances. Three power-equipped steam laundries have been provided, and in connection with these laundries are 3 public baths with full equipment of tubs and showers. There are 75 business premises leased in the buildings, a chemist shop, a doctor's dwelling and offices, a post-office station, 3 day homes for children, 1 large kindergarten with 7 day rooms, a cinema theater with 600 seats, an audience hall, a committee room, a tea kitchen, 2 large playrooms, and a wading pool for children. A park is located in front of these houses, provided with playgrounds, an open-air bath for children, and a swimming pool for adults.

The administration of these new dwellings, including technical supervision and maintenance, is carried on exclusively by municipal officials. All applications for flats must be presented to a city board which decides on the merits of each case. The demand is large and houses are quickly filled with tenants as soon as completed.

VI

Municipal housing in Vienna has greatly reduced pre-war room-crowding and its consequent evils. Although the population of the city has decreased from 2,100,000 to 1,860,000, the number of household establishments has increased by 40,000. Meanwhile, the num-

ber of subtenants has greatly declined. The new housing policy has eased the pressure of high rents upon the standard of living of the working classes, and has become an important factor in raising standards.

The proponents of the plan point to lowered tuberculosis and infant mortality rates as effects of improved housing. A five-year study of the health of the thousands of tenants in the municipal dwellings is under way and will be completed in 1932, with the object of answering the questions as to the effects of improved housing on the population. The occurrence of contagious diseases, infant morbidity and mortality, tuberculosis, and other diseases, in large blocks of flats, is being recorded and will be analyzed. At present there is a difference of opinion as to the effect of large numbers of family dwellings in close proximity on the spread of contagion. Provision of many entrances with separate stairways lessens contacts; running water and a lavatory in each flat reduce sanitary dangers; direct light and air for every room are expected to produce a marked effect on general health; and space for play and recreation in the open establishes a favorable basis for child health.

Many question the ultimate success of the policy of building houses out of current taxes and renting them for an amount merely covering maintenance. However, the property already acquired and constructed represents a large and valuable investment. The receipts from taxes enable the city to continue building on sites already owned at small outlay. There may be doubt, as the houses become older, as to the adequacy of the present low rents to cover upkeep. But, if Austria recovers from the general depression gradually, and if, along with better housing, the general standard of living improves, rents can be increased without hardship. Even small increases in rents will greatly augment the city's income from property. Furthermore, as housing is improved and crowding is reduced, fewer new houses will be required each year, since it is likely that Vienna's total population will continue to decline at least for a time.

Vienna's socialistic housing plan was devised to meet a crisis—one that could not, at the time, be met by private initiative and private resources. Indeed, the experience of various countries indicates that housing problems have not been solved, and probably can-

not be, through private initiative and solely by the use of private capital. These needs of the community must be taken in hand on a large scale, with adequate resources, and with liberal powers of local home rule in government. Vienna is attacking the problem as a local government enterprise of first importance, second only to feeding and clothing its people. The director of city construction argues that high building costs for materials and high interest on capital in Vienna would compel private builders to charge rents equal to half the tenant's income. This situation would be intolerable. The alternative of municipal housing seems both reasonable in its inception and likely to succeed in accomplishing its main objectives.

THE PATENTING PERFORMANCE OF 1,000 INVENTORS DURING TEN YEARS

LOWELL JUILLIARD CARR
University of Michigan

ABSTRACT

Patents, despite obvious limitations, form valuable indexes of one type of cultural change. A study of a random sample of 1,000 patentees from the alphabetical index of 1916 shows that they and their 169 partners averaged 1.13 patents in 1916. During the ten years up to and including 1925 the 1,000 patentees were credited with 3,457 patents. Probably 195,000 patentees were active in the United States during this decade. More than half of them took out only one patent. The two most prolific individuals in the sample produced 83 per cent as many patents as Edison during the same ten years. Compared with Lotka's figures on the productivity of physicists and chemists, inventors seem somewhat more given to multiple patenting than do scientists to multiple contributions. Lines of trend are worked out to show the tendency of patentees to reappear in later years. The line of best fit, checked against actual reappearances in 1930, shows an error of prediction of approximately one sigma, or about 10 per cent.

Following the work of Ogburn, Chapin, Rice, and others, inductive studies of social processes have tended to focus attention on cultural changes.¹ While cultural changes constitute only one type of social change, that type is highly important and lends itself readily to objective study through the use of indexes. One useful index for this purpose is the patent. Obviously patents record only material inventions and not all of those. Even of those that are recorded, only a very small percentage—sometimes estimated as low as 1 per cent—have any practical utility. Nevertheless, with all these limitations, patents still constitute a valuable means of measuring one aspect of cultural change.

It is from this point of view that a number of investigators in recent years have been using the statistics of the Patent Office. Thus Jefferson and Gilfillan, working separately, have tried to develop methods of measuring differences in inventiveness from nation to nation.² Applebaum has pointed out a certain seasonal pe-

¹ William F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (1922); F. Stuart Chapin, *Cultural Change* (1928); Stuart A. Rice, *Quantitative Methods in Politics* (1928).

² Mark Jefferson, "The Geographic Distribution of Inventiveness," *Geographical Review*, XIX (October, 1929), 649; S. C. Gilfillan, "Inventiveness by Nation: A Note on Statistical Treatment," *ibid.*, XX (April, 1930), 301.

riodicity in the application curve at Washington.³ Rossman, starting from the Patent Office records, has studied the processes of invention as described by more than seven hundred successful inventors.⁴ Other investigators have been working along similar lines.

There is still lacking, however, information on what may be called average patenting performance of average inventors over a period of years. We do not know what percentage of any given sample of inventors will reappear at the Patent Office next year and the next year and the year after that. And, lacking an exhaustive analysis of the alphabetical indexes of the Patent Office, we have no basis for estimating the number of *different patentees* represented by the formidable lists of *names* accumulating from year to year. To throw light on these questions the writer recently drew a random sample of 1,000 names from the alphabetical index for 1916, and checked the patenting record of each individual in the sample for ten years up to and including 1925,⁵ and again in 1930. This sample, when analyzed, was found to consist of 904 residents of Continental United States and 96 residents of foreign countries and insular possessions, chiefly the British Commonwealth, Germany, France, Sweden, and Switzerland.⁶ There were 11 women patentees among our 1,000—all residents of the United States.

³ A. L. Applebaum, "A Monthly Application Curve," *Journal of the Patent Office Society*, II (May, 1920), 433.

⁴ Joseph Rossman, "The Obstacles and Pitfalls of Inventors," *ibid.*, XII (May, 1930), 195; see also *The Psychology of the Inventor* (1931).

⁵ The index contained 736 pages of names, averaging roughly about 83 names to a page, or more than 61,000 in all. Since each inventor's name is repeated for every patent and since the names of corporations and individuals to whom patents are assigned are included along with the names of actual inventors, the gross totals mean nothing for the present purpose. To avoid nationality or racial discrimination, each letter in the alphabet was given the same representation in our sample proportionately that it had in the original index, the practice being to begin with the name of the first inventor listed under each letter and to follow in order until the proper quota was filled. Thus the sample contained 113 S's as against 2 Q's and no X's, etc.

⁶ Great Britain and the British possessions contributed 30, including Canada's 13; Germany, 28; France, 10; Switzerland, 5; Sweden, 5; Denmark, 3; Norway, 3; Italy, 2; and the following, 1 each: Argentina, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Cuba, Finland, Greece, the Netherlands, Poland, and Porto Rica. In view of the fact that Jefferson and Gilfillan find that Switzerland has the highest patent rate in the world, Switzerland's representation in the present sample is worth noting. In 1916 Switzerland had a population of less than 3,800,000.

In the base year, 1916, 156 individuals had 169 partners in their patenting.⁷

AVERAGE PATENTING PERFORMANCE

In ten years our 1,000 patentees took out 3,457 patents. The 904 resident patentees took out 3,196, and the 96 foreign patentees, 261.

TABLE I
PATENTS ISSUED TO UNITED STATES RESIDENTS EACH YEAR
AND COMPUTED TOTAL NUMBER OF INVENTORS
EACH YEAR—DUPLICATIONS INCLUDED

Year	Number of Patents to U.S. Residents	Individuals Listed Each Year
1916.....	41,437	36,222
1917.....	38,820	33,933
1918.....	36,421	31,836
1919.....	34,199	29,894
1920.....	35,337	30,889
1921.....	36,627	32,017
1922.....	35,110	30,690
1923.....	35,990	31,468
1924.....	40,075	35,030
1925.....	43,427	37,960
1930.....	40,523*	35,422
Total.....	377,443	329,939

* Estimated total based on the average difference between total patents issued and total issued to residents of Continental United States for the ten years 1916-25. This difference amounted to 4,720. The total patents issued in 1930 amounted to 45,243, according to the first serial number of 1930 and the last. The official report for 1930 was not available when this was written. The totals given here exclude 1930.

In 1916 our 1,000 patentees and their 169 partners produced 1,321 patents, or 1.13 per individual. The 904 resident patentees and their 148 partners produced 1,204, or 1.144 patents per individual. Assuming that 1916 was a typical year and that patenting performance per individual is fairly constant, this average of 1.144 can be used to compute the number of different individuals behind the total number of patents issued each year to United States

⁷ The patenting records of the partners were not followed, and no count of partners was kept beyond 1916, except in the case of 86 individuals selected at random. These 86 had 21 partners in 1916 and 29 during the whole ten years. On this basis there were from 1,169 to 1,233 different individuals behind the patents credited to our 1,000 patentees in ten years.

residents.⁸ In Table I this is done for each year of the decade beginning with 1916, and for the check year, 1930.

At the 1916 rate of our sample, approximately 329,000 names would be credited with the 377,000 patents issued during the decade.

HOW MANY INVENTORS PRODUCE OUR PATENTS?

The problem now is: How much duplication is hidden in that total of 329,000 names? How many different individuals are represented by those figures?

TABLE II
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF UNITED STATES PATENTEES
OF 1916 SAMPLE WHO REAPPEARED IN
SUCCEEDING YEARS

Year	Number Repeating	Percentage of 904
1916.....	904	100.0
1917.....	177	19.6
1918.....	130	14.4
1919.....	129	14.3
1920.....	106	11.7
1921.....	102	11.3
1922.....	88	9.7
1923.....	89	9.8
1924.....	98	10.8
1925.....	96	10.6
1930.....	64	7.0

We cannot answer that question until we have established a basis for estimating the percentage of patentees of any given year who repeat in any given year following. So the first question is: What percentage of our sample returned to the Patent Office in 1917, in 1918, and in each of the years covered by our study? The answer may be read in Table II. Less than one-fifth of our patentees returned in 1917, and, subject to certain fluctuations due probably to the business depression of 1921, etc., there was a gradual falling-off from year to year until in 1930 only 7 per cent of the original

⁸ The patent rate for Continental United States, exclusive of the District of Columbia and Alaska, in 1916 was 41.1 per 100,000. For the same area for the ten years 1916-25 it averaged 35.3. In other words, the 1916 rate was 16.4 per cent above the average for the decade.

group reappeared at Washington. It is not enough, however, to know these raw percentages as they stand. Our sample includes about 1 out of every 36 of the patentees listed in the 1916 index. What is important for us is not so much the behavior of the individuals in this sample as the trends that that behavior reveals. So we must find an equation that will express the trend of reappearances among our patentees and fit a curve to our observed values. There are two ways in which this may be done. One is to base our equation directly on the figures as they stand without correcting for variations in business conditions, differing incentives to invention, etc. This procedure will give us a generalized picture of reappearances as they occurred, but it will be inaccurate as a basis for predicting future behavior. In order to secure such a basis for prediction we shall have to eliminate, as far as possible, the effects of extraneous factors, such as business conditions, so that our equation eventually will express what our inventors would have done had they continued to patent under substantially the conditions of 1916. To estimate the number of patentees active during the decade we shall work from the actual observed values. To predict the future reappearances of our sample patentees we shall work from the adjusted theoretical values.

Using the equation

$$y = ar^t,$$

in which a is the point of origin, r is the rate, and t the time in years, we find that the trend of the actually observed reappearances runs as shown in Table III, a having the value 150.99 and r 0.91519.

We can now use the trend to construct a table by which we can eliminate successively from the patentee totals of each year the contributions from each preceding year of the decade. This has been done in Table IV.

The net total of names not duplicated during the decade turns out to be 195,579. In other words, during the years 1916-25 inclusive, in Continental United States exclusive of the District of Columbia and Alaska, 195,579 different inventors took out patents. This is, of course, merely an approximation depending on the adequacy of our sample and the validity of our assumption that the patent

rate per group of individuals tends to remain constant from year to year.

TABLE III

Year	Observed Actual Number Repeating	Line of Trend*	Trend as Percentage of 904
1917.....	177	150.99	16.7
1918.....	130	138.18	15.3
1919.....	129	126.46	14.0
1920.....	106	115.75	12.8
1921.....	102	105.92	11.7
1922.....	88	96.94	10.7
1923.....	89	88.71	9.8
1924.....	98	81.19	8.9+
1925.....	96	74.30	8.2

* The average deviation from this line of trend is 10.9, and the standard deviation is 11.6.

TABLE IV*

NET TOTAL NUMBER OF PATENTEES ACTIVE IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES
BY YEARS, 1916-25 INCLUSIVE

	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Per cent active.....		16.7	15.3	14.0	12.8	11.7	10.7	9.8	9.0	8.2
1916.....	36,222	6,049	5,542	5,071	4,636	4,238	3,876	3,550	3,260	2,970
1917.....			4,656	4,266	3,904	3,570	3,262	2,983	2,732	2,509
1918.....				3,613	3,311	3,029	2,770	2,542	2,315	2,120
1919.....					2,830	2,592	2,372	2,169	1,982	1,813
1920.....						2,707	2,480	2,269	2,075	1,896
1921.....							2,652	2,430	2,223	2,033
1922.....								2,217	2,031	1,859
1923.....									2,224	2,038
1924.....										2,703
1925.....										
Total names.....	36,222	33,932	31,836	29,894	30,889	32,017	30,699	31,468	33,030	37,960
Duplications.....		6,049	10,198	12,950	14,681	16,136	17,412	18,150	18,842	19,941
Net total different patentees.....	36,222	27,883	21,638	16,944	16,208	15,881	13,287	13,318	16,188	18,019
GRAND TOTAL DIFFERENT PATENTEES.....										195,579

* The percentage of our sample active in each year has been applied successively to the net balance remaining in each year after the contributions of preceding years have been subtracted. In other words, the unduplicated balance each year has been distributed through succeeding years according to the percentages given at the head of the table. Thus, in 1917, for example, after deducting the 16.7 per cent of the 1916 patentees presumed to have returned, there are left 27,883 patentees of 1917, 16.7 per cent of whom in turn reappear in 1918, 15.3 per cent in 1919, 14.0 per cent in 1920, etc.

In Table V are the figures on the number of patents produced each year by the patentees in our sample. These figures show a distinct upward trend toward the end of the decade. In other words, there is probably a tendency, as we should expect, for the more rapid inventors to outlast the less rapid, causing the averages to

rise. All of which tells us nothing of the rate at which the same group of individuals produces patents from year to year.⁹

On the basis of our estimated total of 195,000 active patentees during the decade, there was approximately 1 patentee to every 551

TABLE V
PATENTS PER YEAR BY PATENTEE SAMPLED,
1916-25 INCLUSIVE

Year	No. Patentees Active	No. Patents	Average No. Patents per Individual Active
1916.....	904*	1,204	1.33*
1917.....	177	351	1.98
1918.....	130	251	1.93
1919.....	129	237	1.84
1920.....	106	196	1.85
1921.....	102	175	1.72
1922.....	88	184	2.10
1923.....	89	178	2.00
1924.....	98	217	2.21
1925.....	96	203	2.11
1930.....	64	154	2.41

* Partners omitted. The average number, with partners included, in 1916 was 1.144. Since partners are not included in the other years they are here omitted in 1916.

persons in the United States. In other words, *less than two-tenths of 1 per cent of the population was carrying on the work of material invention.*

DIFFERENCES AMONG PATENTEES

As a matter of fact, the great bulk of the inventing was being done by an even smaller percentage of the population. Only 13 per cent of the 904 American patentees took out more than 5 patents, but this group of less than one-seventh of our inventors accounted for 57.5 per cent, or nearly three-fifths of the patents issued to resi-

⁹ The group rate probably varies less, however, than does its total number of patents produced. From the unpublished data of a questionnaire study of 137 patentees it appears that as between 48 business inventors, 16 research men, 43 side-issue inventors, and 12 independent inventors—119 in all—the Pearsonian coefficient of variability of group averages of total patents was 0.40, while the coefficient of variability of group averages of the number of patents per year of patenting activity was only 0.12 (Lowell J. Carr, "A Study of 137 Typical Inventors," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XIII [1929], 204).

dents in ten years. Four hundred and eighty-one, or 53.2 per cent, took out only 1 patent, and 148 only 2. The 846, or 93.6 per cent of American patentees taking out from 1 to 10 patents, averaged 2.2; the 58, or 6.4 per cent, who took out from 11 to 65 patents, averaged 23.6.

The most prolific patentees included in the sample were Mr. Byers W. Kadel of Virginia and Mr. Frederick Hachmann of Missouri. Each obtained 65 patents during the decade. The aver-

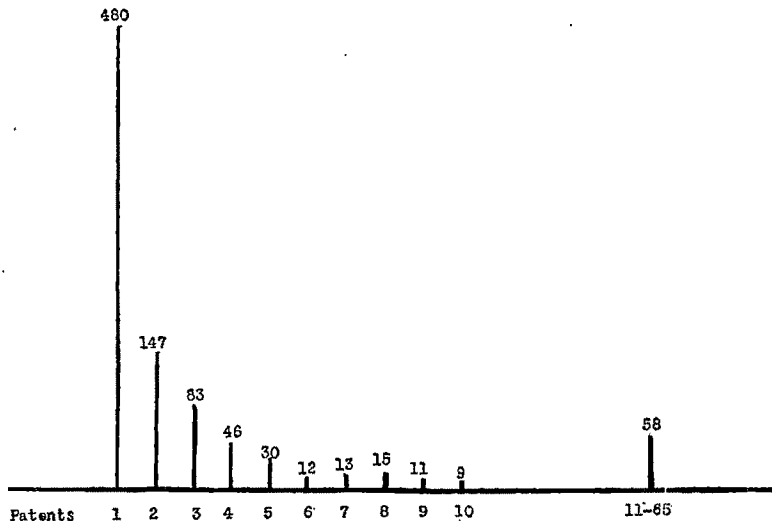


FIG. 1.—Productivity of United States patentees—904 cases, for the decade 1916-25.

age for the entire 904 American patentees was 3.5; for the 96 foreign patentees, 2.7. The 11 women patentees averaged 1.6.

During the same decade Thomas A. Edison, who had not been included in the original sample but whose record was checked for comparison, took out 78 patents, or more than thirty-five times as many as the average of 93 per cent of the American patentees.

The tendency for multiple patenting to be confined to a very small percentage of our inventors is shown in Figure 1.

It is interesting to note that multiple patenting seems to be somewhat more characteristic of inventors than multiple contribution is of scientists. In a study of 8,216 chemists and physicists Lotka

found that about 60 per cent had been heard from only once, and that a law of inverse squares seemed to apply to their productivity—the number making two contributions being about one-fourth of the number making one; the number making three, about one-ninth; the number making four, about one-sixteenth, etc.¹⁰ The departure of the present sample from Lotka's findings may be indicated as shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI

No. Patents in Ten Years	No. Patentees as Actually Observed	No. Patentees If Law of Inverse Squares Applied	Percentage Difference of Inventive from Scientific Productivity
1.....	480	480	.....
2.....	147	120	22.5
3.....	83	53	56.6
4.....	46	30	53.3
5.....	30	19	57.9
6.....	12	13	— 8.3
7.....	13	10	30.0
8.....	15	8	87.5
9.....	11	6	83.3
10.....	9	5	80.0

Fifty-eight individuals took out from 11 to 65 patents, and 11 of the 58 took out 41 or more. On the whole, more inventors seem likely to make multiple patents than scientists seem likely to make multiple contributions.¹¹

PREDICTING THE REAPPEARANCE OF PATENTEES

What is the trend of reappearance among patentees? How long will the inventors of a given year continue to turn up at Washington and in what numbers each year?

Before we can answer that question we must eliminate from our data, as far as possible, the influence of extraneous factors such as the war and the business depression of 1921. This may be done to

¹⁰ Alfred J. Lotka, "The Frequency Distribution of Scientific Productivity," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, XVI, No. 12 (June 19, 1926), 317-23.

¹¹ The fact that Lotka's figures cover the entire productive span of most of his scientists while the present figures on inventors cover only ten years makes the difference noted here even more striking. Inventors tend to exceed in ten years what scientists do in a lifetime.

some extent by treating the total number of patentees of each year as a percentage of the number in 1916, and then adjusting our sample patentee reappearances to fit. But first the growth factor must be taken out of the patentee totals each year, on the assumption that the number of patentees tends to increase at least as rapidly as the general population.¹² In column 1 of Table VII the cumulative percentage of growth over 1916 is shown for each year of the decade

TABLE VII
PATENTEE REPEATERS FROM 1916 AS ADJUSTED TO 1916 BASE
AFTER POPULATION GROWTH IS ELIMINATED

Year	(1) Percentage Population In- crease over Base Year	(2) Total U.S. Patentees, Popu- lation Growth Eliminated	(3) Totals Expressed as Percentages of 36,222, Total of Base Year, 1916	(4) Repeaters from 1916 Sample as Adjusted to Base of 1916
1916.....	0.0	.....	.....	.....
1917.....	1.4	33,489	92.4	191
1918.....	2.8	30,942	85.4	152
1919.....	4.2	28,635	79.0	163
1920.....	5.6	29,153	80.5	131
1921.....	7.6	29,574	81.6	125
1922.....	9.1	27,908	77.0	114
1923.....	10.8	28,053	77.4	115
1924.....	12.9	30,521	84.3	116
1925.....	14.5	32,452	89.6	107
1930.....	23.1	27,240	75.2	85

and for 1930. These percentages are then deducted from the number of patentees of each year (see Table I), and the results appear in column 2. These adjusted totals are then reduced to percentages of the 1916 base, 36,222, as shown in column 3, and these percentages are then used to adjust the number of repeaters from our 1916 sample to the 1916 base, 177 (see Table II). The theory of this adjustment is simply that since in any given year of the decade there was only a fraction of the number of inventors active who were active in 1916, it is likely that the social incentives to patenting were only a fraction of those of 1916. If this is so, we should not expect to find as many of our sample patentees reappearing in any year of

¹² From the increase in the patent rate from 2.8 in 1830 to 41.0 per 100,000 population in 1916, or more than fourteen times, while population was increasing about four times, this would seem to be a conservative assumption.

the decade as would have reappeared had conditions been similar to those of 1916. In other words, in order to obtain a consistent picture of the behavior of our patentees the number who actually did reappear must be increased by the exact proportion that the total number of patentees, with growth eliminated, falls below the total of 1916. This is what we have done in Table VII. To these adjusted figures we can now fit our curve, using the same formula as before. In solving this formula, however, it is necessary to work with an even number of cases, so we must drop either the 1917 figures or the 1925 figures. Dropping 1917 gives us the values

$$y = 155.4 (0.94326)^t. \quad (1)$$

When 1925 is dropped we have

$$y = 177.9 (0.92679)^t. \quad (2)$$

The lines of trend given by these equations are shown in Table VIII. The first equation gives a somewhat better fit and more nearly approximates the facts in 1930, but throws the curve too high in the future. The second equation gives a poorer fit and a higher percentage of error in 1930, but probably comes closer to the facts of 1960 and 1970. On this basis the last patentee would appear in the 1980's.

The net result would seem to indicate, however, that there are so many variables affecting the reappearance of patentees that predictions of this kind have little value when extended more than a few years into the future. Even within a range of ten years the standard deviation of the measures is so high that no high degree of accuracy can be expected. In any case, the number of actual reappearances must be adjusted to a given base before the method becomes applicable.

CONCLUSIONS

1. In any given year American patentees tend to produce slightly more than one patent each.
2. From this fact it is possible to estimate that during the decade 1916-25 approximately 195,000 patentees were active in the United States, or about 1 per 551 population.
3. One-seventh of the patentees probably produce about three-

fifths of the patents. More than half take out only one patent in ten years.

4. Multiple patenting seems to be more characteristic of inventors than multiple contribution is of scientists.

TABLE VIII
PATENTEE REAPPEARANCES AS PREDICTED BY TREND LINES
FITTED TO ADJUSTED SAMPLE, 1916-25

Year	Equation (1) Trend of Reappearance, 1918-25	Equation (2) Trend of Reappearance, 1917-24	Facts as Adjusted to 1916 Base
1917.....	164.2	177.9	191
1918.....	155.4	164.9	152
1919.....	146.6	152.8	163
1920.....	138.3	141.6	131
1921.....	130.4	131.2	125
1922.....	123.0	121.6	114
1923.....	116.0	112.7	115
1924.....	109.5	104.5	116
1925.....	103.2	96.8	107
1926.....	97.4	89.7	.....
1927.....	91.8	83.2	.....
1928.....	86.5	77.1	.....
1929.....	81.7	71.5	.....
1930.....	77.1	66.2	85
1931.....	72.7	61.4	.....
1932.....	68.6	56.9	.....
1933.....	64.7	52.7	.....
1934.....	61.0	48.8	.....
1935.....	57.6	45.3	.....
1940.....	43.0	30.9	.....
1950.....	24.0	14.5	.....
1960.....	13.4	6.8	.....
1970.....	7.4	3.1	.....
1980.....	4.1	1.5	.....
1990.....	2.3	0.7	.....
2000.....	1.3	0.3	.....
Standard deviation.....	7.9	9.9	.....
Error of prediction, 1930	7.9	18.8	.....
Percentage of prediction error, 1930.....	10.2	28.2	.....

5. It is possible to predict the number of patentees from any given year who will reappear in the patentee index of any given year in the future. But such predictions involve a considerable degree of error and should not be extended more than a few years from the date of estimate.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: SOME PRELIMINARY RESULTS OF MEASUREMENT

F. STUART CHAPIN

University of Minnesota

ABSTRACT

"A Scale for Rating Living Room Equipment" has been used for four years to measure the socio-economic status of 617 homes. The preliminary report of findings indicates that the Scale is adequate to distinguish between broad classes of homes, and suggests the possibility of distinguishing more than two classes of homes. The high reliability and validity of the Scale are shown by ratings on the same home by different observers, correlations with scores on other scales, and by correlations with intelligence and other factors. The author is now engaged in standardizing the Scale on the basis of several hundred homes.

During the last four years a "Scale for Rating Living Room Equipment" has been widely used in attempts to measure the socio-economic status of 617 homes. These homes are located in communities ranging in size from small villages in the South to apartment homes and private dwellings in Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, and New York City. The results presented herewith are drawn from eight independent studies in these areas.

The Scale was originally published in 1928, and at that time socio-economic status was defined as the position that an individual or a family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural possessions, effective income, material possessions, and participation in group activity of the community.¹ The sociological assumptions underlying the Living Room Scale developed to measure socio-economic status as defined are: (1) the living room of a home is the room most likely to be the center of interaction of the family; (2) the living room equipment reflects the cultural acquisitions, the possessions, and the socio-economic status of the family.

As a result of this initial paper and several subsequent treatments

¹ F. Stuart Chapin, "A Quantitative Scale for Rating the Home and Social Environment of Middle Class Families in an Urban Community: A First Approximation to the Measurement of Socio-economic Status," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIX, No. 2 (February, 1928), 99-111.

of the subject² the author received twenty-five inquiries from research workers in all parts of the country and from abroad. The widespread interest in this tool of measurement is taken as the justification of this preliminary report of findings.

The main results of measurements on 617 homes appear in Table I.

TABLE I
LIVING ROOM SCORES

Investigator	Place	Number of Homes	Range of Scores	Mean of Scores	
Chapin, F. S. *	Minneapolis	38	20-89	50	Five studies of "middle-class" homes
Chapin, F. S. †	Twin Cities	29	25-108	62	
Van Alstyne, D. †	New York	75	20-200	76	
Brearley, H. C. †	Landrum, S.C.	61	46-146	83	
Zeleny, L. †	St. Cloud	20	30-210	65	
Totals and averages	5	223	28-150	67	
Taeuber, C. §	Minneapolis	46	60-359	163	Four studies of "upper-middle-class" homes
Conklin, A. ||	Brooklyn, N.Y.	128	44-384	111	
Zeleny, L. †	St. Cloud	28	51-245	129	
Loomis, C. P. ||	Southern mountains	192	55-290	122	
Totals and averages	4	394	52-319	131	

* See p. 586, n. 1.

† See p. 586, n. 3.

‡ In letters to the author.

§ "Group Participation with Reference to Socio-economic Status" (a typewritten Master's thesis, University of Minnesota Library), p. 50.

|| In letters to the author. Original scale slightly modified.

If it is assumed that the range and the type of community in which homes were scored are reasonably representative of American culture, then certain tentative conclusions are indicated from Table I: (1) The Living Room Scale, even in its present rough form, is a sufficiently discriminating instrument of measurement to distinguish between broad classes of homes. (2) The mean scores and ranges of scores in "upper-middle-class" homes are twice as high as in "middle-class" homes. (3) The overlapping in ranges suggests the

² F. Stuart Chapin, "The Measurement of Sociality and Socio-economic Status" and "A Home Rating Scale," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII (1928), 208-18, and XIV (1929), 10-16; also D. van Alstyne, "The Environment of Three-Year-Old Children," *Teachers College Contributions to Education* (1929).

possibility of distinguishing more than two classes of homes when a larger number of measurements is available. For the present we may tentatively define the limits thus: "lower middle class" score below 50 points; "average middle class" score 50-100 points; "upper middle class" score over 100 points.

Having presented these preliminary results of an attempt to measure socio-economic status by use of the Living Room Scale, let me now turn to some important comments and qualifications.

How the Scale looks and how it is used may be understood from the following verbatim copy of the 1930 edition.³

SCALE FOR RATING LIVING ROOM EQUIPMENT

DIRECTIONS TO VISITOR

1. The following list of items is for the guidance of the recorder. Not all of the features listed will be found in any one home. Entries on the schedules should, however, follow the order and numbering indicated. Weights appear after the names of the respective items. Disregard these weights in recording. Only when the list is finally checked should the individual items be multiplied by these weights and the sum of the weighted scores be computed, and then only after leaving the home. All information is confidential.
2. Check or underline the articles or items present. If more than one, write 2, 3, or 4, as the case may be.
3. Do not enter the *score* of any article or feature present. Complete recording before attempting to enter scores.
4. In cases where the family has no real living room, but uses the room at nights as a bedroom, or during the day as a kitchen or as a dining room, or as both, *in addition to use of room as the chief gathering place of the family, please note this fact clearly* and describe for what purposes the room is used.
5. When possible it is desirable to have a living room checked twice. This may be done in either of two ways.
 - a) After an interval of two or three weeks the same visitor may recheck the room. The first schedule should be marked I, the second II.
 - b) After an interval or simultaneously, the room may be checked by two different visitors. One schedule should be marked A, the other B.

Scores of the same homes on two trials should be similar. If a group of homes are scored twice there should be a high correlation between the scores. Please report findings to F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota.

³ "Scale for Rating Living Room Equipment," *Circular No. 3* (Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota), January, 1930.

I. Fixed Features

1. Floor.....
Softwood 1, hardwood
2, composition 3,
stone 4.
2. Floor covering.....
Composition 1, carpet
2, small rugs 3, large
rug 4, oriental rug 6.
3. Wall covering.....
Paper 1, kalsomine 2,
plain paint 3, decora-
tive paint 4, wooden
panels 5.
4. Woodwork.....
Painted 1, varnished
2, stained 3, oiled 4.
5. Door protection.....
Screen 1, storm door 1.
6. Windows.....
1 each window.
7. Window protection⁴.....
Screen, blind, netting,
storm sash, awning,
shutter, 1 each.
8. Window covering⁴.....
Shades 1, curtains 2,
drapes 3.
9. Fireplace.....
Imitation 1, gas 2,
wood 4, coal 4.
10. Fire utensils.....
Andirons, screen, pok-
er, tongs, shovel,
brush, hod, basket,
rack, 1 each.
11. Heat.....
Stove 1, hot air 2,
steam 3, hot water 4.
12. Artificial light.....
Kerosene 1, gas 2,
electric 3.

13. Artificial ventilators 1.....
14. Clothes closets 1.....
- Total Section I.....

II. Built-in Features

15. Book containers.....
Shelves 1, cases 2.
16. Beds.....
In a sideboard 1, in a
ceiling 2, in a door 3.
17. Desk 1.....
18. Window seats 1.....
19. Window boxes 1.....
- Total Section II.....

III. Standard Furniture

20. Table.....
Sewing 1, writing 1,
card 1, library, end,
tea, 2 each.
21. Chair.....
Straight, rocker, arm-
chair, high chair, 1
each.
22. Stool or bench.....
High stool, footstool,
piano stool, piano
bench, 1 each.
23. Couch.....
Cot 1, sanitary couch
2, chaise longue 3,
daybed 4, davenport 5,
bed-davenport 6.
24. Desk.....
Business 1, personal-
social 2.
25. Book cases 1.....
26. Wardrobe or movable
cabinet 1.....
27. Sewing cabinet 1.....
28. Sewing machine.....
Hand power 1, foot
power 2, electric 3.

⁴ If checked out of season, ascertain if used in season and so record

29. Rack or stand 1.....
 30. Screen 1.....
 31. Chests 1.....
 32. Music cabinet 1.....
 Total Section III.....
- IV. *Furnishings and Cultural Resources*
33. Covers.....
 Furniture, table, chair,
 couch, piano, 1 each.
 34. Pillows.....
 Couch, floor, 1 each.
 35. Lamps.....
 Floor, bridge, table,
 1 each.
 36. Candle holders, 1 each.....
 37. Clock.....
 Mantel, grandfather,
 wall, alarm, 1 each.
 38. Mirror, 1 each.....
 39. Pottery, brass or
 metal.....
 Factory made 1, hand
 made 2 each.
 40. Baskets.....
 Factory or hand made,
 waste, sewing, sand-
 wich, decorative,
 1 each.
 41. Statues 1 each.....
 42. Vases 1, flowers or
 plants, 2 each.....
 43. Photographs 1 each
 (portraits of personal
 interest).....
 44. Pictures.....
 Note if original or re-
 production. If origi-
 nal, oil, water color,
 etching, wood block,
 lithograph, crayon
 drawing, pencil draw-
 ing, pen and ink,
 brush drawing, photo-
 graph (when treated
 as a work of art), 2
 each; if reproduction,
 photograph, halftone,
 color print, chromo,
 1 each.
45. Books⁵.....
 Poetry, fiction, history,
 drama, biography,
 philosophy, essays, lit-
 erature, religion, art,
 science (physical, psy-
 chological, social), at-
 las, dictionary, ency-
 clopedia, .20 for each
 volume.
46. Newspapers⁶.....
 General, labor, local
 community, sectarian,
 1 for each type of
 paper.
47. Periodicals⁶.....
 News (current events),
 professional, religious,
 literary, science, art,
 children's, 1 each; fra-
 ternal, fashion, or pop-
 ular story, .50 each.
48. Telephone⁶.....
 Switchboard connec-
 tion 1, two-party line
 2, one-party line 3
 (Note social or busi-
 ness mainly.)
49. Radio⁶.....
 Crystal 1, one-tube 2,

⁵ To be recorded if in another room (except professional library of doctor, lawyer, clergyman).

⁶ To be recorded if in another room.

two-tube 3, three-tube 4, five-tube and up, 5.	ment reproduced; voice—solo, duet, quartet, chorus; in- strumental—solo, in- strument (piano, vio- lin, etc.), trio, quartet, band, orchestra, .10 for each record; jazz, .01 for each.
50. Musical instruments ⁶	Total Section IV.
Piano 5, organ 1, vio- lin 1, other hand in- struments, 1 each.	
51. Mechanical musical in- struments ⁵	
Music box 1, phono- graph 2, player-organ 3, player-piano 4.	
52. Sheet music ⁶	SUMS OF WEIGHTED SCORES
Opera, folk, military, ballads, classic, dance (other than jazz), chil- dren's exercises, .05 for each sheet; jazz, .01 for each sheet.	Total Section I.
	Section II.
	Section III.
	Section IV.
	Grand Total.
53. Phonograph records ⁶	
Type of music (as above); type of instru-	S.

The preliminary standardization of the Scale, that is, how reliable and valid a measuring instrument it has proved to be, is shown in Table II.

TABLE II

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

RELIABILITY: Independent ratings on the same home by different observers show coefficients of variation of .02 and .04

VALIDITY: Correlations with scores of same homes on other scales:

1. 38 homes with Chapman-Sims scale, $r = +.69 \pm .08$
2. 18 homes with Holley scale, $\rho = +.514$
3. 29 Minnesota Children's Bureau cases with social workers' judgments, bi-serial $r = +.90$
4. 75 homes in New York City with 60 environmental factors, $r = +.68 \pm .04$

The significance of measurements of the home may be partially indicated by correlations between the scores and measurements of individual traits of persons in the home. These results are shown in Table III.

The author is now engaged in a project to standardize the Scale

on the basis of several hundred homes. For reliability each home will be scored twice: first, at the same time by different observers; and, second, at successive intervals by the same observer. The resulting scores will be correlated. For validity, the homes will be scored on the McCormick Social Adequacy Scale⁷ and the resulting scores correlated with the Living Room Scale scores. In connection with the plan for further standardization, two other problems will be attacked: first, to construct a scale for rural homes; second, to

TABLE III
CORRELATIONS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS WITH
INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER FACTORS

Factor	Correlation	Number of Cases	Investigator
Education of parents	$r = +.71$	120	Skalet, M.*
Occupational status on Minnesota scale	$r = +.74$	120	Skalet, M.*
I.Q. of child†	$r = +.46$	70	Skalet, M.
Child's M.A.‡	$r = +.59$	75	Van Alstyne
Mother's intelligence	$r = +.65$	75	Van Alstyne
Child's vocabulary§	$r = +.67$	75	Van Alstyne

* From letters to the author.

† For four-year-olds.

‡ For three-year-olds.

§ For three-year-olds.

provide in the scale some device to measure the more elusive factors of aesthetic atmosphere of the living room and its state of cleanliness, orderliness, etc. Beginnings have been made in these directions but the results are yet too meager to justify publication.

Fundamental to the standardization and usefulness of all scales to describe socio-economic status are considerations of the logic and validity of measurement in sociology. I shall not attempt to repeat here the detailed discussion of this problem published elsewhere,⁸ but I do desire to call the attention of the reader to this discussion in order that certain doubts about the possibility of measurement in sociology may be answered.

⁷ Mary J. McCormick, "A Scale for Measuring Social Adequacy," *Social Science Monographs*, I (October 15, 1930), 3. National Catholic School of Social Service. Pp. 73.

⁸ F. Stuart Chapin, "The Meaning of Measurement in Sociology," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV (May, 1930), 83-94.

FARM TENANCY AND SOCIAL FACTORS A STUDY IN OKLAHOMA¹

THOMAS C. McCORMICK

University of Arkansas

AND

ELLEN BARNEY

Ada, Oklahoma

ABSTRACT

Farm tenancy in Oklahoma is so closely associated with cotton farming that when the percentage of cotton acreage is held constant, the correlation between tenancy and most of the situations here examined, generally supposed to be adversely affected by tenancy, is greatly reduced or entirely removed. This suggests that the difficulty lies less in tenancy than in the economic conditions growing out of the traditional system of cotton production in the South.

Farm tenancy is usually pictured as being at its worst in the region of cotton farming. Oklahoma ranks fourth among the states in cotton production, and in 1925 was exceeded in rate of tenancy by only six other southern and southwestern states.² Whatever evil effects tenancy may have on social life and organization, therefore, should be found in Oklahoma. Also, the situation in that state is simplified by the fact that 90 per cent of the tenants are whites, most of them of native parentage. For these reasons, the present exploratory study of the relationships between farm tenancy and other social factors (primarily rural education) in Oklahoma, made when the writers were connected with the East Central Oklahoma Teachers College, may be of general interest.

In the absence of research funds, it was necessary to confine the inquiry to a statistical analysis by partial correlation of secondary data; and the results are offered subject to these limitations.³ The

¹ Research Paper No. 252, "Journal Series," University of Arkansas.

² South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

³ The variables X_1 , X_2 , X_3 , X_4 , and X_5 are taken from the census, 1920, *Agriculture*, VI, Part II, 14; X_6 , X_7 , and X_8 are from the same census, *Population*, III, Table 9, 817-23. But X_9 is calculated from *Population Bulletin: Oklahoma, Number and Distribution of Inhabitants* (1st ser.), Table 4, 7-20. The source of the remaining variables, X_{10} , X_{11} , and X_{12} , is E. E. Brown, *A Statistical Survey by Counties of Education in Oklahoma* (1925), Bull. 110, State of Oklahoma, Department of Education, pp. 45, 48, and 37, respectively. All data are reasonably accurate and reliable.

territory covered includes the sixty-three counties in Oklahoma which in 1919 grew an appreciable amount of cotton.⁴ The definition of farm tenancy used is necessarily that of the federal census: "*Farm tenants* are farmers who, as tenants, renters, or croppers, operate hired land only."

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF ZERO ORDER

$r_{12} = .107 \pm .12^5$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and bales of cotton per acre]
$r_{13} = .194 \pm .12$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and value of farm land per acre]
$r_{14} = -.398 \pm .11$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and value of farm buildings per farm]
$r_{15} = .706 \pm .06$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and per cent of improved farm land planted to cotton]
$r_{16} = -.637 \pm .07$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and per cent of population sixteen to seventeen years of age attending school]
$r_{17} = .327 \pm .11$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and per cent of population ten years and over illiterate]
$r_{17} = .646 \pm .07$	[Ditto]
$r_{18} = .375 \pm .11$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and children under seven years of age per 1,000 population]
$r_{19} = .129 \pm .12$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and per cent of urban population]
$r_{110} = -.269 \pm .12$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and valuation per school child, 1922]
$r_{111} = .270 \pm .12$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and ad valorem tax rate for general school funds, 1922]
$r_{112} = -.077 \pm .12$	[Per cent of farm tenancy and Brown's Index Number of County School Efficiency]
$r_{45} = -.543 \pm .09$	[Value of buildings per farm and per cent of improved farm land planted to cotton]
$r_{56} = -.607 \pm .08$	[Per cent of improved farm land planted to cotton and per cent of population sixteen to seventeen years of age attending school]
$r_{57} = .428 \pm .10$	[Per cent of improved farm land planted to cotton and per cent of population ten years and over illiterate]

⁴ Adair, Atoka, Beckham, Blaine, Bryan, Caddo, Canadian, Carter, Cherokee, Choctaw, Cleveland, Coal, Comanche, Cotton, Craig, Creek, Custer, Delaware, Dewey, Garvin, Grady, Greer, Harmon, Haskell, Hughes, Jackson, Jefferson, Johnston, Kingfisher, Kiowa, Latimer, Le Flore, Lincoln, Logan, Love, McClain, McCurtain, McIntosh, Marshall, Mayes, Murray, Muskogee, Noble, Okfusgee, Oklahoma, Okmulgee, Osage, Pawnee, Payne, Pittsburg, Pontotoc, Pottawatomie, Pushmataha, Roger Mills, Rogers, Seminole, Sequoyah, Stephens, Tillman, Tulsa, Wagoner, Washington, Washita.

⁵ Standard error.

$r_{58} = .489 \pm .10$	[Per cent of improved farm land planted to cotton and children under seven years of age per 1,000 population]
$r_{59} = -.151 \pm .12$	[Per cent of improved farm land planted to cotton and per cent of population urban]
$r_{510} = -.610 \pm .08$	[Per cent of improved farm land planted to cotton and valuation per school child, 1922]
$r_{511} = .442 \pm .10$	[Per cent of improved farm land planted to cotton and ad valorem tax rate for general school funds, 1922]
$r_{512} = -.281 \pm .12$	[Per cent of improved farm land planted to cotton and Brown's Index Number of County School Efficiency]
$r_{69} = -.088 \pm .12$	[Per cent of population sixteen to seventeen years of age attending school and per cent of population urban]
$r_{79} = -.407 \pm .10$	[Per cent of population ten years and over illiterate and per cent of population urban]
$r_{89} = -.748 \pm .05$	[Children under seven years of age per 1,000 population and per cent of population urban]
$r_{910} = .605 \pm .08$	[Per cent of population urban and valuation per school child, 1922]
$r_{911} = .119 \pm .11$	[Per cent of population urban and ad valorem tax for general school funds, 1922]
$r_{912} = .709 \pm .06$	[Per cent of population urban and Brown's Index Number of County School Efficiency]

Special attention is called to the relationships r_{12} , r_{13} , and r_{15} above, because they will not be expressed again by partial correlation. According to $r_{12} = .107 \pm .12$, tenants obtained as good yields of cotton per acre as did owners in the year 1919, when the census was taken. This coefficient, however, should be based on average yields over a series of years, and climatic factors should be eliminated. The interest of the present writers in this particular relationship was not sufficient to justify the amount of labor required to obtain such accuracy. That tenants farm land of about the same money value per acre as do owners is indicated by the coefficient $r_{13} = .194 \pm .12$. This is opposed to the common idea that cotton tenants are pushed back upon marginal or submarginal land. A striking connection between percentage of tenancy and percentage of improved land in farms planted to cotton is shown by the coefficient $r_{15} = .706 \pm .06$. This agrees with the generally accepted opinion that tenancy tends to increase markedly under a cotton-farming economy. It also suggests that whatever evils have been ascribed to tenancy may really be due to cotton farming, and makes it necessary for us to hold constant the

factor X_3 , percentage of cotton acreage, by partial correlation, in order to obtain a more valid test of the relationship between percentage of tenancy and the various social factors with which this study is concerned.

TENANCY AND VALUE OF FARM BUILDINGS PER FARM

Farm tenants in the cotton region are usually believed to occupy inferior houses in comparison with farm owners. When the percentage of tenancy, X_1 , and the value of farm buildings per farm, X_4 , are correlated, a low but significant negative association does result: $r_{14} = -.398 \pm .11$. But when the percentage of improved farm acreage planted to cotton, X_5 , is allowed for, even this slight association disappears: $r_{14.5} = -.025 \pm .13$. This furnishes no evidence that white tenants in the cotton counties of Oklahoma are less well housed on the average than are white owners. Interpretation in this case is somewhat obscured by the fact that the value of barns and other buildings not used for dwelling purposes is included in the X_4 series.

In the remaining part of the paper will be given partial-correlation coefficients between the percentage of farm tenancy and certain educational factors. Here we reach the central motive of our study, which is to obtain a preliminary statistical test of a prevalent conviction that farm tenancy constitutes a serious handicap to the efficient functioning of the public-school system in the cotton-growing sections of Oklahoma.

TENANCY AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

From a number of possible ways of measuring school attendance for the purpose of comparing farm owners' and tenants' children in this respect, it was decided to select the percentage of children sixteen and seventeen years of age attending school, in order to test whether owners' children continue in school at the high-school age to a greater extent than tenants' children. The zero-order coefficient, $r_{16} = -.637 \pm .07$, indicates that as the percentage of tenants increases in a county, the percentage of children sixteen and seventeen years old attending school decreases sharply. Much of this relationship, however, turns out to be misleading, really depending upon the

improved farm acreage planted to cotton (incidentally, the factor of percentage of population in the county that is urban is also eliminated here): $r_{16.59} = -.321 \pm .11$. Nevertheless, according to this result, the older children of farm tenants in the cotton-growing counties of Oklahoma probably do attend school to a slightly less extent than do the children of corresponding age of farm owners.

TENANCY AND ILLITERACY

Another available barometer of educational status is percentage of illiteracy. The zero-order coefficient between percentage of farm tenancy and percentage of illiterates ten years old and over is here $r_{17} = .327 \pm .11$. This would indicate that there is a small but probably significant excess of illiteracy among farm tenants as compared with farm owners in Oklahoma. But it happens that $\eta_{17}^2 - r_{17}^2$ is greater than three times its P.E., although less than four P.E., so that the linearity and hence the meaning of r_{17} are in doubt. Under these conditions the correlation ratio was calculated, and $\eta_{17} = .646 \pm .07$. Proceeding now to hold constant X_5 and X_9 , $r_{17.59} = .309 \pm .11$; and $\eta_{17.59} = .576 \pm .04$. In this case partial correlation does not much reduce the values of r and η ; and the difficulty of interpreting non-linear relationships remains. As it stands, however, $\eta_{17.59} = .576$ is undoubtedly too high, because of a grouping error. We may therefore venture the interpretation that there is probably a genuine but low positive relationship between farm tenancy and illiteracy in Oklahoma.

TENANCY AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Do farm tenants, in common with other economically subordinate classes, have more children than do farm owners, the corresponding superior economic class? Correlating X_1 , percentage of farm tenancy, with X_8 , number of children under seven years of age per one thousand population by counties, yields $r_{18} = .375 \pm .11$. Resorting to partial correlation, and holding constant the same factors as above, we get $r_{18.59} = .531 \pm .09$. Here the effect of eliminating the factors X_5 , percentage of cotton acreage, and X_9 , percentage of urban population, is to raise the value of the coefficient. The implication is that farm tenants in the region studied have noticeably larger numbers of children than have farm owners.

TENANCY AND ABILITY TO SUPPORT PUBLIC EDUCATION

As the best measure of farmers' ability to support the public schools, E. E. Brown, of the Oklahoma Department of Education, suggests the average county valuation per school child. The coefficients below show the amount of association between the percentage of tenancy, X_1 , and valuations per school child in Oklahoma counties, in 1922, X_{10} : $r_{10} = -.269 \pm .12$; and $r_{10 \cdot 59} = .097 \pm .12$. To the extent that X_{10} is a real index of farmers' ability to pay, these results deny that, in the cotton-growing region of Oklahoma, counties with a large percentage of farm tenants are less able to support the public schools than are counties with a small percentage of tenants.

TENANCY AND EFFORT TO SUPPORT PUBLIC EDUCATION

Again following the suggestion of Mr. E. E. Brown, former Oklahoma chief high-school inspector, we adopt the ad valorem tax rate for general school funds, exclusive of bond, interest, and judgment funds, by counties, as the measure of farmers' effort to support rural public schools in the year 1922. The relationship between percentage of tenancy, X_1 , and farmers' effort to support public schools, X_{11} , is $r_{11} = .270 \pm .12$; and $r_{11 \cdot 59} = -.149 \pm .12$. We have here no evidence that counties with many farm tenants make less effort than do counties with few tenants to support the rural public schools.

TENANCY AND RURAL-SCHOOL EFFICIENCY

Finally, we give the correlation between percentage of farm tenancy, X_1 , and E. E. Brown's Index Number of County School Efficiency in Oklahoma, X_{12} , the latter consisting of the well-known Ayres's Index, counted as two-thirds, combined with three tables of pupils' progress and teachers' training: $r_{12} = -.077 \pm .12$; and $r_{12 \cdot 59} = -.099 \pm .12$. Again the coefficients fail to show any association. Since $r_{912} = .709 \pm .06$, it appears rather clearly that the chief factor affecting the efficiency of the public-school system in Oklahoma is not farm tenancy, but percentage of population urban in a given county.

SUMMARY

This preliminary analysis of secondary data by the statistical method of partial correlation indicates that farm tenancy in Oklahoma is so closely associated with cotton farming that when the

percentage of cotton acreage is held constant, the correlation between tenancy and most of the factors here examined, which are generally supposed to be adversely affected by tenancy, is greatly reduced or entirely removed. There is, however, a slight unfavorable relationship between farm tenancy and school attendance and between farm tenancy and illiteracy. The implication is that many of the social deficiencies in the rural regions of the cotton belt are due less to farm tenancy than to the economic conditions growing out of the traditional system of cotton production.

STUDIES IN NEGRO LEADERSHIP: AGE AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF 1,608 NEGRO LEADERS

SANFORD WINSTON
North Carolina State College

ABSTRACT

A statistical analysis of 1,608 American Negro leaders reveals a group comparatively young in years, males being somewhat older than females. A widening of occupational activity is found. The time-honored occupations of teaching and the ministry have competitors in the newer fields of medicine and law. The newer occupations requiring greater support directly from the Negro group are in part an index of the growing economic and social achievements of the supporting Negro population.

Articles and books dealing with the American Negro have largely neglected to analyze the factor of Negro leadership. A few studies of a more or less literary nature have mentioned the importance of the subject but have attempted little or no quantitative analysis.

The following investigation is a statistical description and an analysis of a group of 1,608 Negro leaders in the United States. The material was obtained from data given in *Who's Who in Colored America* for the years 1928-29. Information to a greater or lesser degree is given concerning 1,608 individuals. To quote from the Preface to the volume: "Eligibility has been based on achievement, due latitude being allowed those persons whose efforts show promise of future accomplishment or who, by reason of establishing a precedent in some particular work, make it arbitrary that a record be made of the fact." As in any work of this sort, many Negroes who should be are not included. Those included, however, have a record of achievement in some occupation or other line of activity which allows them to be considered objectively as leaders of the approximately 12,000,000 persons of Negro descent at present in the United States. The group of 1,608 Negroes may be regarded as sufficiently representative of the larger group of outstanding Negroes, many of whom are not included in that edition. Of the 1,608 eminent Negroes, 1,415, or 88.0 per cent of the group, are males.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO LEADERS

Table I presents the age distribution of the group, for both sexes, and for each sex separately, by ten-year periods. The ages are computed as of 1928, the year of publication.

It is interesting to note that while 80.1 per cent of the men listed give the date of birth, over half (52.9 per cent) of the women exercise the traditional female privilege of withholding the date of birth.

TABLE I
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO LEADERS IN THE UNITED STATES

AGE	NUMBER			PERCENTAGE		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
0-9.....	1	1*	0	†	†	0.0
10-19.....	1	1	0	†	†	0.0
20-29.....	67	50	17	5.2	4.2	19.0
30-39.....	357	332	25	27.7	27.7	28.1
40-49.....	400	369	31	31.1	30.8	34.8
50-59.....	273	263	10	21.2	22.0	11.2
60-69.....	136	131	5	10.6	10.9	5.6
70-79.....	43	42	1	3.3	3.5	1.1
80-89.....	9	9	0	0.7	0.8	0.0
90-99.....	1	1	0	†	†	0.0
Total.....	1,288†	1,199	89	100.0	100.0	100.0

* A child actor.

† Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

‡ The ages of the remaining 320 individuals could not be computed, owing to omission of year of birth.

An analysis of the percentage distribution reveals the fact that the comparatively younger ages predominate. As a matter of fact, 50.4 per cent of the group were, in 1928, under forty-five years of age. If one subtracts five years to arrive at a probably conservative estimate for the age at which leadership status was achieved,² the comparative youthfulness of the group is emphasized by the relatively early age at which an important position was reached. This is rendered still more significant by the fact that the great majority of older men and women have been recognized as leaders for comparatively long periods of time, with a few conspicuous exceptions.

² As the present study is based on the second edition only of the Negro leadership list, it is evident that the age at which leadership status was attained cannot be determined by the age at which the names first appear, as the majority of these men and women obviously achieved leadership years before their first inclusion.

The early age at which leadership has been attained by these leaders may be compared with the average age of admittance for the first time to *Who's Who in America* for 1928-29. Of the 3,931 new leaders admitted to this larger grouping of American leaders, the average age was fifty-one and two-tenths years at the time of entrance.² The two groups are sufficiently comparable for one to draw the conclusion that, with due allowance for some possible artificial selectivity on the part of the editors of these two publications, Negro leadership is attained at present at an earlier age than general American (including Negro) leadership.

In interpreting this phenomenon it may be stated that within the Negro group in the United States the variability of social, economic, and educational advantages is probably much greater at present than in any previous period. Moreover, vertical mobility increases in time of flux. The rapidity of social and economic changes among the Negroes tends to be greater than among other native groups whose social status is more fixed. Furthermore, as compared with earlier generations, the younger Negro men and women have had greater social, economic, and educational advantages.

Comparison of the percentage distribution of males as compared with females shows that youth is still more characteristic of the female leaders than of the male leaders. Whereas less than one-third of the males were under forty years of age, almost half of the females were less than forty. Interpretation of this phenomenon must be a cautious one, yet it would appear in part due to the simple fact that the doors of opportunity were still more closed to women than to men of an earlier generation, hence the comparatively small proportion of older women represented in the present study.

We may conclude, therefore, that Negro leadership, in so far as the group studied is representative, is comparatively young in age. Moreover, the age at which leadership status was achieved was, on the whole, rather early in life. Finally, the male group is somewhat older than the female group.

The point might be raised that possibly the age distribution of Negro leaders is sufficiently normal to be of no importance. As a control group, therefore, the total Negro group for the United

² XVI (1930-31), 26.

States, from the age twenty years and over, is compared with the leader group within the same age span. The comparison is more valid when those below twenty years are eliminated, the youngest individuals forming less than two-tenths of 1 per cent of the leadership group while in the total Negro population they form 45.2 per cent of the group as a whole. Obviously, the very young are practically eliminated from leadership consideration.

TABLE II
COMPARISON OF AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO LEADERS WITH
THE GENERAL NEGRO POPULATION, TWENTY YEARS
OF AGE AND OVER

AGE PERIOD	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION	
	Negro Leaders	Total Negro Population*
20-29.....	5.2	34.4
30-39.....	27.8	25.8
40-49.....	31.1	19.5
50-59.....	21.2	11.0
60-69.....	10.6	5.9
70-79.....	3.3	2.5
80-89.....	0.7	0.7
90-99.....	0.1	0.1
Total.....	100.0	100.0

* Computed from data obtained from *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census (1920)*, p. 141. Data for the 1930 census are not yet available for these age divisions, but the percentages will in all probability show slight differences for the 20-99-year period as computed above.

Table II compares the recomputed age distribution of Negro leaders twenty years of age and over with the total Negro group in the United States of the same age classification. It is evident that while Negro leadership is more youthful than is American leadership in general, Negro leaders tend to have an older age distribution than does the total Negro group. This, of course, is a function of the time required to attain leadership status.

OCCUPATIONS OF NEGRO LEADERS

The tremendous development of economic activity on the part of the Negro group in the United States in the last half-century, in particular, is well known. In the meantime, what developments have

taken place occupationally is a subject worthy of research endeavors of the most intensive type.

In the present study the occupations of Negro leaders are subjected to analysis. The reader may be reminded that prior to the Civil War Negro leaders were largely although not altogether educators and to an even greater extent ministers. The preaching of the gospel, in particular, was the occupational channel to Negro leadership. Reconstruction and its aftermath left the situation in this regard fundamentally the same. In another study it is being shown that the Negro-leader group is experiencing an important distribution process, accompanied by a widening area of residence. In the present study the comparative youthfulness of Negro leaders has been noted. Taking these symptoms of social change into consideration, and noting the growing educational and economic opportunity for those of leadership caliber, one would suspect, a priori, a certain widening of occupational activity among outstanding Negroes, said occupational channels not necessarily displacing the traditional vocations of teacher and preacher.

In the analysis of the occupational activity of the Negro-leadership group under discussion, the occupations of 1,601 individuals were obtained. Where two vocations were given, the one which apparently demanded more of the individual's time and energy was selected. For example, where an individual listed himself as educator and pastor, he was considered an educator if his work was fundamentally educational in nature.

Some threescore occupations were reclassified into twenty-six occupational categories, in addition to a miscellaneous group of nine individuals, each person being a representative of a single unclassified occupation.

Table III presents the numerical and percentage distribution of 1,601 Negro leaders whose occupations were determinable. The occupations are ranked in the order of their numerical importance. Certain ones such as insurance, for example, are purposely kept separate from occupational groupings into which they might ordinarily be placed. This arbitrary procedure was adopted more clearly to set forth important occupational channels. (The occupation of real estate operator, kept separate from general business, is

a case in point.) The reader may make his own occupational mergings for his specific purposes of comparison.

The medical profession ranks above the educational and religious groups. The legal profession ranks fourth. Medicine and the law, in

TABLE III
OCCUPATIONS OF NEGRO LEADERS IN THE UNITED STATES

Occupation	Number	Percentage of All Occupations	Rank
Medical.....	358	22.4	1
Educational.....	273	17.1	2
Religious.....	187	11.7	3
Legal.....	175	10.9	4
Dentist.....	97	6.1	5
Music and entertainment.....	74	4.6	6
Journalists and publishers.....	72	4.5	7
Business.....	42	2.6	8
Real estate operator.....	40	2.5	9
Governmental.....	32	2.0	10
Social and club work.....	31	1.9	11
Insurance.....	30	1.9	12
Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A. official.....	30	1.9	12
Race-relations organizations.....	26	1.6	14
Finance.....	25	1.6	15
Undertaker.....	23	1.4	16
Fraternal official or worker.....	19	1.2	17
Artist.....	13	0.8	18
Druggist.....	11	.7	19
Writer or poet.....	10	.6	20
Librarian.....	7	.4	21
Architect.....	4	.2	22
Engineer.....	4	.2	22
Union official.....	4	.2	22
Private secretary.....	3	.2	25
Book collector.....	2	.1	26
Miscellaneous.....	9	0.6	.....
Total.....	1,601	100.0	

combination, account for more leaders than do the formerly pre-eminent educational and religious groups together. It would appear that this is largely a resultant of social change and the apparently greater opportunities open to the educated Negro in these comparatively newer fields. Both the medical and the legal professions must be more directly sustained by the immediate community than must the educational and religious occupations. The latter two are financially supported, to an important extent in many instances, by

groups and institutions outside of the community of which a particular educational and religious institution is a part. This is especially true of the educational institutions that are importantly aided by non-Negro funds. The growth of leadership in the medical and legal fields, therefore, may be considered in part a function of widening and economically and socially more adequately situated Negro groups such as are located not only in New York, Chicago, and Cincinnati, but also in most of the larger southern cities.

The query may also be legitimately raised as to whether the caliber of men and women going into the two relatively newer professions is not higher than that of those entering the two time-honored occupations. No satisfactory answer may be given here, although the apparently greater chance of monetary reward existing for successful doctors and lawyers, as compared with successful preachers and teachers, is advanced by many as a sufficient lure for not only Negro leaders, but leaders in non-Negro groups. This hypothesis, however, is not conclusive since the rewards of the preacher and the teacher who are adjusted to their work are surely other than economic. This is true in part of the other two occupations, yet the statement probably holds.

Turning to other occupations, one notes the comparatively high ranking of relatively newer fields such as those of dentist and real estate operator, while general business, if it were to include various occupations legitimately belonging to it, would assume a ranking of fifth in the list. The importance of music and entertainment is in line with general expectations, but the low rankings of artists and writers comes as a surprise to those who do not realize the necessity of a group's obtaining a sufficiently high economic status before artistic and literary production is forthcoming in abundant degree, even though the socio-psychological situation is propitious for such literary and artistic output.

A comparatively large number devote a main part of their occupational activity to work as journalists or as publishers of magazines and newspapers. This reflects in part the increased importance played by the larger Negro newspapers, chiefly in the northern cities. It is also indicative of the growing field for Negro periodicals such as *Opportunity*, the *Crisis*, and the *Southern Workman*.

Various organizations dealing with the adjustment of the Negro to his complex situations support an important source of Negro leadership which is rapidly forging to the front through the channels of the Urban League and other social relationship institutions.

One may conclude, therefore, that with the passage of time the channels of occupational activity for Negro leaders are growing in number. Paralleling this, Negro leadership in other fields is competing as well as working along with the older leadership groups in the educational and religious fields. Moreover, in certain fields of endeavor, the very fact of the existence of sufficiently large numbers of leaders is an index of the economic and social, as well as the numerical, growth of the Negro population, since the great majority of the group studied derive their primary support from the Negroes of the United States.

Changes are occurring at a rapid rate among the Negro group. None is more important, when viewed in terms of the totality of effect on the status of the group as a whole, than that of occupational avenues. The significance of these new channels becomes more apparent when it is found that they are being pursued by Negroes who are relatively young. This fact is one indication of the comparatively recent development of these wider occupational opportunities. It is significant that the outstanding Negroes are turning, in so important a proportion, to these occupations and are finding adequate support in the Negro group as a whole.

MINES AND PLANTATIONS AND THE MOVEMENTS OF PEOPLES

EDGAR T. THOMPSON
University of Washington

ABSTRACT

Owing to the permanent location of mineral resources, the high cost of their production, and man's desire for them, the mine is a fixed point in the structure of the community, population movements being made with reference to its location. The mine functions as a more or less fixed division of labor. The plantation depends more closely for its location upon environmental conditions. Within the limits of these conditions plant life, unlike mineral resources, can be distributed by human agencies to suit the convenience of consuming populations. The plantation, therefore, affords more opportunity for competition. While the plantation is characterized by specialization, its division of labor is not as determined as that of the mine. Under conditions of necessity it may diversify its products.

"The organization of the plantation is much like that of a coal mine" says J. Russell Smith while discussing the characteristics of the Red River country in northeastern Louisiana, northwestern Mississippi, and eastern Arkansas.¹ The opening up of new and highly profitable veins of ore containing silver near Athens during the time of Pericles marked the beginning in Attica of hard industrial slavery. Of it Zimmern says: "It will be noticed at once how very closely this labour-system corresponds to the conditions with which we have already become acquainted on the tropical plantations."² In these silver mines some 20,000 slaves, "living instruments," were employed either above or below ground. Work went on without interruption night and day to produce "almost the only article for which there can be said to have been an international market and an unlimited demand."³ These observations suggest why the large commercial mine and the plantation have built up similar reputations.

The large commercial mine and the plantation, one supplying industry with energy resources and the material for its machinery and tools, and the other supplying tropical foods and agricultural

¹ *North America*, p. 249.

² *The Greek Commonwealth*, (Oxford, 1922, 3d ed. rev.) p. 400.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 401.

world-wide in the extent of their economic relations. It is within the context of the world community and its economic and geographical co-ordinates that these two institutions can best be studied and compared. They both specialize in the production of a commodity which is sold on a wide market. They characteristically use imported, or at least, labor introduced from some distance rather than indigenous labor. The special dependence which imported labor has upon the providence of the employer subjects it, perhaps even in the face of liberal legislation, to some degree of compulsion greater than that applied to native or "free" labor.⁴ All the way from slavery to vaguely felt and undefined "forced" labor, the mine and the plantation tend to get similar reputations with respect to the status of their labor forces. It is this similarity of reputation which invites a comparison and contrast of these social institutions.

This paper is limited to a consideration of some factors concerning the mine and the plantation which relate to the fundamental problem of human ecology, the problem of the distribution and redistribution of population. It is not, in and of itself, the distribution of mineral resources or of plant life which is important in human ecology. What is significant is the extent to which human association with minerals, plants, and animals in the effort to control them for human use effect a changing integration and selective distribution of people upon the earth. To this end let us consider first the mine.

The formation of mineral resources is so slow that supply, once exhausted, cannot naturally be renewed in the lifetime of the human race. The operation of a mine takes from it its capital value. One of the most important things to be observed about the mine is its fixed location. The factory may shift its location as great a distance as from New England to North Carolina but the location of the mine is fixed by the limited distribution of the mineral resources. This means that certain important links in the skeletal framework of the community—the area over which there is competitive co-

⁴ This is especially true of plantation labor which is usually imported; the native is termed lazy and unreliable. Near his own tribe, family, or village the native is independent and less easily controlled, especially if the food resources of the country are "open," that is, available without a great deal of labor.

operation—will be furnished by the distribution of minerals.⁵ It is important to note that the distribution of mineral resources bears little relationship to other elements in the environment such as climate, soil, land forms, etc. Yet these factors, if they do not affect their distribution, are highly important in production. Say Jones and Whittlesey:

. . . the cost of production at the mine varies with climate. Where minerals are found in regions having a climate unsuitable to the hard physical exertion common to most mining, the miners demand high wages, or short shifts, and in some cases labor must be drawn from population groups which are acclimated. In the numerous mines of the Andean Plateau, only natives, whose lung capacity is large, can work hard in the high altitudes; the tin mines of Malaya are manned by natives or by coolies from the warmer parts of China. Less direct, but just as potent, is the effect of climate on the food supply. Wherever a mining district lies in a region of climatic extremes, the production of foodstuffs is restricted or precluded. This necessitates importation of food, and the cost of transportation must be added to the price of the mineral for the sake of which the people are abiding in the wilderness. The short growing season of high latitudes makes it necessary to haul food long distances to the coal mines of Spitzbergen or the gold mines of the Yukon; the low temperature of high altitudes, such as the Andean Plateau, has the same effect, relative nearness to food-producing regions being offset by the high cost of transport over steep slopes. Scarcity of rainfall trammels mining operations. Deep wells or long and costly aqueducts may be necessary; in the nitrate desert of Chile and the diamond mines of Southwest Africa, water must be imported in ships or distilled from sea water.⁶

⁵ The skeletal structure of the world community results from an interaction between the fixed distribution of mineral resources, especially iron, copper, and the mineral fuels (coal and petroleum), and the natural highways of cheap transportation such as oceans, seas, and lakes. The active agent in this interaction is man, and out of it are differentiated two types of cities—industrial and commercial. The extent of the interaction is, of course, modified by natural barriers such as climate and artificial barriers such as tariffs. Agriculture is not included in this “skeleton” even though historically it has often led in the spacial extension of division of labor and even though it furnishes the indispensable food resource. Nevertheless, in the present community, agriculture is timed to the exchange and the blast furnace, and if the organized community for any reason breaks down, agriculture more or less easily reverts to a self-sufficient state. On the other hand, agriculture today is something that is steadily being brought into an integrated relationship with the rest of the community, a relationship which assigns it space and classifies it into divisions of labor. For these reasons agriculture is conceived as being organized around the skeletal structure but is not itself a part of the skeleton.

⁶ *An Introduction to Economic Geography*, I, 269.

The cost of transporting bulky minerals, especially the prime minerals of industry, accounts, the natural environment permitting, for the displacement of populations toward them tending to create large population centers. "If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain." But the fixed and unequal distribution of other minerals makes necessary their transportation to the centers.

The transportation of minerals to regions populous and progressive enough to use them is a serious problem in many cases, for rich deposits are as likely to occur in out-of-the-way places as in well-settled regions. Thus coal is found in Spitzbergen and the Middle Rockies, gold on the Yukon, in South Africa, and in desert Australia, copper in the desert mountains and plateaus of Western America, nitrates in the barren and remote low latitude desert of Western South America, and iron, copper, silver, nickel and arsenic in the ice-scoured Laurentia.⁷

"Rich deposits are as likely to occur in out-of-the-way places as in well-settled regions." Well-settled regions are regions of well-settled movement. For a social group, like a person, develops habits of movement which become routine. "Movements of men, like those of fluids," says A. C. Haddon, "take the line of least resistance, flowing, as it were, in channels or open areas bounded by barriers."⁸ The easier movements over lines of least resistance become habitual and customary and the society tends to become static. "Its members may be said to have locomotion but not mobility. They do not move on highways, but along 'routes.'"⁹ Now it is adventure and exploration that direct movement away from its ordinary paths and make new ways. These new movements become most significant when they are followed up, for then new points are brought into customary relations with other points and the activities of the community are to some extent reorganized and widened.¹⁰ As much as anything else, perhaps, has man's desire for minerals, especially gold and sil-

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

⁸ *The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 5.

⁹ Mueller, J. H., *The Automobile* (unpublished thesis in the University of Chicago library) p. 162. "The relation between 'route' and 'routine' is significant for the route represents a stereotyped movement from which the novel contacts are thereby excluded. The 'highway' does not carry this restrictive connotation."

¹⁰ Someone has said that the second voyage of Columbus was more important than the first since the second was concrete evidence that the network of European relations was being thrown across the Atlantic and staked there permanently.

ver, forced him away from beaten paths and made him a geographical pioneer. Tropical luxuries he may obtain by barter from natives along the coast or he may organize production in places accessible to his ships, but to the mine he must build railways and solve the engineering problems involved.

These new custom-breaking ways result from the fixed location of mineral resources and man's unceasing efforts to effect a better integration between them and the oceans, the world's natural highways of commerce. It follows from the fact of fixed location that there is little room for competition with the countries possessing monopolies of specific minerals. South Africa is said to have about 50 per cent of the world's gold and 60 per cent of the supply of nickel. The exercise of such monopolies may lead to excessive prices, or lowered consumption, or both. If the supply is actually limited the world is at the mercy of the producing country, for it is obvious that mines cannot be located except where the minerals are to be found. In such cases competition is possible only from substitutes as of aluminum for tinware.

Not only is the mine a fixed point in the structure of the community, a nodal point in a sensitive vibrating economic system, but it functions as a more or less fixed division of labor. So long as it continues to operate in the community, it supplies one product or none at all. In times of depression there is no talk of diversification. Its operation maintains and insures division of labor in the community whose market it supplies.¹¹ Its own division of labor throbs

¹¹ The specialization of the mine cannot be commercially continued without other specializations in the community which its condition of dependence requires. It may be assumed, therefore, that the development and extension of mining operations is permitted and accompanied by an increasing division of labor in the community. Mining tends to force and speed up the knitting process. In the following quotation Kautsky states something of its rôle in the evolution of the community. "The mining and working of minerals, particularly metallic ores, is ill suited by its very nature for production for household use only. As soon as such industries attain even the smallest degree of development, they yield a great surplus beyond domestic needs; besides, they can attain a certain perfection only by regularly employing the labor of large bodies of workers, because the worker can in no other way acquire the necessary skill and experience, or make the necessary engineering structures profitable. Even in the Stone Age we already find great centers in which the manufacture of stone implements was carried on proficiently and on a large scale, being then distributed by barter from group to group or from clan to clan. These mineral products seem to have been the first

unchanged and continuous, but at varying rates of intensity, throughout the interdependent world. This is why production of the more important mineral resources, such as coal, iron, and copper, is so useful an index of the prosperity of the community, that is, of the extent to which its parts and members are integrated.¹²

The fact that continuous cultivation of the soil tends to exhaust such chemical ingredients as phosphorus and nitrogen which plants need for growth, thus requiring the use of commercial fertilizers, is evidence that agriculture has a certain kinship with mining and that the two cannot be absolutely divorced. Nevertheless there are fundamental differences. Agriculture, as contrasted with mining, produces a seasonal crop. Relatively speaking, the agricultural crop is continually reproduced by man. Capital is kept intact and an income derived from it.

Now plant life, unlike a mineral resource, is closely related to factors in the physical environment such as climate, soil waters, rainfall, etc., and the natural distribution of the various forms of plant life will be limited to the areas where the combination of environmental factors makes sustenance possible. This does not mean that any certain form of plant life will be found growing everywhere that conditions for growth are favorable, but it is certain that such plant life will not be found where conditions are unfavorable. It does mean, however, that within the limits imposed by the natural environment, plant life, unlike mineral resources, can be distributed by human agencies to suit the convenience of consuming populations.

The plantation is one form in which agriculture is organized for production. It differs from the manor in that production is specialized rather than diversified and self-sufficing. It tends to differ from the family farm in the scale of its operations and in the impersonal-

commercial commodities. They probably are the very first to have been produced with the intention of serving for barter." *Foundations of Christianity* (New York, 1925), pp. 52-53.

¹² "The correspondence of pig-iron production with manufacture, when both are adjusted for secular trend, is extraordinary. The correlation coefficient [1899-1919] is .97." E. E. Day, "An Index of the Physical Volume of Production," *Review of Economic Statistics*, 1920, p. 367.

ity of its human relations. When it loses specialization and impersonality it becomes something like the manorial institution. Again, plantations may be said to be instituted at points along the community's frontier, sometimes with almost catastrophic suddenness.¹³ It is, for this reason, a settlement institution, an end-point of human migration. Latifundia, by contrast, arise with the consolidation of smaller farms; they emerge out of the interaction of economic factors in the community at a certain stage of its evolution and result in the uprooting of rural people from the land.

Minerals must be mined where they are to be found, but capital can call into existence a plantation to produce a salable commodity at lowered cost and have a wide range of choice in the selection of the site. The case of rubber will illustrate. Before about 1900 most of the world's supply of rubber came from wild *Hevea* trees in the deep interior of Brazil. The high cost of transporting the raw rubber to Para on the coast together with the high export taxes exacted by the government was a considerable part of the ultimate price paid by the consumer. With the rise of the bicycle and later the automobile industries an increasing demand for rubber led to attempts to lower the cost of production and win the market. In 1876 *Hevea* plants were taken to Ceylon where their cultivation was begun on the estates. Since about 1900 plantation production has spread to Netherlands India, Malaya, Borneo, India, Burma, French Cochinchina and other places in the Far East. In the competition certain advantages seemed to be held by Malaya with the result that this region rapidly became the world's most important rubber-growing area increasing from a bare 100 tons produced in 1905 to over 200,000 tons in 1922.¹⁴ Transportation from these areas is both easy and inexpensive thus rendering rubber more accessible to the rest of the world. There are, of course, many other factors involved in the transfer of the center of rubber production from Brazil to the Far East, but this one of greater accessibility must be reckoned as highly important among them. Thus with plantation agriculture, areas may be made to produce plants not originally indigenous to

¹³ The Firestone rubber plantation in Liberia is a case in point.

¹⁴ Herbert Hoover, *Foreign Combinations to Control Prices of Raw Materials*, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, p. 8.

them in competition with other areas where such plant life grows in the wild state.

It is, for this reason, more difficult for a country to maintain an agricultural monopoly than to maintain one over a mineral resource. In 1924, India controlled about 99 per cent of the world's jute, and, with Ceylon, about 70 per cent of its tea, but attempts to exploit such monopolies would certainly have spread production to other areas. The failure of coffee valorization in Brazil and of the effort made by British growers to control the price of rubber will come to mind in this connection.

Competition in the realm of plantation products is usually limited to similar climatic zones over the world. Bananas may be grown under hot-house conditions in Canada, but not profitably. Canada, then, is not in a position to compete successfully with Nicaragua, but Porto Rico is. The development of the sugar beet has shown, however, that not all tropical plantation agriculture is secure against competition from northern lands. Nor is it secure against competition from the chemical laboratory as has been shown in the case of indigo and may again be shown in the case of rubber. But, on the whole, the competition of plantation products is limited to areas possessing similar physical conditions favorable to the special forms of plant life.

The tobacco plantation, and later plantations of indigo, rice, etc., were the first specialized industries in North America. As they became more specialized their position of dependence helped to call into existence other specialized and supporting industries and areas. Both beef ranches in the West and labor ranches in Africa supplied it with necessities. Then came specialization in horses in Kentucky, mules in Missouri, wheat in the West, and manufacturing in New England. Specialization demands more specialization. Nevertheless, the plantation's division of labor is not as determined as that of the mine. In periods of depression or overproduction it may diversify its products enough to feed its operating force without discontinuing operations. In plantation areas, such as cotton, there is a continuous swing in the direction of greater specialization and then back again toward some diversification.

Intermediate between mine and plantation, in certain respects,

is the forest. As the natural distribution of the virgin forest is cut, or virtually mined, it recedes farther and farther away from consuming centers. Production and transport costs mount. There is agitation for conservation, then for reforestation. When the forest is planted and treated as a crop,¹⁵ it is subject to competition with other crops for standing room. In this geographical competition it is probable that the location, or position, of the forest will, within physical limitations, tend to be determined, as the location of other crops is determined, by its market relations.

Within natural limitations our growing control over all plant and animal life is leading either to their extinction or to their geographical distribution after a more rational than natural pattern of usefulness to the human community. In a plant community the dominant species are trees, and the symbiotic relations of other species are organized with reference to them. In the "web of life" of the aggregate plant, animal, and human community, man is, in the language of the plant ecologist, the dominant species. "As the dominant species he controls the environment to such an extent as to determine what other species may live in the community."¹⁶ In this inclusive plant, animal, and human community the culture of all plants and animals is more and more organized with reference to man. But as agriculture and horticulture find their regional locations in our competitive scheme of things they distribute their human caretakers with them.

¹⁵ The acute need which England has long felt for timber gave rise, particularly after the Restoration, to a good deal of propaganda designed to stimulate arboriculture, "the art of forming plantations of trees." The classic work was produced by John Evelyn, the diarist, in 1662 entitled *Sylva: A Discourse of Minions*, in which he appealed to the landed gentry to relieve "the impolitic diminution of our timber." Partly as a result of this stimulation to tree-planting, and others which followed it, the term "plantation" in modern England and some of her colonies is applied to a forest of planted rather than indigenous trees.

¹⁶ McDougall, *Plant Ecology*, p. 209.

SOCIALIZING MEDICINE: A RATIONAL PLAN

GILBERT W. HAIGH

Worcester, Massachusetts

ABSTRACT

Since medicine has already come to be of prime importance, competitive doctors who are free from proper control and supervision are individually intrusted with too much responsibility. As private health has become a matter of public moment, individualism in medicine must give way to collectivism. The adequate regulation of medical practice and the necessary co-operation of physicians can be insured only by organization. For such the government alone can furnish a working model like the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the navy. This medical service puts prevention before cure. It avails itself of the economic principle of the division of labor. It possesses demonstrable superiority over civilian practitioners in general. The system can be applied to civilian practice provided the people be willing to relinquish their right to choose their doctors. This privilege, which is being decreasingly exercised, is generally incompatible with modern medicine, so dependent upon science.

Since primitive ages, the health of man has been intrusted to the personal healer. For the elimination of the less capable the people have depended mainly upon competition. This custom was satisfactory as long as each physician was able to encompass the whole realm of medical knowledge and skill, and especially while medicine was chiefly palliative. During the last few decades, however, the growth of the medical sciences has been so prodigious that many human affections are now preventable or curable. But, their curability varies directly with the promptness with which they are correctly diagnosed and properly treated. Thus medicine with its increasing domination over diseases has thrown upon each individual doctor responsibilities too momentous and vital.

Among the other professions no single member is given so much authority as the doctor. The lawyer practices before the courts, whose proceedings are public. The clergyman is accountable not only to those to whom he ministers but also to the religious denomination to which he belongs. The engineer is duly checked by both private and public agencies. The banker intrusted with the people's savings can invest such funds only with the approval of the other members of his financial committee and under statutory restrictions. The teacher, even, must adhere to an established curric-

ulum. None are assumed always to be reliable and capable enough to require no restraints and no direct supervision.

In contrast, consider the relations of doctors to society. In the progressive commonwealth of Massachusetts even prior to 1893, there was no actual regulation of the practice of medicine. Anyone who chose could pursue the healing art. He was required by law simply to render fair service, and this, strange to say, stands today as the sole criterion of medical practice—fair service. For, though the act creating the board of registration in medicine set a standard for licensing physicians, no attempt has been made by the government to provide for the maintenance of that standard. Any physician once licensed has been and is free to follow his profession, however old or ill, however uninformed in new knowledge or unskilled in modern methods, whatever one or more specialties he may happen to select. Uncontrolled and unchecked, he is excusable for any errors of judgment and is liable only for such rank incompetency and criminal negligence committed in the privacy of his practice as can be proved in a public court. It is utter folly for the people to trust so much to the competitive individual practitioner. It is imperative that they be protected against, not only his ignorance, but also his fallibility.

The necessary regulation of the medical profession can be assured in either of only two ways. One is the periodic re-examination of every registered doctor in general practice by the existing board of registration in medicine and by the establishment of separate boards of registration for the licensing and re-examining of the various specialists. This, however, would not insure the essential co-operation and the correct numerical proportion between general practitioners and specialists. Man is no machine that can be taken apart and put together again. Since symptoms in one part of the body may be referred by disease in another part until a diagnosis has been made with or without the aid of an expert, only a doctor with a broad point of view is a safe counselor. Economically, moreover, the division of labor demands organization, of which medicine is in great need. The other and only rational way, then, by which the people can guarantee themselves the full blessings of scientific medicine, is to enrol the members of the profession, specialists as well as

general practitioners, in a regular corps to furnish a complete health service.

Now that our people have already passed the pioneer and wasteful stage of a young country, this fundamental problem of the proper organization of medicine must be attacked. It is recognized by a research bureau, the Twentieth Century Fund, as not the least important of our eight basic troubles. Unfortunately none of the older countries which have found it necessary to adopt some form of health insurance have perfected a system to serve as a model for us. Not one, according to Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, professor of public health at Yale, who was a member of the commission of the League of Nations appointed to investigate each of the European schemes of health insurance, is compatible with our institutions and traditions. Designed primarily for the poor, in general they savor too much of class legislation and offer little more than the cheap contract lodge practice common in our industrial communities. They encourage quantity rather than quality practice. They retain the disadvantages of competition in individualistic medicine without possessing any of the advantages of co-operation in hospital service.

The magnitude of this problem of adequate medical care precludes the possibility of settlement by private agencies. In the October, 1930, issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* appeared an article by Mr. Evans Clark, who suggests that physicians form guilds comprising six or more members to serve those persons registered as prospective patients. The futility of such comparatively small groups is manifest to one who realizes that among the fifty or more active members upon the staff of the municipal hospital of a large industrial city there is no one expert in the use of the bronchoscope, even though it is a life-saving instrument by means of which foreign bodies can be removed from the lungs of infants and children and tumors excised from those of adults, and that in the whole community there is no surgeon fully qualified to engage in brain surgery.

Since this proposition is demonstrably far too big for any private partnership or corporation, the only practical plan of providing the best possible care under scientific medicine, then, is a state-wide medical service, non-compulsory but otherwise analogous to our educational system. Education would not be universal if it were not free. Many would be deprived of its benefits if they had to pay only

for their books and supplies. Yet health obviously comes before education. Furthermore, though some private schools are better than the corresponding public schools, others are worse, and only a small minority of people have the wisdom and insight as well as the time and the means for the selection of the better. It is precisely so with medicine, which must largely renounce individualism for collectivism.

Fortunately there is available as a pattern for such a system of state medicine the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the United States navy. Though medical economics has lagged far behind the advancement of medical science among civilians, the navy has perfected a service humane and efficient, thoroughly tested by withstanding the strain of the vast recruiting during the World War. As soon as the people become aware of this fact, they will adopt such an organization, whose function is to preserve the fitness of each of the personnel for his duties and to restore any of them to duty as promptly and as fully as possible. This means the practice of preventive medicine primarily and of curative medicine secondarily. With this, contrast civilian practice, in which, on the one hand, the patient procrastinates in seeking relief from his affliction and, on the other, the physician seems too busy prescribing for ailments to take much interest in keeping people well. As a matter of fact, he is seldom hired to do so because preventive medicine is never likely to be appreciated by the average person. It is fostered, however, by school boards, colleges, and large industries in its only practical form—a free and ready service. In view of the unnecessarily high mortality from preventable diseases, the state itself cannot long delay establishing such a medical corps as that of the navy.

Now how does the naval medical corps function? Every applicant is thoroughly examined by one or more medical officers. Every member is re-examined on frequent occasions, whenever he is promoted or transferred, as well as when ill or injured. Each officer undergoes at least one regular physical examination annually. So everyone must be found physically fit for his specific duties, whatever they may be or whenever they may change. Every member must be protected against infection with any communicable disease in which appropriate vaccination is effective. Whenever anybody appears to

be unable to perform all his duties on account of illness or injury, he is immediately referred to the medical officer on duty. The medical officer must ascertain the cause of the complaint and decide what should be done for the patient. If the patient be disabled, he is kept under the care of the medical department and his name is posted upon the sick list until he has been pronounced fit to return to duty. Possibly he requires admission to the hospital, where he receives intensive study and appropriate treatment.

The naval surgeon takes a natural interest in everything in the environment of the personnel affecting its health. He is responsible for the sanitation of the ship or the shore station to which he is officially attached—in particular, the clothing, food, quarters, working conditions, and athletics. He instructs the members of the crew in first aid and in hygiene. A true doctor of medicine, he puts prevention before cure, and health before disease.

The assignments of naval surgeons depend much upon their rank, which is determined chiefly by their knowledge, skill, and experience. The younger men are attached to smaller vessels or stations in charge of all medical matters or to hospitals or larger stations as assistants to their superiors. The older surgeons fill administrative positions as commanding or executive officers in hospitals, in the offices of the central bureau at Washington, or in the Naval Medical College. Those in the intermediate grades are usually engaged in the more technical medical and surgical duties. In contrast to the civilian doctor who renders whatever personal service his patients demand, the naval surgeon, as he rises in rank, is intrusted with greater responsibilities and accordingly relieved of the simpler routine duties, which are carried out with more zest by his juniors. Aiding those below him, and being aided by those above him, he is at all times ready to co-operate. He is able to practice his profession intelligently because he has no occasion to bluff or to guess. Rarely having to hurry, he does his work with diligence and precision, since he is supervised and checked both directly by those associated with him, and indirectly by those at the headquarters of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery. If his efficiency be impaired by sickness or fatigue, he is willingly relieved of duty. Since, as he reaches the higher ranks, the scope for his energies increases, he is happy to pursue his profession for its intrinsic gratification. The civilian phy-

sician, on the other hand, aspires to attain a competence so as to escape from the servitude of his patients or to relinquish the practice of medicine entirely for something more congenial and less arduous, as business or banking or politics. To medicine alone the naval doctor dedicates his whole career and gives to his fellow-men the full benefit of his mature judgment.

Now the naval doctors are stimulated to maintain a high standard by means of close affiliation with their colleagues. A healthy rivalry is fostered by the provision that promotion above the lower grades depends less upon seniority than merit. Besides, being relieved of financial considerations and distractions, they are less prone than civilians to ignore the healing power of nature and more inclined to recognize their own limitations. That they do maintain a quality of practice above that of civilian physicians is attested to by many civilians serving with them during the World War. That fact is tacitly acknowledged by the American Medical Association, for it admits all naval medical officers to fellowship unconditionally by virtue of their commissions, whereas fewer than half the private physicians can meet the necessary professional qualifications. Since only representative graduates in medicine enter the navy, the organization itself merits full approval. Since, moreover, an inquisitorial Congress voted its members the right to the benefits of the naval medical corps, there can be no doubt of the superiority of such a medical service over competitive practice.

Such an organization as the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the navy can be applied to civilian practice either by reorganizing the present public health department of any commonwealth or by creating a bureau of public medicine incorporating that department, the welfare department, industrial accident board, municipal and county hospitals, and whatever private hospitals may be required to furnish a state-wide service. It would constitute a complete public system of medicine with free professional service for all permanent residents of the state. It would be composed of full-time medical officers ranked according to their respective ability and experience, working together in and about hospital bases with the necessary auxiliary personnel, and so well organized as to insure suitable discipline, supervision, and control of each member and to stimulate interest and effort by rewards of promotion and prizes. The hospital

units would be co-ordinated by a central state bureau with the requisite administrative divisions. One of the most valuable functions of such a medical corps would be the keeping of permanent health records of each patient—in fact, of every citizen—to facilitate and expedite the successful management especially of urgent cases. Whereas in the present chaotic state of private competitive practice many people do not know where to obtain proper medical attention or cannot afford it, government medicine would not only furnish the best possible medical care but would also safely guide the patient, though suffering and bewildered, to the source of optimum treatment.

Under this proposed system of medicine, since the individual physician would necessarily be subservient to the whole, a patient's choice of doctor would have to be foregone. But so it has been for decades for those ward patients who have availed themselves of the advantages of the larger, well-organized hospitals where the best scientific medicine has been practiced. So it is for those who accept aid from ambulance surgeons, shop doctors, school physicians, and in smaller communities where competition is absent from both general practitioners and specialists. And so it must be from the very nature of modern medicine, which is founded upon the rapidly growing and expanding sciences and for which team work is the *sine qua non*. Today this freedom to select a physician may actually redound to the disadvantage of the patient who may not know where to procure the best advice because of the obsolescence of genuine family doctors, always ready to serve the child or the grown-up, day or night, and the absence of any substitute to help or to guide him. On account of the gregariousness of mankind this selective privilege has been responsible, according to estimates of drug salesmen calling upon physicians, for about 20 per cent of the doctors doing about 80 per cent of the medical and surgical work. A veritable boomerang, it has encouraged on the part of the busy popular practitioners, not only haste, carelessness, and fatigue with consequent inefficiency, but also the rank commercialization of medicine. It has fostered the practice of the art, or easier phase of medicine, and stifled the scientific or harder. It has nurtured much humbug and license; it has suppressed much honesty and truth.

Some opponents of this form of state medicine, however, may claim that relieving doctors of financial worries will sap their initiative. It is not so. For more than a score of years most advancement in medicine has emanated from laboratories, institutions, or public health services with salaried personnel and not from private practitioners. Some will insist that the freedom to choose one's physician must be preserved, even though but few have had the chance to choose their teachers, even though that privilege has been demonstrated to be incompatible with the best type of medical service, and even though that personal right is like a two-edge sword in the hands of the patient, harassed by his affliction and confused by the present competition in medicine. There are those who claim that free medicine is socialistic. It is really less so than public education. Did not President Hoover in his inaugural address affirm: "Public health service should be as fully organized and as universally incorporated into our government system as is public education"?

Many fear that political influence which affects the existing diverse incomplete public health departments would impair socialized medicine. Let them consider that the more thorough and more complete the organization the less the chance of any external interference. Others will raise the question of expense, not understanding that it is simply a problem of equitable distribution of the cost of an indispensable utility. Whether each pays from one of his pockets or from another, it matters little; but it matters much what each receives in return. In fact, a modern system, besides being more efficient than the prevailing independent health activities, would, by eliminating waste and multiplication and by insuring teamwork, tend to lower the costs. The greatest factor in the gradual reduction of the costs, however, would arise from the impetus such an organization would give to the concerted practice of preventive medicine, about which, more than three hundred years ago, Francis Bacon declared in his *Advancement of Learning*: "This is a new part of medicine and deficient though the most noble of all; for if it may be supplied, medicine will not then be wholly versed in sordid cures, nor physicians be honored only for necessity, but as dispensers of the greatest earthly happiness that could well be conferred on mortals."

CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS

THE 1931 CENSUS OF CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS: REPORTS RECEIVED TO MAY 1, 1931

The returns from the American Sociological Society 1931 census of current research projects as arranged by Dorothy Hankins, secretary of the Committee on Social Research, appear below. An attempt has been made to give the subject, scope, author, and his address whenever this information has been available. In arranging the material the categories employed in *Social Science Abstracts* have been used. In the cross-references the serial numbers of the projects are given. The authors' names are arranged alphabetically within the several groups.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—Projects included in the census published in Vol. XXXVI, No. 5 (March, 1931) are indicated in this list by a citation of the page and serial number of the project. The description is reprinted only where a reformulation has been made.]

SOCIAL THEORY AND ITS HISTORY

(See also 296)

1. The concept of social process. Read Bain, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Survey and criticism of literature, with conclusions.
2. The place of behaviorism in sociology. *Idem.* Survey and criticism of the literature, with conclusions.
3. The social philosophy of Robert Hamilton Bishop. *Idem.* (See XXXVI, 782, No. 2.)
4. The development of sociology in the United States. L. L. Bernard, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. (See XXXVI, 782, No. 6.)
5. The development of the concept of the social nature of the self. C. J. Bittner, McKendree College, Lebanon, Illinois. An analysis of the various theories of the "Self" as found in philosophy, individual psychology, social psychology, genetic psychology, and abnormal psychology.
6. The sociology of George Fitzhugh. Winnie L. Duncan, University of New Hampshire, Durham. (See XXXVI, 782, No. 7.)
7. An analysis of the content of sociological periodicals during the past decade, and comparison with content of previous years. Earle Eubank and students, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio. Contents consist of an analysis of the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vols. XXVI-XXXVI, and *Social Forces*, Vols. I-IX, both of which are compared with the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vols. I-XXV.
8. Mental interdependence: its social and educational implications. Ross L. Finney, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. The method is that of logical inference from accepted sociological principles. (See XXXVI, 782, No. 8.)
9. Social thought before the Greeks. J. O. Hertzler, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. A study of the archaeological and literary resources involving social thinking in ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, India, China, and Israel. It includes an analysis of the proverbs, epigrams, and wisdom literature, the social criticisms and prophecies, the laws, the ethical systems, the epic literature, the philosophies of history, and the economic and political philosophy.
10. The history of economic thought in America. J. F. Normano, 11 Everett Street,

Cambridge, Massachusetts. Area: the United States and Latin America, especially during the nineteenth century.

11. **The social process atomism—a discussion of biological determinism in sociology.** Howard Rowland, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Based upon an examination of contemporary literature bearing upon social biology and deterministic concepts arising from biology.

12. **The use of analogy in system-making sociology as illustrated by Auguste Comte's "Positive Philosophy."** James B. Sharp, San Francisco State Teachers College, San Francisco, California.

13. **Study of metabolism of social institution.** P. A. Sorokin, 88 Washington Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Mainly statistical.

14. **Studies in social dynamics.** *Idem.* This study attempts to give a general theory of social processes, their forms, interrelation, causation, etc.

15. **Culture and human behavior.** Sanford Winston, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. A critical examination of the rôle of culture in human behavior, with particular reference to modern American civilization.

16. **Social rigidity and social change: a processual analysis.** James W. Woodard, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The attempt will be made to bring together extant inductive data from sociology and related sciences and to get a consistent or integrated account of their relation to the problem of social rigidity and social change viewed as a process.

HUMAN NATURE AND PERSONALITY

(See also 157, 158, 161)

17. **Some aspects of thyroid disorder among women.** L. S. Cressman, University of Oregon, Eugene. A statistical study of 375 women of the class of 1934, University of Oregon. A group showing thyroid disorder are compared with a group showing normal thyroid development with reference to physical, psychical, and academic achievement characteristics.

18. **Institutional behaviors, as observed in the responses of motorists to traffic signals.** Milton C. Dickens, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. Observations have been made on various corners in Syracuse and Los Angeles, California. The study has been in progress for over a year and several thousand cases have been observed and recorded. The data are in the nature of tables showing the actual overt responses of motorists in various traffic-signal situations.

19. **Obscure symbolic muscular responses of diagnostic value in the study of personality.** Maurice H. Krout, Crane Junior College, 4300 Flournoy Street, Chicago. Fifteen-minute observations of responses of normal students in classroom situations; free fantasy technique to be employed in associating from the words reacted to by the subjects; Jacobson's "muscle tension" technique to be employed for interpretation of movements made; autobiographical and other material to be employed for final interpretation.

Original Nature and Individual Difference

20. **An objective study of individual style.** Gordon L. Barclay, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. A study of the factors constituting individual style in painting, individual style as a personality trait, socially transmitted techniques as factors in individual style, the influence of the culture context on individual style in art, and institutional aspects of aesthetic appreciation. The material consists of measurements of various objective characteristics of recognized examples of artistic painting; students' (naïve judges) judgments of similarity and dissimilarity; historical data covering the culture setting of the periods represented; historical biographical material regarding the individuals involved; similarities and contrasts in early and later productions of representative individuals; aesthetic evaluations by untrained observers of paintings; judgments and measurements of the influence of various factors on individual style in simple productions; analyses of the influences of authoritative statements, knowledge of com-

bined group judgments, etc., on individual evaluations; comparisons of the social and economic status of the subject with his aesthetic judgments and evaluations.

21. **Effect of ultra-violet light on successive generations of hairless mice.** Jerome Davis, Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut. This study, begun November, 1929, covers to present time five generations of mice. There are daily ultra-violet light treatments on successive generations of mice to see whether there is any cumulative effect or any inheritance of acquired characteristics.

Attitudes, Sentiments, and Motives

(See also 62, 76, 89, 147, 216, 258)

22. **A comparative study of the experiences and attitudes of working boys in England and the United States.** W. Ryland Boorman, 120 South La Salle Street, Chicago. Writer visited England, made contacts, and, since, has been gathering personal letters from the boys.

23. **Personal reactions toward entering and leaving groups.** H. G. Duncan, University of New Hampshire, Durham. The data, collected through life-history records, deal with the reasons given for entering and leaving some one thousand groups.

24. **Quantitative study of factors in voters' attitudes.** Seba Eldridge, University of Kansas, Lawrence. Area, United States; period, 1925-28; data secured for 1,250 voters. The schedule presents a true-false test on selected public questions.

25. **Self-corroborative attitudes.** Thomas D. Eliot, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. This study is an exploration with the use of this concept, to try its value. (See XXXVI, 783, No. 18.)

26. **A study of racial attitudes.** William S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. The study is concerned, first, with the development of a method for studying attitudes objectively and quantitatively; and, secondly, with an investigation of racial attitudes. It employs, in part, Thurstone's device as the basis for measurement of attitudes and opinions regarding racial contacts, biological questions, Negro traits, proposed solutions, and specific cultural situations. A second device attempts both to check the emotional validity of the scale and to register finer gradations. The study includes about seven thousand subjects, measurement of six daily newspapers for two yearly periods, institutional measurements, and a large number of personal documents.

27. **A study of community groupings from the standpoint of the individual.** Richard L. Schanck, University of Syracuse, Syracuse, New York. This has developed primarily into a statistical account of the locus of various activities of certain individuals and a statistical statement of attitudes and their relationship to each other.

28. **Factors influencing the selection of associates.** May V. Seagoe, Box 64, Monterey Park, California. Subjects: 230 elementary school children; period: September, 1930, to March, 1931. Four types of data were collected: measures of propinquity; measures of physical similarity; measures of mental similarity; and measures of similarity in twelve personal traits.

Child Study and Adolescence

(See also 57, 58, 73, 166, 167, 168, 185, 243, 254, 264, 294, 295)

29. **A study of sex differences in school children, nine to fifteen years of age.** Clairette P. Armstrong, 9 East Ninety-seventh Street, New York City.

30. **Why boys desert their homes.** *Idem.* Boys arraigned in the children's court of New York City for deserting their homes without the knowledge and consent of their parents or other guardian, numbering 660, were studied by the case study and statistical methods, as to important factors of their total gestalt. All delinquent boys are between eight and fifteen years, inclusive. Two control groups of boys, brought to court for other delinquencies, were used.

31. **The behavior of young children in their homes and in their preschool group.** Esther Van Cleave Berne, Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, Iowa City.

32. **Small groups for reconditioning the behavior of certain problem children.** *Idem.* Five children, three years of age, evincing undesirable behavior which had been resistant to the teachers' methods in a preschool group were regularly placed in a very small group of children for play under supervision for fifteen-minute periods.

33. **A study of laughter and crying of young children as factors in social behavior and emotionality.** Catherine Brackett, Child Development Institute, 514 West 126th Street, New York City. Data have been collected from the two nursery-school groups, Child Development Institute, over a period of eight months.

34. **Study of Chicago adolescents by communities.** E. W. Burgess and Ruth Shonle Cavan, University of Chicago. Data consist of eight thousand questionnaires on home and social relations, together with rating scale by teacher on each child.

35. **Interaction among preschool children.** L. J. Carr, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. An observational study seeking to develop categories of observation and methods of record for the analysis of the process of interaction among children.

36. **Parental views of youth problems in a university town.** *Idem.* Schedules were gathered from 667 Ann Arbor homes in May, 1930.

37. **Social implications of the language development of preschool children.** Mary S. Fisher, 514 West 126th Street, New York City. The language of seventy children, ranging in age from twenty to sixty months, was studied over a two-year period, 1928-30. Stenographic records of each child's language were taken during an entire morning on three different days in the nursery school at the Child Development Institute.

38. **A study of infants enrolled in day nurseries.** Helen Hart, National Federation of Day Nurseries, 244 Madison Avenue, New York City, and Emily W. Briggs, New York School of Social Work, 130 East Twenty-second Street, New York City. Questionnaires are being filled out by eight nurseries in five cities for all infants under a year of age enrolled during 1930; these records will probably total something over one hundred. A graduate student of the New York School of Social Work, with training and experience in case work and research, will also make an intensive study of twenty-three infants enrolled in Bethlehem Day Nursery, New York, securing data not included on the questionnaire.

39. **Resistant behavior in preschool children.** Ruth Kennedy, 723 West Eleventh Street, Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Records of a two-hour observation in five-minute periods, of each child, together with verbatim stenographic records of the intelligence test situation, for the thirty-one youngest children.

40. **Out-of-work juvenile continuation school girls.** Louise C. Keyes, Boston Continuation School, 10 Common Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

41. **A comparative study of social contacts involving play material, in four preschool groups.** Ruth Pearson Koshuk, 6120 Eberhart Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. A two-hour interaction record for each of forty-nine children enrolled in four Chicago nursery schools, together with transcripts of background material from school records. Interaction symbols have been devised to represent in schematic form each completed social act involving play material.

42. **The mechanisms of children's lies.** Maurice H. Krout, Crane Junior College, Chicago. Material collected from observation of the author's own child, her associates, and cases reported in literature.

43. **Types of behavior problems found in physically handicapped children.** Helen B. Rosenquist, 1709 University Station, Austin, Texas. The study will be concerned with children under the age of ten, inmates of Texas state institutions. Personal observations and conferences with teachers and matrons.

44. **The social behavior of institutional children in the playroom situation.** Mapheus Smith, University Club, Lawrence, Kansas. Observers recorded the behavior of twenty-five boys and twenty-one girls. Sufficient records were obtained on each child to obtain a cross-sectional account of its behavior. These materials were then analyzed into sixty-two categories of behavior. (See XXXVI, 784, No. 24.)

Personality and Life Organization

(See also 51, 260)

45. The relation of man's subjective or emotional economy to his external industry and activities as they bear upon those problems which arise in his daily work and social interchange. Trigrant Burrow, Lifwynn Foundation, 27 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York City. This study represents the development of an experimental method in the field of psycho-social or subjective problems which affords opportunity for the study of such material from a basis comparable to that of the other biological sciences.

46. The analysis and measurement of personality and personality adjustment. Joseph K. Folsom, Sweet Briar, Virginia. Tests and ratings on some hundred college students, together with a comparison of data on chums, on happily and unhappily married couples, and on friends who have broken off that relationship. By use of standard tests and certain new tests constructed by means of new questions, some answered by the subjects and some by judges, an attempt is made to get at personality differences and similarities between chums and between persons who are in discord.

47. A personality analysis of college students by the method of tests, inventories, and autobiographies. Verne C. Wright, 322 Alumni Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. (See XXXVI, 784, No. 30.)

THE FAMILY

(See also 81, 104, 237, 300)

48. Marriage habits as to age and residential propinquity in a metropolitan area. James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. A study of ten thousand marriages in Philadelphia and adjacent towns for a period of about a year.

49. Size of New England families. Winnie Leach Duncan, University of New Hampshire, Durham. The project will include the number of children of three generations of New England families, the number at birth, the number surviving, sex, and age of deceased.

50. Case studies in interracial marriage in Hawaii. Margaret M. Lam, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, T.H. This study covers the individual's marital life. The interview is the only method used to secure data which consist of information about situational crises or conflicts, clashes, and compromise on differences of cultural ideas, customs, training, etc.

Natural History of the Family and Psychology of Sex

(See also 217)

51. The single woman—a medical study in sex education. Lura Beam, 2 East 103d Street, New York City. An analysis of 650 case histories of a gynecologist, designed to note correlation between pelvic disorder and emotional life.

52. One thousand marriages—a medical study of sex adjustment. *Idem*. An analysis of the case histories of a gynecologist-obstetrician accumulated during forty years' practice. In each case the patients were observed over long periods.

Historic Family and Family as Institution

53. The changing functions of the American family—a study of the affectional, economic, educational, religious, recreational, health, and protective aspects of family organization. John Dollard, %American Express, Berlin, Germany. The area is the United States; the period is 1900-1930; the data are quantitative (so far as available) and consist of indices of the formalization of family function.

54. The Negro family in the United States. E. Franklin Frazier, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. A continuation of the study of the Negro family in Chicago. It includes census data from three counties in three southern states and two southern cities, and is based upon printed and unpublished documentary material on the background, and present status of the Negro family as well as materials from social agencies.

55. **Recent social changes in the American family.** W. F. Ogburn, University of Chicago. Statistical and historical data are being collected for the last quarter of a century.

Modern Family and Its Problems

(See also 31, 36, 38, 42, 110, 114, 138, 139, 148, 198, 201, 208, 232, 235, 236, 240)

56. **Assortive mating: causes and results.** C. Arnold Anderson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. (See XXXVI, 785, No. 32.)

57. **Interrelations of home and social influences among adolescents.** E. W. Burgess and Ruth Shonle Cavan, University of Chicago. Data consist of questionnaires on home and social relations and tests of personality adjustment, for different social groups. Home and social relations are correlated with personality adjustment. Tables are being made to predict good personality adjustment in different types of homes.

58. **Function of home activities in the education of the child.** Ruth Shonle Cavan, University of Chicago. The data consist of questionnaires from fourteen- to sixteen-year-old boys and girls concerning homes and social relations, together with teacher's rating scale on each child. These have been collected from many parts of United States. A comparison is made of cultural groups (Negro, white, urban, rural, native-born, foreign-born) on basis of socio-economic status, occupation of father, intimate relations of parents and children, social relations, etc.

59. **Objective studies of family life from the standpoint of child guidance and parent education.** Lemo T. Dennis, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. (See XXXVI, 785, No. 34.)

60. **A study of the family.** Kenneth V. Francis, State University of Iowa, Iowa City. One hundred families with children, mostly working people paying for their homes, are taken unselected from an approximately "natural area" in Davenport. Material consists of data on children's impressions of their life and the interrelated pattern of the parents and children, statistical data on probable major causes of maladjustment, as economic status of the family, broken homes, mental level, foreign-born parentage. These data are secured through a controlled interview with each parent and each child above seven.

61. **A study of families applying for day-nursery care.** Helen Hart, National Federation of Day Nurseries, 244 Madison Avenue, New York City. Questionnaires, for the three months beginning February, 1931, from 40 day nurseries in 17 cities of the United States, which will probably cover about 450 families, bear on the general social and economic situation of the family; specific problems which it seeks to solve through the mother's employment, or placement of children in a nursery.

62. **A study of the unmarried.** Herman Hausheer, College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington. One hundred and twenty questionnaires, giving reasons why persons signing them have not married, were duly returned and properly filled out.

63. **A study of marriage and divorce in Indiana.** Charles R. Metzger, 315 Chamber of Commerce Building, Indianapolis, Indiana. The study covers the social and legal aspects since the days of the Northwest Territory.

64. **A course in education for family life.** Meyer F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Period of study: 1930-31. Data consist of outlines of courses in education for marriage and family life, etc.

65. **The process of marriage (factors determining the selection of a mate).** *Idem.* Research period, 1930-31. Data consist of a considerable number of case studies, contributed by both husbands and wives.

66. **Marriage trends in a midwestern county.** Hattie Plum Williams, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Data were secured from marriage license records, Lancaster County, Nebraska, for the decade years from 1880 to 1930.

67. **The expenditures and standard of living of 190 business and professional families.** Chase Going Woodhouse, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro. Area: New York, New Jersey, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, Washington,

North Carolina. For one year, accounts were kept by 66 families and schedules were obtained from others.

68. **An analysis of the duration of all marriages terminated by divorces granted in the state of Wisconsin during the year 1929.** Kimball Young, C. L. Dedrick, Barbara Ingersoll, University of Wisconsin, Madison. All divorces reported to the State Bureau of Vital Statistics during 1929 are being tabulated, with special reference to the duration from date of marriage to the date of separation, and from the date of separation to issuance of the decree. The "lag" between the final crisis of family disorganization and of the granting of the divorce will be measured, and examined as to its relationship to cause of divorce, presence of children, age of the parties.

69. **The sociological aspects of 162 divorces granted in Dane County, Wisconsin, during the year 1929.** Kimball Young, C. L. Dedrick, and Gladys Dornbrook, University of Wisconsin, Madison. A careful analysis of all court records, supplemented by other social and economic data with respect to the individuals involved.

PEOPLES AND CULTURAL GROUPS

(See also 77, 80, 83, 84)

Emigration and Immigration

70. **A sociological study of the Basques of Oregon.** L. S. Cressman, University of Oregon, Eugene. The study will cover the Basque settlements in Harney and Malheur counties and will include material on the economic geography.

71. **Growing into Americans.** H. G. Duncan, University of New Hampshire, Durham. This study comprises a collection of life-histories from the major racial and national groups, from the first, second, and third generations. Interviews and life-history documents.

72. **The Germans in Hawaii.** Bernhard Lothar Hörmann, Lingnan University, Canton, China. The German labor (contract) immigration to Hawaii's sugar plantations from 1880 to 1900—their background in Germany, adjustment to Hawaii, and present status. Interviews, mainly with the immigrants themselves and largely in their own language; and a study of the diplomatic correspondence on file in the archives, especially of the Hawaiian consul-general in Germany; a study of passenger lists, directories, newspapers, club and church records, books and publications.

73. **Personality problems of second generation Italian girls, aged twelve to sixteen, residing in the Italian district of Madison, Wisconsin.** Kimball Young and Hermine Warner, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Detailed case records are being secured on each of fourteen individuals through extensive interviews.

Colonial Problems and Missions

74. **Status and program of foreign missions in Asia.** Galen M. Fisher, 230 Park Avenue, New York City. An exhaustive study on the field by teams of ten to twelve workers, in each of three countries, India, China, and Japan. Data are being gathered both as to the present and the past in regard to every aspect of foreign mission work, and exhaustive studies are being made of the socio-economic environment in order to measure the service of the missionary program to the situation in which it finds itself.

CONFLICT AND ACCOMMODATION GROUPS

75. **An analysis of congeniality groups.** Kimball Young, Margaret M. Braun, Margaret M. Meyer, University of Wisconsin, Madison. A statistical and qualitative analysis of 160 congeniality groups based on schedules and case history data.

Classes and Class Struggle

(See also 226)

Nationalities and Races

(See also 26, 50, 54, 98, 103, 116, 117, 141, 142,
183, 184, 229, 242, 286)

76. **The attitudes of Negro ministers of the major denominations in Chicago toward racial division in American Protestantism.** J. Howell Atwood, 517 North Kellogg Street, Galesburg, Illinois. A guided interview was used in the case of each of sixty-one Negro ministers. These ranged in length from 1½ to 6 hours and the minister was encouraged to relate experiences rather than state opinions.

77. **Social history of the Jewish community in Madison, Wisconsin.** Nathan Berman and Kimball Young, University of Wisconsin, Madison. An analysis of diaries, correspondence, institutional records, such as minutes of meetings, case records from social agencies, and all other socio-historical documents which are available.

78. **The contacts of the whites and Japanese in Tacoma, Washington.** Herman Hausheer, College of Puget Sound, Tacoma. The history of Japanese immigration in Tacoma, the last forty years or more, with emphasis on the educational, economic, occupational, social, and religious contacts of Japanese and whites. This material was gathered by means of a study of census materials, interviews, house-to-house survey, and ecological methods.

79. **Social and economic factors in the mortality experience of Negroes in a rural community.** William S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. Involves the working out of a tentative method for measuring physical environment and economic status with greater objectivity and with the differential factor of race. All families were medically examined by the health department and every fifth Negro family included in this investigation.

80. **An intimate study of the organization and functioning of a southern Negro community.** *Idem.* The community studied is Nashville. Data include verbatim records of the sermons, songs, prayers and gossip, movements and "sociables," sex diversions, etc. The material of the study has been drawn from 1,000 Negro families; 150 industries; the case records of the children's courts, workhouse, and penitentiary; interviews with the individuals; and a systematic visiting of Negro churches, wakes, funerals, clubs, schools, playgrounds, pool rooms, theaters, "bootleg joints," and sports.

81. **The environmental life of Chinese-Hawaiian hybrids.** Margaret M. Lam, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, T.H. This study covers in a general way the individual's life—from childhood up to the present. So far, data cover two islands, Oahu and Hawaii and its rural districts. The interview is the only method used to secure data.

82. **A sociological study of the American community in Shanghai.** Herbert D. Lamson, Shanghai College, Shanghai, China. The data were secured from interviewing inhabitants; consular archives, news files, histories; mapping; analysis of institutional life; limited use of questionnaires; direct observation; photography showing city development.

83. **The Fresno Armenians: a study of cultural conflict.** Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California. A group case study in which all available data, numerical, occupational, ecological, attitudinal, and autobiographical, have been used. (See XXXVI, 788, No. 59.)

84. **Relation between degree of pigmentation and degree of intelligence among Negroes in the United States.** George R. Mursell, Box 511, Columbus, Ohio. Five hundred subjects have already been examined and compared by means of group and individual intelligence tests and colorimetric chart.

85. **A study of the interrelations of Indian culture and modern Western civilization in Yucatan.** Robert Redfield, University of Chicago. Data are being secured through filed research, ethnological in character, of selected villages; through gathering of statistical data, documentary and case materials in the city. (See XXXVI, 786, No. 43.)

86. **A study of Negro life in New Jersey.** Ira De A. Reid, 1133 Broadway, New York City.

87. **Social processes involved in the rapid development of a Filipino community in California.** C. N. Reynolds, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California. A study of the developments of the present and the past two years in the Filipino colony in Watsonville, California, with emphasis on the forces creating group consciousness, adjustment of old methods of social control to the new situation, and general effects of contacts between the races. Material gathered through participation in colony affairs, interviews, life-histories, and from usual records such as: police blotter, schools, churches, tax rolls, charity institutions, etc.; and study also of housing conditions, family life, social organizations, newspaper and other records of behavior and contact with white population. (See XXXVI, 788, No. 62.)

88. **Negro migration.** Frank A. Ross, 405 Fayerweather, Columbia University, New York City. Historical, bibliographical, statistical, and general descriptive data are used for a period extending from slavery times to present.

89. **Negro students in a state university (University of Kansas).** Walter R. Smith with two students, University of Kansas, Lawrence. An analysis of intelligence, grades, manner of life, and attitudes of about 150 students.

90. **Our American citizens of oriental ancestry.** William C. Smith, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth. (See XXXVI, 787, No. 50.)

91. **A study of Negro nationalism.** Theodore G. Standing, 212 University Hall, Iowa City. Attempts an analysis of the current movement toward the development of race consciousness and group pride within the American Negro population. The data are derived chiefly from the literature by and about Negroes, particularly from such primary sources as the Negro press.

Religious Denominations and Sects

(See also 227)

92. **A changing social institution in an urban environment: a study of the changing behavior patterns of the Disciples of Christ, in Los Angeles.** Carl D. Wells, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California. The material consists of fifty complete life-histories, a larger number of shorter case histories, a "personal" questionnaire (600) and an "institutional" questionnaire covering the forty institutions studied.

POPULATION AND TERRITORIAL GROUPS

93. **Machinery and the demand for labor in economic literature to 1850.** Lincoln Fairley, Emerson Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Area: England, France, and Germany up to 1776; England and France, 1776-1850. A library project.

Demography and Population

(See also 79, 88, 121, 132, 134, 136)

94. **Movement of population into Madison, Wisconsin (1929).** C. L. Dedrick and Elizabeth Powell, University of Wisconsin, Madison. (See XXXVI, 788, No. 65.)

95. **An analysis of the infant mortality rates for 1929.** Anna C. Diller, 720 South Alden Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. An attempt to find reason or reasons for the low rates in the first quartile, and the high rates in the fourth quartile, which includes as exhaustive a research as possible for 729 cities.

96. **Urbanism and legislative apportionment in New York State.** J. Donald Kingsley, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. Deals with the question of representation in the state legislature since 1895, with particular emphasis upon discrimination, either favorable or unfavorable, toward each of four "groups": Republican voters, Democratic voters, rural voters, and urban voters.

97. **Movement of open-country population in Ohio.** C. E. Lively, University Farm, St. Paul, Minnesota. The second part of a three-year study, the first part of which is already published. It includes the analysis of the occupational and spatial mobility of approximately 1,600 adult sons and daughters of families living in selected areas of

Ohio, 1927-28. All families in eight sample areas were visited and occupation and spatial movement histories taken.

98. **An analysis of the Negro population in Omaha.** T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. A study of the economic, social, industrial, educational, and religious life of the Negro population in Omaha. Use has been made of historical, case, survey, and statistical methods.

99. **Migration to and from selected German cities, 1900-1927.** Conrad Taeuber, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Statistics of the migrations to and from all German cities with a population of more than fifty thousand were secured, as well as more detailed information concerning the occupation, social status, income, and religious affiliation of the migrants.

100. **The social origins of American business leaders.** T. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The sample was taken as of November, 1928, and data consist of answers to a mailed questionnaire received from 8,749 out of mailing list of 15,000, compiled by selection of names listed in *Poor's Register of Directors*. Data collected cover occupational origins, schooling, financial aid, influential connections, size of business, position held, etc.

101. **Trends in population of the United States.** Warren S. Thompson, P. K. Whelpton, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. An analysis of census data. A portion of the retabulation and analysis of data has been completed.

102. **Population and progress.** H. Woolston, University of Washington, Seattle. The material consists of comparative data for the United States and Western Europe in the twentieth century, on population, wealth, and expectation of life, with attention paid to trends and limits.

Heredity and Selection

(See also 21)

103. **Processes of adjustment studied in a present-day Chinese population in an American city.** C. N. Reynolds, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California. The material is being gathered through contacts with Chinese, interviews, life-histories, newspaper accounts and a study of other records of behavior and occupational surveys, distribution of residences, criminal behavior, educational levels, social organizations, and all available statistical material.

104. **The relation of birth control to the sex ratio.** Sanford Winston, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. This is a study of 5,465 "completed" families taken from genealogical records of the present generation of descendants of early American families. Statistical comparisons have been made of the sex-ratios of families of various sizes and of last-born children with earlier children, with particular attention paid to affecting factors.

Human Ecology and Human Geography

(See also 34, 70, 71, 72, 78, 82, 87, 122, 125, 137, 140, 145, 149, 154, 156, 159, 183, 205, 261, 281)

105. **The social effects of shift in points of dominance and world-organization as exemplified by Ionia and Athens.** Howard Becker, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. A library project dealing with historical and archaeological data found in Greek, French, German, and English literature. (See XXXVI, 789, No. 74.)

106. **Ethnological survey of North America.** John M. Cooper, Regina Flannery, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. The area is all of North America north of the Mexican border; and the material is to consist of all ethnological and archaeological data on aborigines, gathered from all published and manuscript sources available. (See XXXVI, 790, No. 78.)

107. **The effect of the urban environment upon a large family group: or the Eisen-drath family group.** Ruth Eisendrath, 1765 East Fifty-fifth Street, Chicago, Illinois. This is an individual case study of a particular family-kinship group now residing for the most part in Chicago. The data were collected primarily through personal interviews of the writer with various members of the Eisendrath family group.

108. **A reorganization of the municipal wards of the city of Cincinnati.** Earle Eubank, James A. Quinn, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio. Data consist of previous ward distribution; materials showing "natural areas" of the city; the official Federal Census Tract Map of the city; official census figures on the city. The methods are statistical and ecological.

109. **The segregation of population groups in Kansas City.** Noel P. Gist, University of Kansas, Lawrence. Data are being assembled from interviews, from social agencies and other social institutions such as churches and schools, and from newspapers and similar documentary material. Selected districts are being canvassed to secure information on mobility, standard of living, group participation, economic status. Census data are to be utilized and spot maps constructed to show distributive aspects of population.

110. **Recent changes in hotels and auto camps.** Norman Hayner, University of Washington, Seattle. The number of hotels and hotel rooms has been compiled for the different states and provinces and for the cities over one hundred thousand in the United States and Canada for 1920 and 1930. Facts are also being gathered on the composition and movements of the auto-camp population in the Puget Sound region and in southern California.

111. **Social and economic survey of Mississippi.** S. H. Hobbs, Jr., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. The period covered is from April, 1929, to February, 1930. In the county government studies, specially trained field workers were sent to the county courthouses for their information. Some parts of the report were prepared by public officials and citizens of the state. Other parts were prepared by a corps of graduate students selected from the larger colleges of the states.

112. **Modern population problems and China.** Leonard S. Hsu, Yenching University, Peiping, China. The study includes a discussion of such problems as the natural growth of population, population checks, birth-rates, death-rates, infant mortality, population optimum, population and natural resources, population density, population and international relations, population quality, researches in population, with special reference to China.

113. **The roomer—in the rooming-house area of young migrants to the metropolis.** W. R. P. Ireland, 1205 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. As a resident in the rooming-house and "bohemian" section of Chicago's Lower North community the observer has gathered about 120 accounts of persons and groups in the district; some of them are long autobiographies. Tables have been compiled on the ages, sex, occupations, and sizes of home communities of about 2,000 migrants, and on rooming accommodations in the city from about 15,000 reports to various public bodies and census data for Chicago and other American cities.

114. **Women in industry in Russia.** Susan M. Kingsbury, Mildred Fairchild, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. (See XXXVI, 790, No. 85.) Material was secured through interview and study of records.

115. **The determination of community boundaries on the basis of social traits.** Murray H. Leiffer, 725 Simpson Street, Evanston, Illinois. The study is based on data collected in a house-to-house canvass of the entire city of Evanston, Illinois, population 63,000, in 1930. Types of data being utilized: average size of family, percentage of families having children, age distribution of children, racial distribution, home ownership, occupational distribution, length of residence. Further study will indicate which trait or traits will serve as best index of homogeneity.

116. **Economic succession and racial invasion in the Hawaiian Islands.** Andrew W. Lind, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, T.H. The study is based upon statistical data relative to distribution and movement of population, occupational distributions, imports and exports, and land utilization in the Hawaiian Islands from 1780 to 1930. (See XXXVI, 790, No. 86.)

117. **Agricultural land tenure by Japanese in the Puget Sound region of the State of Washington: its extent and its significance to the region: the influence of land legislation.** John Adrian Rademaker, 820 North Thirteenth Street, Tacoma, Washington. Period: from the beginning of Japanese land tenure for agricultural purposes (about 1900) until the present. The material consists of statistical data on acreage, crop distribution, economic organization, general attitudes.

118. **Regional social distance.** Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas, Lawrence. The method is similar to that used by Bogardus, but in the present case the purpose is to treat the results as regional and compare the South with the Middle West and the Far West. The subjects were four hundred students from the University of Tennessee and the University of Kansas.

119. **Intra-mobility in Omaha.** T. Earl Sullenger, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. This study covers the City Directories, 1927-29, inclusive. Data pertaining to various social problems in Omaha are being collected, and correlation with mobility carefully noted.

THE URBAN COMMUNITY AND THE CITY

(See also 48, 92, 96, 99, 103, 107, 108, 109, 113, 135, 136,
211, 222, 231, 238, 247, 279, 287)

120. **Indices of urbanization.** Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas, Lawrence. This is a study of rural and suburban areas in various stages of urbanization, with special attention to certain Connecticut towns.

121. **Estimate of the number and percentage of villages of the United States losing population during the last census decade.** J. M. Gillette, University Station, Grand Forks, North Dakota. The writer is following the methods used for the preceding decades as indicated in volume of statistics and in rural sociology.

122. **The changing institutional structure of the central urban area with special reference to Detroit, Michigan.** Donald C. Marsh, 417 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. It will deal with the historical and present institutional organization of the central urban area of Detroit. Institutional changes in that area as a point of dominance will be the principal material for investigation.

123. **A city-planning study designed to demonstrate the economic practicability and social desirability of replanning and rebuilding a specified deteriorated urban residential district in accordance with neighborhood unit principles.** Clarence A. Perry, 130 East Twenty-second Street, New York City. The area to be used is a selected district of thirty-five acres in the central part of Queens Borough, New York City. The data to be collected refer to the current period, and comprise: assessed valuations for land and improvements, market price of land, current building and development costs, current rentals of specified types of apartments. This is mainly a project in architectural design and engineering planning which will be controlled by economic data obtained through its research phase.

124. **The strategy of city church planning.** Ross W. Sanderson, 230 Park Avenue, New York City. The period of the study is from December 1, 1929, to June 1, 1932. Eight factors of relative social status and social change are being studied in sixteen urban centers. Data include rates of increase and decrease in church membership, Sunday school enrolment, and total expenditures of white Protestant churches during the last decade.

125. **A study of the metropolitan area of Kansas City.** Homer L. Williams, Parkville, Missouri. A descriptive survey of the growth, trends, and scope of Kansas City's (Missouri and Kansas) metropolitan area.

126. **A comparison of the differential growth of American cities according to size.** Sanford Winston, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. A compilation of census data from 1900 to 1930 to determine the relative growth of cities of various sizes based on the population as of 1930. The cities were divided into nine classifications on the basis of the 1930 population. The comparisons are based on the same cities in contradistinction to the census method.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY

(See also 79, 97, 99, 117, 120, 169, 170, 171, 196, 228, 236, 278)

127. **The income of farm boys and girls.** Howard W. Beers, Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York. Schedules for about 1,237 farm boys and girls from all sections of New York have been secured through high schools and Junior Extension agents.

128. **Hospital and medical service for rural people.** C. G. Bennett, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York. A statistical study of hospital records for five years and interviews with physicians to determine the number of hospital beds per thousand population per county; the use of a hospital by rural people over a period of five years in one county; and the availability and charges of physicians in a rural county.

129. **County government and county affairs in rural counties in the South.** E. C. Branson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Field studies of county government and county affairs in six typical rural counties of South Carolina, September 1, 1930, to September 1, 1931. A case-method study, with the emphasis mainly on exhibiting photographically the efforts of rural democracies in governing themselves—largely on county record, county accounts, county budgets, county debts and sinking funds, and reports upon all public moneys handled by county officers. A controlling belief in the survey is that no business, public or private, rises above the level of its bookkeeping. The data collected have, therefore, to do in the main with the financial conditions and affairs of county counties.

130. **Incomes of a German farm colony in North Carolina.** *Idem.* Data concern the settlement of forty families, near Ridgeway, from the beginning in 1910 to 1930, inclusive, and the study attempts to answer the question: Why do these Germans succeed where the natives fail? The statistical data are related to incomes, farm properties, bank accounts, living standards, and culture levels.

131. **Study of rural social change.** Edmund deS. Brunner, 230 Park Avenue, New York City. Field work covers 157 communities or areas previously studied in 1920 or 1925 and revisited in 1930. Further census study will be made on the basis of both published and unpublished data of 357 counties and 177 country towns. Data consist of survey schedules filled in by field workers; and of careful statistical analysis of published and unpublished census data both under population and under agriculture. (See XXXVI, 792, No. 100.)

132. **Mobility and adjustment of the Connecticut rural population.** Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas, Lawrence. Data consist of field studies of six rural towns; schedules filled by means of personal interviews with six hundred rural families; statistical analysis of this material and analysis of ecological processes by additional techniques.

133. **Recreation for children and youth of the white and Negro races in selected rural areas in four counties in South Carolina.** Mary E. Frayser, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina. The study was made in three school districts in each of the four counties selected. The age range under consideration is from six to twenty-one years. Six hundred seventeen records of whites and 143 records of Negroes were taken between 1927 and 1931. The investigation made contact with school and health officials, and with county, farm, and home demonstration agents. The information was secured by visits by the investigator to the homes of the young people and recorded on especially prepared schedule forms.

134. **Qualitative selection in cityward migration.** Wilson Gee, Dewees Runk, University of Virginia, University. The area is Albemarle County, Virginia, a representative southern area. One hundred-twenty families, divided into 30 upper class, 60 middle class, and 30 lower class, were studied and the differential rates of cityward migration are determined among the children of these families. The study shows a new technique for answering the question of "folk depletion" in rural section.

135. **Rural-urban heroism in military action.** *Idem.* Data consist of the records of the distinguished service cross awards cited in *Decorations, United States Army, 1862-1928*. This restricts the study to the World War cases.

136. **Estimate of rural migration and other sources of urban increase in the last decade.** J. M. Gillette, University Station, Grand Forks, North Dakota.

137. **Rural population mobility in the state of Connecticut with special reference to commutation between places of work and residence.** J. L. Hypes, V. A. Rapport, Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station, Storrs, Connecticut. During December, 1929, and January through June, 1930, 616 records were gathered from six Connecticut towns. The data include occupational histories of the heads of families, general information con-

cerning the entire family, living conditions, commutation information, etc. The data were collected on a special schedule through a house-to-house canvass.

138. **Farmer's standard of living.** E. L. Kirkpatrick, University of Wisconsin, Madison. This study covers seven contiguous areas in seven counties, representing six farm type areas of Wisconsin, 1929 and 1930 survey. (See XXXVI, 793, No. 112.)

139. **Standards of living in the village of Crozet, Virginia.** E. L. Kirkpatrick, Evelyn G. Tough, University of Wisconsin, Madison. This study covers all families in the village for the year of 1929-30. It includes historic study of the origin and growth of the village.

140. **Changes and trends in rural neighborhood and primary groups.** J. H. Kolb, 318 Agricultural Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison. This study is to cover a period of ten years, this being the time since the original study was made in Dane County, Wisconsin. The material is to be plotted on the original neighborhood maps, in order to discover changes in areas. Subsequent to this, field investigation of an extended character will be made.

141. **The Red Hill community: a sociological study of four rural Negro neighborhoods in Albemarle County, Virginia.** William L. Leap, University of Virginia, University. Every Negro home in the four communities was visited, and a total of eighty-six special schedules taken.

142. **Rural Negro standards of living in Albemarle County, Virginia.** *Idem.* Approximately 150 rural Negro standard-of-living schedules will be used.

143. **Appearance and disappearance of farm trade centers in Minnesota, 1905-30.** C. E. Lively, University Farm, St. Paul, Minnesota. Bradstreet's *Ratings* are used as the basis of the work, which involves several centers. The cases are analyzed with respect to geographic location, the time of appearance or disappearance, population, economic factors, communication, etc.

144. **Farmer experiences with and opinions concerning the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation.** Theodore B. Manny, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D.C. Data for period from 1920 to present, secured through personal interviews with 1,372 farmers in 14 Ohio counties, and interviews with 41 officials of the organization, together with observational reports of enumerators, and certain information from local bankers and business men.

145. **A sociological study of a village and its surrounding territory.** Bruce L. Melvin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The village is in the dairy section of New York. The changes in the social organization are traced from the beginning of the history of the territory. A schedule was filled for every family. Further documents, records, newspaper files were searched and many interviews held with leaders in the territory.

146. **The country church in North Carolina.** J. M. Ormond, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. Includes a map for each of the one hundred counties of the state locating all churches of white people in the open country and towns under fifteen hundred population, giving name and denomination of each church. Includes also survey of churches made in 1929, giving membership, value of building, material from which church is constructed, and equipment of building.

147. **Membership problems of rural community socio-educational organizations—a study of rural attitudes.** R. A. Polson, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Blacksburg. Five hundred schedules of individual programs will be obtained by house-to-house canvass in a minimum of five communities in Virginia during 1931.

148. **The effect of the use of electricity on the farm income, organization, and management, and upon the psychic income and social conditions of the farm family—ways and means whereby electricity may be used on the farm and in the farm home to the advantage of the farmer and his family at a cost which they can afford to pay and which will insure the continued availability of electric current in rural districts.** Burwell B. Powell, College Park, Maryland. The study is to extend over a period of at least five years. Detailed studies of operating methods, costs, and profits of five farms in the Sandy Spring neighborhood near Washington, D.C., as a whole, and each member; the family standard of living; the use of time of the homemaker; and the psychic income of

the family and each member have been made before electrifying the farm and farm home. (See XXXVI, 793, No. 115.)

149. **Changing rural social organization of Ohio County, W. Va.** D. B. Rogers, West Liberty State Teacher's College, West Liberty, West Virginia. A schedule was used to determine from each householder in five hundred farm families to what center or centers he goes for groceries, etc. Answers were superimposed on a base map of the county and give a composite picture of the service-centers of Ohio County.

150. **A study of rural community areas in New York State.** Dwight Sanderson Ray E. Wakeley, Harold F. Dorn, E. A. Taylor, A. M. Paxson, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York. Data were secured from eight counties in central New York: in three counties by a canvass of all farm families with a schedule; in three counties by the use of a mail questionnaire and personal study of community centers; and in two counties by personal interviews with merchants and community leaders. (See XXXVI, 794, No. 117.)

151. **The relative social efficiency of New York counties.** A. C. Seymour, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York. (See XXXVI, 794, No. 119.)

152. **Community agencies affecting rural standards of living of Wake County, North Carolina.** Carl C. Taylor, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. Data are for 1928-29 and 1929-30.

153. **A study of 154 rural community organizations in seven typical North Carolina counties.** *Idem.* Data are for the year 1926-27, and deal with membership, attendance, projects, problems, and difficulties of the organizations. Each organization was visited by a field man; all records were studied and a questionnaire was filled by answers from the officers in the organizations and other leaders in the communities. (See XXXVI, 794, No. 120.)

154. **A study of the social and economic relationships of the open-country population of Genesee County to their hamlets, villages, and cities.** E. A. Taylor, New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca. During the summer of 1930, 2,940 schedules were taken from the entire county of Genesee, one of the leading agricultural sections of New York State. Data include 85 per cent of the entire open-country population. Schedules were taken also covering changes in village institutions from 1900 to 1930, inclusive. Records were obtained on all churches with particular reference to the manner in which they are serving the open-country population and on hundreds of personal interviews with merchants, bankers, and farm leaders. Each farm home was plotted on a map for each service rendered by the hamlets, villages, and cities. Thus, there was prepared a grocery map, a church map, lodge map, a map showing where eggs and poultry are sold, a hardware map, etc.—about forty in all.

155. **A study of rural organizations in four Ohio counties.** E. D. Tetreau, R. G. Smith, J. P. Schmidt, Ohio State University, Columbus. Methods—documentary study and field inquiry. (See XXXVI, 794, No. 121.)

156. **The relation of human ecology to rural government.** Chester R. Wasson, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York. Studies of town and county governments in relation to rural community areas to determine the incidence or conflict of interests between political and community areas, and the functions of local government in rural areas. Data gathered through personal interviews; questionnaires to town and village officials and citizens and their analysis; and mapping the relations of areas.

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL CONTROL

(See also 152, 209)

157. **Influence of motion pictures on conduct.** Herbert Blumer, University of Chicago. This study has been in progress since January, 1929, and extends to July, 1931. The material consists of written or narrated accounts of personal experience; observation of conduct of children; collection of verbatim accounts of conversation; motion picture diaries and letters.

158. *A. The effect of a co-acting group on self-ratings. B. The effect of an audience and co-acting group situation on speed of perceptual discrimination. C. A quantitative study of suggestion in the group situation. D. A genetic study of certain factors involved in the judgment of pluralistic behavior. E. Some psychological factors involved in the expression and content of opinion on public matters.* S. B. Cummings, Jr., Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. These projects deal with data collected during 1931 on grammar school, high-school, and college students. Depending upon the problem, the data are either performance tests, self-ratings, statement of opinion, or judgment under controlled conditions.

159. *The relationship between the size of the group and social interaction.* H. G. Duncan, University of New Hampshire, Durham. This project proposes to analyze the recorded experiences of five hundred students with respect to the differences in the nature of interaction in two, three, and larger groups.

160. *The influence of Garrett Biblical Institute in the Greater Chicago area.* Claire C. Hoyt, 619 Library Place, Evanston, Illinois. The Greater Chicago area is covered for the period from 1855 to 1930. Use has been made of geographical time-series of the founding of Methodist churches, historical time-series of the influence as derived from conference statistical records, and classification and interpretation of examples and type of service and of outstanding men.

161. *A. The effect of a co-acting group upon a matter of opinion. B. The effect of discussion on matters of fact and matters of opinion. D. S. Loeb, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.* These projects deal with data collected during 1931 on grammar school, high-school, and college students. Depending upon the problem, the data are either attitude scales, statements of opinion, or judgment under controlled conditions.

162. *Veiled propaganda.* Frederick E. Lumley, Ohio State University, Columbus. A systematic survey of credulity, promotion of culture, nature of propaganda, historical aspects, aims of propagandists, methods, results, propaganda in industrial, political, educational, religious and other areas, results, prevention.

163. *An analysis of the social appeal of the most popular novels of a decade recently completed.* Madeline B. Smith, University of Virginia, University. The study covers the decade 1920-30; first data derived from *The Bookman's* monthly lists of novels in greatest demand at public libraries; some thirty novels selected by a combination of three tests of greatest and most enduring popularity. The novels are to be individually read and analyzed, and an attempt made to classify them and determine the basis of their popularity; a representative of each class will then be more exhaustively analyzed to exhibit the basis of interest and appeal in greater detail.

Social Movements: Reforms, Crazes, Revolutions

(See also 227)

164. *The present status of American community utopias and of their survivals.* Lee Emerson Deets, University of South Dakota, Vermillion. A descriptive survey of existing community utopias and significant survivals of utopian communities which have come to an end since 1880.

165. *The relativity of utopian thought.* Thomas D. Eliot, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. A series of case studies of utopian phantasies studied from the point of view of their alleged sanity or insanity.

Gangs, Play Groups, Cliques, Factions

166. *Wawokiye Camp, an experimental study in group adjustment.* Wilber I. News-tetter, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. A new statistical method of treating social data—that is, data relative to the social personality and to social relationships—has been devised, which departs from the classical method of statistical treatment. The case study method is also being employed. (See XXXVI, 795, No. 130.)

167. *A sociological and social psychological analysis of the long-term summer camp.* Howard Rowland, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. This is a descriptive case study

analysis of a single camp. The bulk of the material was collected during the summer of 1930.

168. The study of the effect of a large boys' club upon its members and the community. Frederic M. Trasher, New York University, New York City. The area covered is from 99th Street to 126th Street, Fifth Avenue to the East River, in Manhattan, New York City, for a period of three years, September 1, 1928, to September 1, 1931.

Discussions, Public Opinion, the Press

(See also 7, 216)

169. Fifty years of a county rural weekly newspaper. Ernest M. Banzet, Michigan State College, East Lansing. (See XXXVI, 796, No. 137.)

170. The weekly newspaper as a social force in rural Alabama. Frances Barlow, University of Alabama, University. At least one representative weekly newspaper in each county has been selected, and the complete files of each for 1930 are studied with regard to various types of advertisements. These facts are measured in terms of column inches. The types of news and advertisements carried by each paper are being measured, then effort made to determine through circulation reports and other records what percentage of the rural population in each county is touched by these papers. Effort will be made to correlate data with certain factors in the rural areas.

171. Changes in the content and manner of presenting reading material in Minnesota weekly newspapers, 1860-1929. Irene Barnes, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. A sample of thirty papers was analyzed for the decennial years from 1860 to 1920 and for 1929 to show changes in the physical pattern of the paper; the amount of news, magazine material, and advertising; the rise and decline of non-shop-set material; specific news categories, analyzed separately for shop-set and non-shop-set material; and the manner of presenting news, as measured by the use of the headline and the emphasis of specific categories of news by giving them front-page positions to a greater extent than chance selection alone would dictate.

172. Measurement of Y.M.C.A. goodwill. L. W. Bartlett, W. W. White, 5315 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. A study of Y.M.C.A.'s in eight cities of 50,000 to 100,000 population in north central states. Evidence was gathered on various ways in which good will is reflected, such as membership and financial patronage and its persistence, news space, character of board member, and upon such modifying factors as ability to give, welfare-mindedness, business conditions, and population characteristics.

173. The effect of distance on news values—a comparative study of a number of leading newspapers to determine the relationship between remoteness of news events and the display given to the reports. L. J. Carr, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

174. Newspaper circulation areas in the Detroit region. *Idem.*

175. Newspaper treatment of the drought as an index of press leadership. *Idem.*

176. Classification of news based on functions performed and reader reactions. Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas, Lawrence. An analysis of contemporary press; data to be collected from newspaper readers and from papers read.

177. News: a sociological study. *Idem.* Area covered: Western Europe and America. Period covered: ancient times to the present. Data were collected showing the development of news and the growth of the newspaper; functions and forms of news; the rôle of the press in various social situations. The chief method employed was historical, but concrete data from newspapers past and present were utilized as a basis for an analytical treatment of the concept of news.

178. An analysis of the content of Cincinnati newspapers with reference to selected phases of interest. Earle Eubank and students, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio. Complete files of the three Cincinnati daily newspapers for one month, and of four weekly Negro newspapers of national importance for three months, were studied with reference to following points: fictional content; news, editorial, special feature, etc.; space ratio; location; (in selected cases) bias or weighting, as distinguished from subject matter.

179. **The human interest story in the newspaper—a study of popular literature.** Helen G. MacGill, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. The period is chiefly of the present day with some reference to the newspapers since the eighties and nineties. The method has been chiefly that of collecting and classifying human interest stories into types, on the basis of topic and treatment.

180. **A sociological examination of the codes and practices of a selected group of newspapers.** Ruth E. Pike, University Extension Division, Station A, Lincoln, Nebraska. Material from fifty newspapers is at hand. This study consists of statement of codes (both printed and in reply to questionnaires), comparison with codes of doctors, lawyers, etc., together with criticisms.

181. **Experimental study of influence of opinion on human evaluative actions.** P. A. Sorokin, 88 Washington Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

182. **Quantitative analysis of newspapers.** Julian L. Woodward, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. A survey of the methodological problems inherent in the quantitative approach to the study of the newspaper and of the progress made to date by various investigators in solving them. The methods used are bibliographical and analytical.

Leadership

(See also 100, 175)

183. **The migration and distribution of Negro leaders in the United States.** Sanford Winston, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. A study of 1,608 Negro leaders. Statistical techniques were used in refining the data to determine trends with regard to mobility, age at achieving leadership status, etc.

184. **Occupations and political affiliations of Negro leaders.** *Idem.* A study of 1,608 Negro leaders. Statistical techniques have been used in determining the trend in occupational distribution and in an analysis of certain factors related to political affiliations.

Recreations, Celebrations, Festivals

(See also 133, 289)

185. **What 443 school children in a university town do with their time.** L. J. Carr, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. A cross-sectional sample of Ann Arbor schools were studied to determine hours of sleep, contacts with institutions other than schools, etc.

186. **Sociology of play.** M. H. Neumeyer, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

Educational Sociology

(See also 58, 64, 270)

187. **The effect of the depression on student life at the University of Michigan.** R. C. Angell, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The 380 very complete blanks are being gathered from a random sample of students, and also business men, the business managers of various student groups and of restaurants, and other people who can judge of the effect of the depression. The project is being carried forward by advanced students who are interviewing the persons involved or are explaining to them the questionnaire blank which may be returned anonymously.

188. **The unionization of school teachers.** Caroline Bengtson, Harvard, Nebraska. Area: the United States. Period: 1902 to present time. Publications of the Chicago Federation of Teachers, journals and statements of the American Federation of Teachers, publications and pronouncements of the New York Teachers' Union, are compared with those of professional teachers' organizations. (See XXXVI, 797, No. 146.)

189. **Analysis of behavior situations by age groups.** W. C. Bower, University of Chicago. The purpose of this study is to discover the situations in response to which behavior arises as a basis for a program of education. The method is that of social analysis.

190. **Recent trends in education.** Newton Edwards, University of Chicago. Area: the United States, especially since 1890. Historical and statistical methods are being used.

191. **A study of conditions—living conditions, educational standards, attitudes toward faculty, teachers' salaries—in private schools.** Florence Louise Gould, 34 Cypress Street, Brookline, Massachusetts.

192. **Definition of felt needs of selected adult groups in a community as a point of departure in adult education.** Ruth Kotinsky, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. The study has been in progress for eight months in the city of Meriden, Connecticut, and the expressed interests of nine groups of at least sixty individuals each have been carefully analyzed. During the summer it is planned to study returns from at least three thousand persons.

193. **Schools and leisure.** Eugene Lies, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City. About fifty city school systems in the United States will be studied in person by the investigator during a two-year period, and many others by questionnaire. Data will be secured through personal observation; study of documents and records; conference with superintendents of schools, heads of departments, principals, community leaders.

194. **The place of science in the training of teachers for secondary schools.** Alexander MacVittie, 11770 Ilene Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. Two hundred and four institutions in "North Central Association" from 1910 to 1930 have been investigated. Data relate to distribution of prescribed and elective hours in sciences, cultural and professional subjects; and changes since 1910.

195. **A descriptive study of character education in selected public schools of Denver.** G. L. Maxwell, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado. Data consist of standardized interviews with teachers and pupils; diary records kept by teachers; observers' reports; courses of study and curriculum materials; questionnaire reports.

196. **Urban migration and educational selection in east central Oklahoma.** Thomas C. McCormick, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. Quantitative data from four thousand filled-out questionnaires, covering the last quarter of a century or more, have been obtained for eleven counties of east central Oklahoma. Correlations will be found between academic education and moves to larger population centers, for each of the occupational classes.

197. **A study of the leisure time activities of students in the Downtown College of Arts, and School of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago.** Agnes Van Driel, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois.

198. **The work of home-economics-trained women in business.** Chase Going Woodhouse, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro. Data are from some 450 home economics women in important business positions in the United States and were secured through personal interviews with women and with executives in the business employing them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, INSTITUTIONS, AND CULTURE

(See also 27, 153, 155, 275)

199. **The natural history of a social institution; with special reference to the Y.M.C.A.** Dorothy Edna Havens, 8 Liberty Street, Newton, New Jersey. Data consist of minutes of the Roanoke, Virginia, Y.M.C.A. from 1883 to 1931, correspondence, published reports, scrap books and personal interviews with board members, the employed staff, and ministers and other individuals in the city.

200. **The economic organization of medicine.** Lewis W. Jones, 910 Seventeenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. A library project.

201. **Social and economic implications of industrial life insurance.** Maurice Taylor, 29 Addington Road, Brookline, Massachusetts. Data for the United States from 1876 to 1929 with especial emphasis on period from 1911 to 1929. Material gathered from official and unofficial sources covering types of policies, various forms of expenditure, and company practices, together with public and private relief agency practice concerning attitude toward insurance in dependent families.

Culture Traits, Patterns, Complexes and Areas

(See also 15, 85, 113, 165)

202. **Cultural development in Latin America.** L. L. Bernard, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. A study of the various types of culture, especially the social science literature and current periodicals.

203. **Factors controlling state patent rates.** L. J. Carr, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. A statistical study of the patent rates of American states during the decade 1916-25, in 1870, and in 1878-82; correlations with economic, educational, and other factors; and details on patenting by counties in four states in one year.

204. **How the auto came to Dexter.** *Idem.* A study of the diffusion of a culture trait as revealed by the files of a country weekly during the ten years, 1901-10.

205. **Folkways and motorways.** Clarence Marsh Case, University of Southern California, Los Angeles. The writer drove twenty thousand miles with the direct object of observing human behavior patterns and types in traffic situations; he resided in forty-nine auto camps; interviewed offenders, policemen, flagmen, judges, veteran drivers, camp operators, hitch-hikers, bums, and others.

206. **Age as a cultural function (by contrast with its physiological, mental, etc., meanings).** Thomas D. Eliot, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Data are being secured through observation, questionnaires, check-lists of accepted behavior by age, in a given culture.

207. **The American football pageant as a culture complex and as a community institution.** *Idem.* (See XXXVI, 799, No. 166.)

208. **Bereavement.** *Idem.* Data consist of folkways, mores, and attitudes toward the culture of bereavement as portrayed in forty years of the *Embalmer's Monthly*; case studies of bereaved individuals; hymns and Scripture used at American funerals.

209. **The Chinese tong: a study of institutions.** Clarence E. Glick, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, T.H. A study of the rise, forms and functions, natural history, of the tongs in Hawaii. Interviews; translation of records and documents of the tongs; case studies of tongs and life-histories of members; quantitative and ecological treatment of certain aspects of the tongs and of the Chinese population in Hawaii; survey of the literature on Chinese tongs. (See XXXVI, 799, No. 167.)

The Courts and Legislation

(See also 282, 285)

210. **The administration of justice in inferior courts: Hamilton County, Ohio.** Paul F. Douglass, 358 Terrace Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio. The study covers a five-year period, all litigation in twenty-six justice of the peace courts, twenty-three mayors' courts, and the Cincinnati municipal court. Sociological data on causes of action, status of parties involved, and costs.

Social Change and Social Evolution

(See also 16, 53, 55, 66, 101, 102, 122, 131, 140, 149, 190, 234, 241, 299)

211. **The impact of the automobile industry on city growth.** L. J. Carr, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The population growth of twenty-five American cities classified as auto, semi-auto, and non-auto, compared for eight census periods.

212. **The patenting performance of 1,000 inventors for ten years.** *Idem.*

213. **Studies in the adaptation of social institutions to social changes in the Northwest area.** F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. Each study is to be of a selected institution such as a church, a school, etc., with the initial and supplemental social inventions which contributed to the elaboration of the institutional pattern analyzed in terms of time and function. The selective accumulation of culture traits added to the original pattern will be studied to measure the growth of the institutional pattern, and the cycle of growth through which the institution passed; and the attitudes of the members of social groups constituent to the institution will be analyzed.

United States; mainly during the period since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.

215. **Invention in the history of the ship—a sociological study of technique evolution, following the lines of the ship's descent, from log to rotorship.** S. C. Gilfillan, 3623 Blackstone Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Twenty thousand years Egypt to America, all historical or archaeological data readily available on the origins of the hundred or so principal inventions made in the ship. Library research, and some correspondence.

216. **Trends in social attitudes and public opinion in the United States, 1900-1930.** Eornell Hart, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. Based on intensive analysis of selected numbers of seven periodicals leading in circulation in 1930; of leading all-fiction magazines in 1900, 1914, 1920, and 1930; of titles of magazine articles listed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* from 1905 to 1930; and of samples of articles on selected subjects in 1905, 1914, 1920, and 1930. The procedure is based on the fact that the behavior of heroes, heroines, and villains, and opinions expressed in articles, must be acceptable to the reading public if the magazine survives. Parallel studies by carefully trained independent investigators are being compared to ascertain reliability. Results will be embodied in tables and graphs, showing changes in amount of attention given various basic questions, and shifts from favorable to unfavorable attitudes.

217. **The early history of contraception (1850 B.C.—A.D. 1850).** Norman E. Himes, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts. Data were secured from Egyptian medical papyri; from the medical works of Greek, Roman, and Arabian schools.

218. **Trends in public welfare: a study of the literature from 1900 to 1930.** Katharine Kocher, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. The study is limited to the United States with major emphasis on the thirty-year period, 1900-1930, although the year which marks the organization of the Conference of Charities and Corrections (now the National Conference of Social Work) will be used as a base from which to measure trends. The data will be gathered from minutes and proceedings, journals, periodicals, etc., and other materials largely of a fugitive nature.

219. **Consumption habits.** Robert S. Lynd, Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City.

220. **Social consequences of inventions.** W. F. Ogburn, University of Chicago. Period—last quarter of a century. Area—United States. Data consist of invention statistics, together with lists of invention uses. The method is largely historical. (See CXXVI, 800, No. 177.)

221. **The evolution of culture: an attempt to determine its decisive steps and their dissemination.** Maurice Parmelee, 202 West Tenth Street, New York City. By culture is meant all that has been created by man, including both material goods and institutions. The study consists of anthropological and sociological data analyzed from a biological and psychological point of view.

222. **Social and economic change.** Caroline F. Ware, 20 Jones Street, New York City. Area: Greenwich Village. Period: 1920-30. Quantity and type of data: Economic characteristics of the area (including real estate and housing, industry and economic status of population), the family, education, religion, health, recreation, charity, delinquency and crime, social contacts, and social distances. Data were secured through searching of records, questionnaire-interviews, informal interviews, mailed questionnaires, use of random samples, selective samples, key people, participation and group discussion.

223. **A study of social change in a religious sect.** Forrest L. Weller, 206 Wesley Avenue, Mount Morris, Illinois. This is a study of the social changes in the Church of the Brethren (Dunkers) from their origin in 1708, with the chief emphasis on the period since 1850 when they began their greatest change. Data consist of life-histories of the present as well as biographical sketches and life-histories of individuals of earlier periods; the decisions of their national conference in the matters of discipline and general regulations; material from their official publications; and sermons.

224. **Communication.** Malcolm M. Willey, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. S. A. Rice, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. A study of changes in the agencies of communication and transportation from 1900 to date, with special reference to the influences of one agency upon another and the influence of the separate agencies upon human habits. Based largely on statistical compilation.

Sociology of Religion

(See also 74, 76, 92, 124, 146, 160, 223, 254)

225. **Modern religious cults and society: a sociological interpretation of a modern religious phenomenon.** Louis R. Binder, 76 Ward Street, Paterson, New Jersey. About twenty of the more important religious cults of the United States and one of Canada come within the scope of this study. Data collected through interviews, government and historical reports, a study of the leadership, literature, and social behavior of the cults.

226. **A study of the class control of 1,000 churches.** Jerome Davis, Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut. Questionnaires were sent to the churches to determine the class composition of the board members and the results were contrasted with a similar study in the field of education.

227. **An analysis of solidarity, conflict, and social control in a sectarian, utopian, communistic community—the Hutterische Bruder Gemeinde.** Lee Emerson Deets, University of South Dakota, Vermillion. The study covers a comprehensive survey and interpretation of the history of the society since its origin in 1528; an intensive study over a two and one-half year period of one of the thirty-three communities; and a comparative study of these communities with other member communities in South Dakota and Manitoba. Data are primarily the product of observation and analysis.

228. **Factors which have a bearing upon the decline of the rural church in Kendall County, Illinois.** O. Leonard Jones, Plano, Illinois.

229. **Negro ministers of Nashville: their message and program.** Howard Kester, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. The data are being collected by personal observation through visits to churches, interviews, and study of programs and communities.

230. **Religion in the treatment of juvenile delinquency.** John O'Grady, 1103 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. The field covered by this study includes the first fifty cases of Catholic children appearing before the juvenile court of the District of Columbia after January 1, 1930. The study proposed to carry on an intensive program of religious and case work treatment of these children over a long period of time.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

(See also 40, 61, 68, 69)

231. **A study of the contributions to charity, religion, and education by members of professional groups in the city of Madison.** C. L. Dedrick, J. L. Gillin, Lois Bishop, University of Wisconsin, Madison. State income tax returns can be secured for all resident doctors, dentists, lawyers, university professors, ministers, etc., giving gross income, net taxable income, deductions for donations to charities, religious groups, education, etc.

232. **Analysis of plans of white unmarried mothers of St. Louis Maternity Hospital.** L. Eloise Egan, 237 South Melville Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Data collected refer particularly to the plans of seventy-five white unmarried mothers who were confined at the St. Louis Maternity Hospital prior to May 1, 1930, in relation to the disposition of the child; e.g., care by mother, foster home care, adoption, etc.

233. **An intensive study of the social problems presented to public and private welfare agencies by residents of a single, "overregistered" block.** J. L. Gillin, C. L. Dedrick, Marcia Freeman, University of Wisconsin, Madison. The single block studied is in Madison, Wisconsin, with a total population of 170 persons, Negroes, Italians, Jews, and "poor whites," in which nearly every family has some record with the welfare

and individuals, based on the records now extant in the welfare agencies, courts, city schools, etc., with special reference to physical and mental problems, family disorganization, delinquency, economic conditions, housing.

234. **Human sterilization in the United States.** J. H. Landman, College of City of New York, New York City. Data consist of an analysis of all laws and adjudications, a study of prevalence of mental subnormalities, a survey of current knowledge of heredity of same, and effects of sterilization on patients.

Poverty and Dependency

(See also 201)

235. **Self-adjustment of dependent families.** Naomi Hertzman, 5151 Lotus Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. A study of the cases refused aid by the St. Louis Provident Association during July, 1930 (approximately 250 cases). All the old records of the Association on the cases were read, and now the families are being visited and interviewed.

236. **Study of 100 cases known to the St. Louis Provident Association originating in rural districts other than the Ozark region.** Lela Marshall, 5800 Clemens Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. A comparative study of families before and after coming to city. Material is secured from Provident Association case records and conferences with case workers.

237. **The age factor in the business and professional woman's career.** Anne. H. Morrison, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. The study considers the occupational career of business and professional women who have reached the age of thirty-five or more, and who are now employed. The effect of social and educational background on success is being investigated; and the rewards, interests, and satisfactions, tangible and intangible, which affect the individual and the group. The method combines the case history and questionnaire procedure.

238. **Sociological Factors in Unemployment.** Harold A. Phelps, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. A summary of cases of unemployment in the records of the Providence Family Welfare Society, 1927-31, inclusive; unemployed cases contrasted with total load, 1928-30, when agency's load was limited; same, 1931, unlimited intake. (See XXXVI, 803, No. 199.)

239. **Five thousand homeless men in Seattle—a statistical study.** Allen R. Potter, 348 East Fifty-eighth Street, Seattle, Washington. An analysis of first applicants at Seattle Central Registry for Homeless Men, November, 1930, to May 1, 1931. The number will be between five thousand and six thousand. Data are obtained from face card filled out at first interview. Supplementary case studies of individuals supplement these data.

240. **One hundred cases known to St. Louis Provident Association originating in the Ozark region of Missouri.** Myrtle Ryan, 906 Trinity Street, St. Louis, Missouri. A comparative study of families before and after coming to city. This material is secured from Provident Association case records and conferences with case workers.

241. **Technological unemployment.** R. Clyde White, 122 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Area: United States from 1870 to 1920. A critical examination of current estimates of the importance of technological unemployment, analysis of a study of seven industrial and commercial plants by the investigator, and an examination of data in the *United States Census of Occupations*.

Crime and Delinquency

(See also 30, 186, 230, 263, 283, 284, 298)

242. **Oriental crime on the Pacific Coast.** W. G. Beach, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California. Data cover period of penal records although largely 1900-1925. All penal, court, and jail records of the larger cities have been studied and material secured concerning type, frequency, and extent of crime committed by Orientals.

243. **The technique and outcome of juvenile probation—a statistical and descriptive analysis of probation treatment and its results.** Belle B. Beard, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. The subjects were five hundred children studied at the Judge Baker Foundation and placed on probation in the Boston Juvenile Court. Analysis was made of complete records of every child at Judge Baker Foundation, Boston Juvenile Court, and other social agency dealing with the child. Home visits were made for follow-up, making records complete for a five-year period.

244. **The administration of criminal justice in Franklin County, Ohio.** William J. Blackburn, Jr., Ohio State University, Columbus. This project covers Franklin County and the city of Columbus, with all municipalities in the county. It is limited specifically to the year 1930, but may compare 1930 figures with five-year averages. It is largely statistical in nature.

245. **Homicide in the United States.** H. C. Brearley, Clemson A. and M. College, Clemson College, South Carolina. Homicide rates for each county and each city of ten thousand or more population in the United States registration area for the years 1920 and 1925 have been studied and the seasonal variation in over fifty thousand homicidal deaths analyzed. Investigations have been made of the relationship between homicide and other social phenomena, such as race, population pressure, illiteracy, etc.

246. **Delinquency and pre-delinquency in a university town.** L. J. Carr, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Case studies of a limited number of delinquents and pre-delinquents in Ann Arbor.

247. **Study of chain gangs of the South.** William B. Cox, 114 East Thirtieth Street, New York City. Covers administration, prison population, living conditions, food, medical service, rules and punishment, industries, cost, etc., in prison camps of Georgia, Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. Material gathered through personal visit to camps by representative of National Society of Penal Information.

248. **The development of municipal institutions for the treatment of juvenile offenders in St. Louis.** Verna J. Fidler, 906 Trinity Avenue, University City, Missouri. Period covered: from the establishment of the St. Louis House of Refuge in 1853 to the present. Types of data collected: available statistics and other data regarding the growth and development of the House of Refuge, later named the Industrial School, and its successors, Bellefontaine Farms for delinquent boys and Meramec Hills for delinquent girls. Analysis has been made of reports of superintendents of the institutions; mayors' messages; city auditor's reports; reports of the board of education; state laws; city ordinances; histories of St. Louis; reports of the board of children's guardians; pamphlets and newspaper articles on the subject; interviews with persons who have had a part in this development.

249. **Relation of policewomen of St. Louis to the woman offender.** Elizabeth E. Fyffe, 416 South Main, Blackwell, Oklahoma. Deals with the history and function of policewomen since the organization of the bureau in St. Louis in 1916. The material was gathered from police journals, policewomen journals, newspapers, and interviews.

250. **The scope and methods of official criminal statistics in Western Europe.** C. E. Gehlke, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Area—the Western European nations (excepting Spain and Switzerland) in 1930.

251. **Delinquency areas in the Puget Sound region.** Norman Hayner, University of Washington, Seattle. The data are to consist of rate maps for boy delinquency in Seattle, Tacoma, King County, and Everett, and for girl delinquency in Seattle.

252. **A uniform summary classification of types of dispositions of cases in criminal courts, for the purpose of facilitating uniform judicial criminal statistics.** Willis R. Hotchkiss, W. W. Dawson, C. E. Gehlke, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. The dispositions of criminal cases reported by the various surveys of criminal justice were grouped tentatively under a small number of headings, in such a manner as to show roughly which agency of the court (jury, judge, prosecutor) might be considered to be responsible. Under each of the headings were grouped illustrations of the specific kinds of dispositions to be assigned to that heading. Experimental forms were put in the hands both of law school students throughout the country, and of clerks of courts,

forms are to be used intensively in a summary of the disposition of cases in the criminal courts of each county of Ohio.

253. **A state system of criminal information.** W. C. Jamison, Prentice Reeves, Ohio Institute. Study relates primarily to Ohio, but considerations involved may find application elsewhere. General statistics compiled in police and penal fields for 1930 (and possibly 1931).

254. **A study of religious training as a psychological factor in delinquency.** George R. Mursee, P.O. Box 511, Columbus, Ohio. A comparison of religious training and background of six hundred delinquents and six hundred non-delinquents, all being white males of Catholic or Protestant religious preferences and between the ages of twelve and eighteen, inclusive.

255. **Plan for co-operative improvement of juvenile courts.** Hannah L. Protzman, Ohio Institute. An experimental project among juvenile courts in Ohio, operating through regular conference groups for discussion of court problems and methods.

256. **Development of state parole system.** Prentice Reeves, Ohio Institute. This study relates to the state of Ohio, 1930-31, and is concerned with both parole selection and supervision.

257. **Social outcasts.** Ben L. Reitman, 424 Aldine Street, Chicago, Illinois. A classification of the social offenders, criminals, and antisocial groups according to their ability to injure society. The material has been collected for thirty years and deals largely with personal contacts with these groups.

258. **The social attitudes of Texas convicts as indicated by their statements concerning the crime for which they were convicted.** Carl M. Rosenquist, 1709 University Station, Austin, Texas. The data consist of schedules bearing information secured from individual interviews with 3,800 convicts found in the Texas state prison in the summer of 1924. Each prisoner was asked to tell his story of the crime for which he was convicted.

259. **History of the juvenile court in St. Louis, Missouri.** Walter L. Rutnam, 6627 University Drive, St. Louis, Missouri.

260. **The presence of profiles indicating criminal threshold in the community.** Lowell S. Selling, 907 South Lincoln Street, Chicago, Illinois. Study of case histories, biographies, psychiatric examinations, to discover traits which might indicate possible criminality or the basis of past criminality.

261. **Juvenile delinquency in Cleveland—its geographical distribution and correlation with other social phenomena.** Henry D. Sheldon, C. E. Gehlke, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Data consist of juvenile court cases for 1929 and 1930, distributed by census tracts, correlated with economic and social indices.

262. **A comparative study of criminals of different nationalities.** Edwin H. Sutherland, University of Chicago. This covers the statistical material regarding nationality of criminals that is accessible, with more intensive work on the statistical material regarding the Swedish, Irish, Italian, and German criminals. In addition, intensive case histories are being secured from all of the Swedish prisoners in three institutions.

263. **The decrease in the English prison population.** *Idem.* An analysis of the criminal and prison statistics of England, 1857-1927, showing number of crimes known to the police, number of prosecutions, number of convictions, number of commitments to institutions of each type, number on probation, number fined, number committed to institutions in default of payment of fines.

264. **A study of one thousand consecutive admissions to a school for delinquent boys.** C. C. Van Vechten, 57 Snell Hall, University of Chicago. Commitments covered the period spring, 1922, to fall, 1929. Parole, probation, and other post-release information is studied to determine the fact and causes of success or failure.

265. **A study of the kind and distribution of felonies, according to census tracts, committed in Indianapolis and Marion County by months in 1930.** R. Clyde White, 122 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. A schedule form was prepared in 1929. A supply of this form was given to the chief probation officer of the Marion County Criminal Court, who recorded the desired information as the cases came up.

266. A study of juvenile court statistics in Indiana, involving monthly reports on individual cases from a majority of juvenile courts in Indiana for 1931 or longer. R. Clyde White, Charles R. Metzger, 122 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. The aim is location of juvenile delinquency in time and place, correlation of types of offense with other social facts, and determination of practices of courts in disposing of cases. The data sheet has been accepted by the State Probation Department as their official monthly report form.

267. Detention facilities for juvenile court wards in Nebraska. Elise Willson, 1341 South Fourteenth Street, Lincoln, Nebraska. The study includes a description of the facilities for the detention pending court hearing of juvenile delinquents, dependents, and neglected in each county seat in the state of Nebraska, and also a statistical survey of the handling of juvenile court wards, in each county during the year 1929.

268. A comparative study of the investigations of the intelligence of criminals. L. D. Zeleny, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota.

Disease and Sanitary Problems

(See also 128, 200)

269. The medical costs of 106 hospital births in Madison, Wisconsin. C. L. Dedrick, Edward T. Olds, University of Wisconsin, Madison. The investigators took a 10 per cent sample of all resident hospital births occurring in Madison from September 1, 1929, to August 31, 1930.

270. The costs of medical care as furnished by student health services of American universities. Don M. Griswold, 910 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. During visits to Yale, Cornell, Michigan, Minnesota, Oregon State, and California, the defects and disabilities of college students of the academic year 1929-30 were studied, together with the service rendered because of these defects and disabilities and the costs of rendering each of these services.

271. The fundamentals of good medical care. Lewis W. Jones, 910 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. Data on current practice in the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of diseases, conditions, and physical defects, secured by means of interview and library study.

272. A study of the incidence of illness and costs of medical care among various representative population groups. Margaret C. Klem, 910 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. Twelve thousand families in fifteen states were studied over a twelve-month period. Time range, 1928-31.

273. Hospital facilities and hospital costs in New York City. Earl E. Muntz, New York University, New York City. Covers all hospitals, both general and special, in New York City including Roman Catholic institutions which have not ordinarily been covered by such studies.

274. A survey of the medical facilities of Vermont. Allen Peebles, 910 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

275. Healing practitioners in the United States. Louis S. Reed, 910 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. This is a survey of the various groups of healing practitioners in the United States, with special emphasis upon their education, training, qualifications, and legal control. The groups studied include physicians, dentists, nurses, midwives, chiropractors, optometrists, osteopaths, chiropractors, naturopaths and cultists, religious healers, miscellaneous quacks and "healers," and self-medication and the patent-medicine industry. The study will include a determination of the amount of the national medical care bill, and the part of this spent for harmful, useless, or inferior types of services. For the most part, the study is of a non-statistical nature. Information about the various groups has been obtained by library work, interviews, and some field work.

276. The service of pharmacy in medical care. C. Rufus Rorem, 910 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. The area is the United States; the period, 1929.

277. History of the juvenile court in St. Louis, Missouri, 1903-31. Walter L. Rutran, 6627 University Drive, St. Louis, Missouri. Consists of information from

legislative material in Missouri and in St. Louis regarding the care of delinquent, neglected, and dependent children; reports of the juvenile court and probation office to date; reports of local surveys on delinquency and dependency; etc.

278. **A survey of the medical facilities in San Joaquin County, California, 1929.** Nathan Sinai, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

279. **A survey of medical facilities in the city of Philadelphia, 1929.** Nathan Sinai and Alden B. Mills, 910 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

280. **The social handicaps of patients with chronic arthritis.** Sadie Walpert, 7331 Forsythe, St. Louis, Missouri. An analysis of the social and medical records of one hundred patients diagnosed as having chronic arthritis and attending the arthritic clinic at Washington University clinics. The data related particularly to the social and occupational histories before and after the disabling feature became marked.

Mental Disease and Mental Problems

281. **An ecological study of insanity.** Robert E. L. Faris, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Addresses and diagnoses of all 1920 and 1930 commitments to all state hospitals from Chicago plotted on maps showing natural areas for the various types of insanity, with explanation. Through case studies an attempt is made to discover the factor in the causes of insanities which varies and produces the differences in these districts.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT AND SOCIAL AGENCIES

(See also 218)

Social Legislation

282. **A comparative survey of efforts of the various nations to overcome social maladjustments.** Rudolf Broda, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. This study consists of an analysis of methods of social legislation applied in the different countries and evaluation of the results obtained, with particular reference to lessons to be taken for the solution of parallel social questions in the United States.

283. **Social justice and the legal status of illegitimates.** James M. Reinhardt, Fowler V. Harper, College of the City of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan. This study is an attempt to picture the status of the illegitimate child and the technique of handling the problems arising therefrom for the purpose of disclosing the effects upon the social interests of the community. Material used is largely legislation and legal decision gathered from the various states, together with a field study of agencies dealing with illegitimacy in one city.

Institutional Provisions for Special Groups

(See also 263, 264, 267)

284. **Handbook of American prisons and reformatories.** William B. Cox, 114 East Thirtieth Street, New York City. Covers administration, prison population, living conditions, food, medical care, rules, punishments, industries, costs, in all state and federal prisons and adult reformatories in the United States. Data were secured through personal visits of the writer and of W. T. Root, of Pittsburgh University, to each institution.

285. **The institutional care of delinquent Negro girls in Virginia since 1914.** Clarence D. Stevens, Hampton Institute, Virginia. Data were secured through examination and abstracting of records; interviews with officers; fifteen week-end inspection trips; synthesis of abstracts and comparison of the synthesis and of the public welfare laws with the ideals set up.

Public Health Activities

(See also 269, 273)

286. **Integration of existing studies of Negro health and hospitalization.** Harrison L. Harris, Jr., Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. Area: the United States, with emphasis upon sections of concentration of Negro population.

Social Hygiene

287. *Prostitution and its repression in New York City, 1900-1930.* W. C. Waterman, Port Byron, New York. This is a statistical analysis of official records, case studies, records of earlier investigations supplemented by current observations of staff of competent professional investigators. The study attempts to show the changes in the attitude of the law, during the period studied, toward prostitution, the consequent changes in police organization, and procedure and court action in prostitution cases.

Housing

288. *The social implications of town planning, zoning, and housing.* Edwin S. Burdell, Ohio State University, Columbus. The data consist of studies of cases considered by the board of adjustment of the city of Columbus of which the writer has been a member since 1923, together with a comparison of the movement in the United States and Canada with that in England and Europe.

Community Work—Social Work with Groups

289. *Study of the recreational and cultural resources of the Jewish community of Toronto, Canada, with special reference to the Jewish boys' club.* Charles S. Bernheimer, 71 West Forty-seventh, New York City. The investigator spent approximately ten days in Toronto gathering material largely from personal interviews on the basis of questionnaires.

Community Planning and Administration of Social Agencies

(See also 259)

290. *History of the St. Louis Provident Association (1860-1930).* Dorothy Le Mond, 2309 Harrison Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas. Data have been collected from the annual reports of the Association, the minutes of the board of directors, and committee meetings.

291. *Central financing of social agencies.* Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. A study of the community chest since its origin, with particular reference to five cities—Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Minneapolis, St. Louis—with Boston and Chicago, non-chest cities as a control group. Data were secured through a study of published reports; the personal inspections of office records; minutes of meetings; newspapers; plus personal interviews with representative citizens whose judgment would carry weight in a court of record.

292. *One hundred years of Catholic charities in the District of Columbia.* Louis G. Weitzman, University of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan. Historical research.

293. *A history of the Intercollegiate Community Service Association (formerly the College Settlements Association).* Marcella P. White, 165 Knoles Way, Stockton, California. The area is the Atlantic Coast region—1890-1929.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOCIOLOGY

(See also 7, 12, 25, 26, 35, 252, 268)

294. *Interrelations in the behavior of young children—a technique for studying the social, material, and self components of undirected activity.* Ruth E. Arrington, 514 West 126th Street, New York City. Twenty children, ranging in age from sixteen to thirty-two months, were observed over a four-month period, from February to June, 1930. Primary purpose of the study was to test the reliability of the method.

295. *A technique for studying the initiation of social contacts by preschool children.* Alma Perry Beaver, 3801 Howe Street, Oakland, California. The thirty-two oldest children in the nursery-school groups at the Child Development Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University, were studied during the winter of 1929-30. An average of 29 five-minute records were made on each child during the periods of spontaneous play. A second observer made 140 records simultaneously with an equal number from the former group. These have been utilized in a study of reliability of the technique.

296. **The method of analyzing social processes in the "General Sociology"** of Leopold von Wiese. Howard Becker, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. A library project.

297. **Experimental sociology.** H. C. Brearley, Clemson A. and M. College, Clemson College, South Carolina. This project is an attempt at the application of the experimental method and laboratory technique to the teaching of sociology and to sociological research.

298. **Criminology—a study in method.** Nathaniel Cantor, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, New York. The literature of the United States is emphasized, but a critical survey of work done in other countries is made.

299. **The classification of social changes.** L. J. Carr, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. An attempt to develop practical classifications of social changes for the use of observers in the field.

300. **Standardization of "scale for rating living-room equipment" as a convenient measure of socio-economic status of families.** F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis. The scale has been and is in use by more than twenty investigators in the country and the results in Baltimore, Pittsburgh, New York City, rural South Carolina, and Twin Cities are consistent for validity. It needs to be standardized on a larger number of cases which are comparable and under similar conditions, hence it is desirable to test it out on urban and rural groups in Minnesota. As a final step, inter-correlations will be made of the series of scores on the different tests.

301. **Observation of social behavior in industrial work.** Alice M. Loomis, Yale Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, Connecticut. A methodological study with the problems of devising units of behavior and arranging conditions for the reliable recording of these units so that characteristic records may be obtained of individual workers in relation to materials, self, and other workers. The technique is being developed in situations in which machinery largely controls the activity of workers and in which the standardization is of the product rather than of the details of the process.

302. **The situation as a concept for social case treatment and for the study of social process.** Ada Eliot Sheffield, 31 Madison Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The writer's purpose has been to develop a qualitative method for studying social process as it appears in case histories, especially as these bear on family interrelationships.

303. **The case study as a method of research.** R. L. Whitley, New York University, New York City. It involves a critical examination of methods used by students in the field in conducting case studies, including a study of psychometric, psychiatric, medical, and sociological methods as they throw light on the behavior of the person in his groups; and of methods used by the writer and those working with him. (See XXXVI, 809, No. 246.)

304. **An experimental approach to the social studies.** Ellen Winston, Raleigh, North Carolina. An experiment carried on over a period of eighteen months with a group of thirty-five public-school children, twelve and thirteen years of age. Emphasis is on informal methods of classroom procedure, guaranteeing a high degree of individual activity and initiative combined with experience in the social processes of adjustment to the group.

305. **The case method as a method of scientific investigation.** James W. Woodard, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The method will be pseudo-philosophical, attempting to achieve an internal rational consistency of interbuttressed inference, placing the case method in the perspective of all the scientific methods.

NEWS AND NOTES

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the November issue and up to November 15 are as follows:

Abrams, Ray Hamilton, 38 N. Lansdowne Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
Baldwin, Ruth Marie B., 217 Walnut St., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
Barnes, Gerald, 146 S. West St., Carlisle, Pa.
Bowers, Glenn Alwyn, 129 E. 52d St., New York
Breden, Melvin L., Unadilla, Neb.
Brown, William Adams, 3041 Broadway, New York
Clemmer, William D., 10831 S. Hoyne Ave., Chicago
Denny, Ludwell, 1322 New York Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Dinwiddie, Courtenay, 331 Fourth Ave., New York
Drake, Margaret Judith, P.O. Box 1145, Nilo, T.H.
Droba, Daniel D., University Station, Grand Forks, N.D.
Eastman, Linda A., 325 Superior Ave., N.E., Cleveland, Ohio
Elmes, Constance H., 5340 Ellis Ave., Chicago
Esgar, Mildred H., 600 Lexington Ave., New York
Eshelman, W. W., Shohola, Pa.
Ewing, Robert Legan, 227 Langdon Ave., Mt. Vernon, N.Y.
Ezell, William Curtis, 308 Pritchard Ave., Chapel Hill, N.C.
French, John C., The Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Md.
Gottlieb, Philip M., 5026 N. 10th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Haak, Leo A. T., 301 E. Holden Green, Cambridge, Mass.
Harvel, Mamie Lucinda, 942 Iowa Ave., Iowa City, Iowa
Henley, David E., Whittier College, Whittier, Calif.
Hoey, Harry D., Cranbrook School, Bloomfield Hills, Mich.
Hornbeak, Samuel Lee, Trinity University, Waxahachie, Tex.
Hurt, Huber William, % Boy Scouts of America, 2 Park Ave., New York
Israel, Rabbi Edward L., Har Sinai Congregation, Bolton and Wilson Sts., Baltimore, Md.
Jennings, J. T. (Mrs.), Public Library, St. Paul, Minn.
Kemp, Wallace R., 1107 Varney Ave., Port Huron, Mich.
Lacock, Alma, 124 North Clinton St., Iowa City, Iowa
Lee, Alfred McClung II, 322 Sixth St., Oakmont, Pa.
Lee, Elizabeth Briant (Mrs.), 322 Sixth St., Oakmont, Pa.
Londen, Doris M., 409 North Dubuque St., Iowa City, Iowa
Lorimer, Frank, 2810 P St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

- Lorke, Greta, Villa Katzensee, Watt b/Zürich, Switzerland
 McClelland, Frank, 1325 W. Campus Road, Lawrence, Kan.
 Minkel, Rev. Augustine, St. Vincent Archabbey, Latrobe, Pa.
 Montavon, William F., National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Norlie, O. M., Hartwick College, Oneonta, N.Y.
 Norman, Charles B., Greenville, Ind.
 Parsons, Talcott, Adams House, A-34, Cambridge, Mass.
 Peterson, Clarence Steward, Box 241, Rahway, N.J.
 Pickens, Marshall L., The Duke Endowment, Power Bldg., Charlotte, N.C.
 Resnick, Abram, Camp Annisquam, W. Gloucester, Mass.
 Rohret, Agnes, % Anselm Schnaebelen, Iowa City, Iowa
 Rusk, George Yeisley, Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.
 Schlossberg, Ruth, 1940 Andrews Ave., New York
 Schuler, Edgar Albert, Conant Hall 10A, Cambridge, Mass.
 Schutz, R. L., 410 North Van Buren St., Iowa City, Iowa
 Scott, Lester F., 41 Union Square, New York
 Shapiro, Harry Lewis, Y.M.H.A., Chattanooga, Tenn.
 Simpson, Eyler N., Apartado 538, Mexico, D.F., Mexico
 Smith, Frank A., Room 1005, 23 E. 26th St., New York
 Sonquist, David E., Packard Manor School, Chautauqua, N.Y.
 Stonehocker, D. Doyle, 592 Iowa Ave., Iowa City, Iowa
 Sturtevant, Sarah M., 501 W. 120th St., New York City
 Sytz, Florence, Tulane University School of Social Work, New Orleans, La.
 Ting, Miss Ihsing, % International House, 500 Riverside Drive, New York
 Tokuzawa, Ken, 515 Cheever Ct., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Wesley, Charles H., Howard University, Washington, D.C.
 Winston, Mildred E., 1415 K St. N.W., Washington, D.C.

International Congress of Genetics.—The Sixth International Congress of Genetics will be held at Ithaca, New York, August 24-31, 1932. Further information may be obtained from the Secretary General, C. C. Little, Jackson Memorial Laboratory, Bar Harbor, Maine.

University of Chicago.—Professor Herbert Blumer has leave of absence from the department of sociology for the year 1932, in order to engage in a study of "The History of Fashion in France as an Index to the Changes in Social Customs." The study will be made in Paris under grant of the Social Science Research Council.

Dr. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who is a new member of the faculty of the anthropology department, gave an address on "Comparative Sociology" at the annual banquet of the Sociology Club on October 22, 1931.

University of Cincinnati.—The departments of economics, history, political science, and sociology are collaborating in the preparation of a

volume entitled *An Introduction to the Study of Western Civilization*, to constitute the text for a required Freshmen orientation course in this University. Four chapters each are being contributed to this volume by Messrs. Quinn, Brown, and Eubank of the sociology department.

Miss Belle Boyson, who has for the past five years been supervisor of field work for the School of Social Work, has resigned and is taking up work for the completion of her doctorate at the University of Chicago.

W. O. Brown has been promoted to assistant professor of sociology.

Earle Eubank was chairman of the local committee for a city-wide peace meeting in October.

College of the City of New York.—The Macmillan Company announces for early publication *Human Sterilization*, by Dr. J. H. Landman. This book is a treatment of the human sterilization movement in the United States, dealing with the sociology, history, eugenics, and law of the question.

Columbia University.—Richard R. Smith, Inc., announce the publication of *Society: Its Structure and Changes*, by Robert M. MacIver, professor of sociology.

University of Denver.—G. Eleanor Kimble has been appointed director of applied social science at the University of Denver. Social field or case work will be carried on in the Bureau of Charity of Denver and other charitable institutions and juvenile courts. This work is undertaken by the University at the request of citizens interested in practical philanthropic work.

Duke University.—Professor Howard E. Jensen, who has just taken his chair as professor of sociology in Duke University, is one of the collaborators of a book which has just been published by the Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tennessee, on *Progress and Christian Ideals*.

Professor Charles A. Ellwood, chairman of the department of sociology, has a paper on "Scientific Method in Sociology" in the October issue of *Social Forces*. He has also a paper on "The Family Situation in the United States in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for October.

Professor Ellwood was appointed to represent both the American Sociological Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science at the inauguration of President Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, November 11, 1931.

Hiram College.—Miss Adah Peirce, formerly of St. Stephen's College, Columbia University, has been appointed as dean of women.

University of Louisville.—Robert I. Kutak has been appointed as assistant professor of sociology.

University of Michigan.—Dr. Stuart A. Queen is offering a new course in the department of sociology on "The Development of Social Work." Mr. Edward Jandy, formerly instructor in this department, has accepted an assistant professorship at Detroit City College. His place is being taken by Mr. Arthur H. Robertson. Professor R. D. McKenzie is offering, for the first time in this department, courses in human ecology, the city, and a seminar in ecological research.

University of Minnesota.—Under the direction of Dean R. A. Stevenson of the school of business administration, trained sociologists and social workers are making a study of the conditions responsible for unemployment in the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth. Psychologists, physicians, educators, economists, and other experts are co-operating with the sociologists. Findings are being published in bulletin form by the University of Minnesota Press and will continue to appear at intervals over a period of two years.

University of North Dakota.—Dr. Jacob Perlman, associate professor of sociology, has been on leave of absence during the first semester 1931-32. Dr. D. D. Droba has been appointed instructor in sociology during the absence of Professor Perlman.

Ohio State University.—E. D. Tetreau is on leave during the winter and spring months, engaged on a research project at the University of California for the Giannini Foundation of Rural Economics.

Municipal University of Omaha.—Miss Neva Heflin of Rockford College has been appointed research assistant in the Bureau of Social Research, of which Dr. T. Earl Sullenger is director.

University of Pennsylvania.—Whittlesey House announces the publication of *Divorce—A Social Interpretation* by J. P. Lichtenberger, professor of sociology.

University of Pittsburgh.—Richard R. Smith, Inc., announce the early publication of *Family Adjustment and Social Change* by M. C. Elmer, professor of sociology.

Pennsylvania State College.—Willard Waller, formerly of the University of Nebraska, has been appointed as professor of sociology.

University of Washington.—Miss Marion Hathway, director of field work, has received a fellowship to complete her doctorate in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago.

Miss Harriet Seely, a former welfare worker, has taken over introductory courses in social work; and Miss Dorothy Meyer, district supervisor for the Social Welfare League, will conduct the field work.

Mr. A. C. Smith, graduate student of Boston University and the University of North Carolina, is conducting courses in introductory sociology.

PERSONAL NOTES

The death of Thomas J. Riley, general secretary of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, occurred in New York City on October 10, 1931. Dr. Riley had been the executive of the Brooklyn Bureau since 1912. Prior to that time he had been a professor of sociology at the University of Missouri, Washington University, and the University of Chicago, and had also been director of the St. Louis School of Social Economy.

Charles H. Sears, general secretary of the New York City Baptist Mission Society, has been engaged in a foreign mission inquiry as a member of the Fact Finding Commission of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

Philip Edward Keller, research associate at the Bureau of Social Research, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is completing his graduate work at Columbia University.

BOOK REVIEWS

Person und Masse: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Massenpsychologie. By GEORG STIELER. Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1929. Pp. 239.

Ever since Gustav Le Bon published, somewhere about 1896, his challenging little volume, *The Crowd: A Study of the Public Mind*, students of politics and of political actions have been more and more intrigued by the question: Why is it that men, who individually are frequently wise and responsible creatures, when they come to act collectively, behave so often in ways that are both reckless and stupid?

The problem is not a new one. The interesting collection of aphorisms, ancient and modern, with which the author of this volume has prefaced his own observations on the subject, indicates this. The old Roman adage, so frequently quoted in modern times, stated the paradox this way: "Senatores boni viri, senatus autem mala vestia." Schiller's remark with regard to the learned bodies of his day was to the effect that, "each in his individual capacity seemed intolerably shrewd and intelligent, but as a member of a corporate body he invariably turned out a blockhead."

This paradox is the theme of the present volume, as it was of Le Bon's. In fact, the author of *Person und Masse* may be said to take his departure from a remark of Le Bon to the effect that in the "organized" or "psychological" crowd the individual suffers "a loss of personality" and of self-control as complete as if he had been hypnotized.

Person und Masse is substantially an attempt to analyze and to explain the specific conditions under which this loss of personality in a crowd, or other assembly, takes place. In the typical case of the mob, or of the panic, this loss of control may be as complete as Le Bon describes it to be. In the ordinary assembly, parliament, or committee-meeting, however, a loss of personality is less complete.

Some of the more interesting and suggestive parts of Stieler's volume are, in fact, those chapters in which he discusses the special factors which condition the intercourse (*Wechselbeziehungen*) of individuals in a public assembly (pp. 105-29) and in this way determines at once the behavior of the group, and the extent of the control which the leader or spokesman invariably exercises over it (see pp. 149-76).

It is a thesis of this volume that most of what is ordinarily recognized as characteristic of crowds and of collectivities (*Kollektiva*) in general may be explained, so to speak, ecologically, that is, by the conditions which space and position impose upon the actions of individuals, and upon their commerce with one another, within the limits of an assembly.

It is characteristic of human beings, as indeed of most of the lower animals, that they are responsive, not merely to overt acts of other individuals like themselves, but to the intentions and dispositions to act which these overt acts reveal or suggest. It is this responsiveness not merely to acts but to expressive behavior generally which constitutes the specific type of interaction which we call social. When this responsiveness and suggestibility is intensified, as it tends to be in a crowd or any kind of public assembly, there arises spontaneously and without the conscious co-operation of the individuals involved a temporary but specific type of solidarity which makes collective action, for the time being, not merely possible but in many cases extremely effective. This so-called group consciousness and the processes by which it is achieved, the author has sought to analyze and describe, relying mainly, it would seem, upon the studies which Scheler and other recent writers in Germany have devoted to the subject of sympathy and other more intimate forms of communication and interaction, namely, *Einfühlung*, *Mitgefühl*, *Nachgefühl*.

What particularly impresses the author, as it has other writers on the subject, is the fact that, in a public assembly, action is limited, not merely to purposes in which all can participate, but to such means for carrying those purposes into effect as commend themselves to the common sense and common intelligence.

However, between this common will and this common intelligence there are some very striking and important differences. The will to act, of a crowd, may be said to represent the sum of the wills of all its members. On the other hand, the intelligence of a crowd or an assembly is not represented by the sum but rather by the least common denominator of all the intelligences participating. This common denominator will be smaller in proportion as the number of participants is larger. In short, social solidarity, so necessary to effective action, involves—not perhaps as Le Bon seems to say—a total loss of personality in each and every participating individual, but does involve the inhibition of those specific impulses and actions which are not consistent with the common purpose and with the resulting collective action as conceived by the crowd, the assembly, or the public, in action. The result is to intensify the disposition to act but to limit the intellectual horizon of the group.

This is the paradox of the problem of collective action generally. It has been solved in practice, by permitting, on the one hand, public opinion and legislative bodies to interpret public opinion to formulate policies, and, on the other, by delegating to experts, public officials, and an executive the task of carrying these policies into effect.

In crowds and in popular assemblies which seek to carry into immediate action their common purpose, there is no such division of labor, and the distinction between legislative and administrative functions is abolished. In fact, in the crowd as distinguished from the public, there is no such thing as deliberation or even discussion. A large part of the mystery of the crowd, as Le Bon has described it, is due to the fact that he makes no distinction between crowds, publics, and deliberative bodies generally. The crowd, as he describes it, seems to be an expression of what Schopenhauer called "pure will." The crowd in Le Bon's classic description is fundamentally orgiastic, lyrical, and expressive. Action is incidental merely. Action is for such a *collectivum* merely one form of catharsis.

A crowd-action may be conceived as an elementary form of political action. However, crowds do not always act. They frequently sing and shout and dance. In that case their behavior is expressive merely.

Religious movements frequently have their origins in crowds that not only do not act but do not seek to act. The religious as distinguished from the political sect has its origin in such an introverted crowd. A religious sect, in respect to its origin at least, may be described as an introverted society.

Person und Masse is not concerned with sects, nor even with crowds in the strict sense of the word, but with public assemblies. Its interest to students of collective behavior is mainly in the shrewd and penetrating observations of the author upon what Simmel has called "the sociology of the senses." It is under this title that Simmel discusses the manner and extent to which external conditions, and the limitations of our organs of perception, condition communication and social interaction.

Significant and interesting, also, are the author's observations upon the manner and extent to which interaction, sympathy, and the interpenetration of minds limit and condition the personality of the participant members of an intimate group. The author distinguishes, for example, the three types of what he describes as the "we-group," and "we-consciousness," according to the position, within the limits of this type of association, which the different individuals occupy. The two egos may assume, for example, with reference to each other, a position of super- and subordination. Other positions are not so clearly distinguishable, and it

is not clear that they do not in all cases assume eventually the form of sub- and superordination. The author is concerned here, however, not merely with "position" but with "distance," social distance.

Personalities are limited and conditioned by the interaction in ways that are not discussed in this volume, largely, no doubt, because the writer has confined his discussion to the more elementary behavior and collective action. The whole web of moral relationships which limit the individual's action and thought is the product of the same intimate forms of interaction, discussed here only in so far as they are exhibited in public assemblies.

It might be said, furthermore, that the effect of Le Bon's observations on the crowd—and the same is true of Stieler's statement—is that while they have called attention to an aspect of collective action that students of society and politics have long neglected, in doing so they have inverted the order in which the problems of collective action ordinarily present themselves to students.

The fundamental question with respect to collective action is not why individuals, who singly are intelligent, turn out to be so stupid when they seek to act collectively. The more general and far-reaching question is: In view of the fact that every form of society is composed of individuals who are bound to act—on the whole and in the long run—on the basis of their own individual experiences, how are such mobile and mentally isolated individuals capable of acting collectively at all?

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, Vols. I and II. By P. A. SOROKIN, C. C. ZIMMERMAN, and C. J. GALPIN. 3 vols. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930-31. Pp. xx+645.

As the title of these volumes indicate, this work is an attempt to present a system of rural sociology. The objective is attained by rather elaborate introductions to chapters and sections, considerable analysis by the authors, and 153 articles or excerpts from all periods and areas of the world's social life. This is the first attempt at a compilation of source materials on anything broader than a national scope, with the exception of *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* by two of the authors of the *Source Book*. Like any compilation it is not perfect but also like any good compilation it presents source materials not available to the average student and reader. The three volumes when completed, together with *Principles*

of *Rural-Urban Sociology*, will constitute without doubt the greatest contribution yet made to the field of rural sociology. They present from sufficiently broad bases in time and place to make some approaching generalizations possible. The authors state in the Preface that they make no apology for including elaborate introductions, to analyses, and discussion in order to present "a systematic treatise in sociological thought and theory."

Volume I is presented in two parts, one dealing with a "General Introduction" and the other with "Rural Social Organization: Ecological and Morphological Aspects." Volume II is presented in two parts, dealing with "Rural Social Organization in Its Institutional, and Cultural Aspects." Volume III will deal with the distinctive characteristics of rural and urban populations.

Part I is presented in four chapters: "History of Rural Sociology: Ancient Sources"; "History of Rural Sociology: Fourteenth to Nineteenth Centuries"; "Origin of Rural-Urban Differentiation"; and "Fundamental Differences between the Rural and Urban Worlds." Part II is presented in five chapters: "Ecology of the Rural Habitat"; "Differentiation of Rural Population into Cumulative Communities and Functional Regions"; "Social Stratification of Agricultural Population"; "Migration of the Rural Population"; and "Fundamental Types of Rural Agriculture." Part III (Vol. II) is presented in seven chapters: "The Family as the Fundamental Social Institution and Familism as the Fundamental Relationship in Rural Social Organization"; "Rural Economic Organization"; "The Differentiation of Rural Extrafamilial Education"; "Rural Social Control: Comparative Rural-Urban Criminality, Immorality, and Intemperance"; "Rural Religious Organization, Beliefs, Attitudes, and Culture"; "Rural Aesthetic and Recreational Organization, Behavior, and Culture"; and "Rural Political Organization, Parties, and Behavior."

The ancient historical sources are for the most part those which are quite well known, such as, the Sacred Books of the East, the Classics of Greece and Rome, Hesiod, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Cato, Varro, Virgil, Cicero, and Polybius. These writers, as the authors say, present few details of rural life of their time. The excerpts, therefore, present what the ancient writers thought about agriculture and rural people rather than the information on agriculture and rural life of their times. The sources are selected for the period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, and are much more elaborate and less familiar to the average American. They include excerpts from such writers as St. Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle, and

Thomas More, Thomas Hobbs, Gregory King, Arthur Young, David Hume, Adam Smith, Malthus, Voltaire, etc., all of whom are well known to students of economics and sociology, but who, together with a number of others, have never before been thought of as having contributions to make to rural sociology.

After the reader passes chapter ii he becomes more aware of the fact that sources are selected for the purpose of presenting a systematic thesis. Up to this point he has the feeling that the whole field of literature dealing either directly or indirectly with rural life has been presented. From this point on, he sees plainly that the sources are selected for the purpose of developing the systematic outline of the authors. This has both its advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are that the whole work is made more systematic than the average compilation, and the sources selected for presentation are more pointed. The disadvantages are that some valuable information is left out, and the reader who is incapable of translating many languages wonders what sources were thrown aside in the selections. When it is noted that the authors have had a number of articles written especially for these volumes and go to great length to present information which they themselves compiled from original sources in order that rural sociology as systematically outlined by them may be thoroughly developed on the basis of world-wide data, most readers will probably be pleased with the topical selection and presentation of source materials and thank the authors for the extended discussions which they present as first-hand materials and opinions.

Although topical presentation of source materials makes for the elimination of duplication—the chief weakness of compilations—there are some overlappings which naturally would not be found in a typical textbook. In one or two places these duplications give the impression of selection of sources for the purpose of driving home a point which the authors are overly anxious to make. Two instances are: articles which argue for small-scale farming and articles that tend to explode Marxian theories as related to agriculture (see Vol. I, chap. vii). With excerpts culled from philosophical, historical, economic, political, and sociological writings there are remarkably few pages or even paragraphs which leave the reader with a question of their relevancy—another task hard to accomplish in a compilation. Nor do the authors hesitate to be critical of sources which do not agree with their own theories. At places their supercritical discussion of other viewpoints borders on the undignified. Instances of this nature are found in the discussion of collectivization of farming (I, 625) and of behaviorism (II, 372). In the latter instance the following phrase

is used: "Cheap behaviorism of the J. Watsonian type." In other instances the authors could well be accused of delivering polemics in behalf of their own theories, sometimes without supporting data.

A careful survey of the source materials presented reveals that Russian data and Russian writers are quoted more liberally than those from any other nation. The Russian authorities are followed by the German. There appears an almost studied avoidance of American and English materials. There are no South American materials, few from Africa, Spain, and Canada. Other nations are fairly well represented in the readings. There are places when the reader wonders why documents of later date have not been used, especially when source materials appear in annual publications (see I, 383-84, *U.S.D.A. Yearbook* [1923]). No American source is cited in the bibliography on art, although the Little Country Theater and some outstanding pageants have been developed in this country. The authors would seem not to be acquainted with any American folk lore, although there are "miller songs" and others which still prevail in country districts of the United States.

The documenting of these books is good but not perfect. In most places the publishers of books and other source materials are not given. The bibliographies are elaborate and more complete than any that have appeared elsewhere in this field, although they, as in the case of excerpts, pretty much disregard American and English studies and publications.

The third volume of this work will be looked forward to with the same zest as was the publication of the two now completed, for these authors have now become well known for their scholarly work and because it will be instantly recognized by students in the field of rural sociology that this *Source Book in Rural Sociology* is by long odds the greatest contribution yet made to the field.

CARL C. TAYLOR

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

New Aspects of Politics. By CHARLES EDWARD MERRIAM. 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xxxiii+253. \$3.00.

This little book, reissued with a new Preface briefly describing the tendencies of the past five years, is an indispensable work for all curious persons who fain would know what has been going on in the way of research and scholarly thinking in the field of political science. It summarizes the contributions made by the collateral sciences—history, geography, economics, and psychology, for example, reviews the history of

recent political thinking, explores the relations of politics and psychology, examines the efforts to apply quantitative measurements to political phenomena, wrestles with the knotty problem presented by the connections between politics and inheritance, attempts a kind of provisional philosophy under the title of "political prudence," offers a working program for the organization of municipal research, and indicates how more intelligence and more science could be introduced into practical politics by education, by a wider use of the critical method, and by taking more thought. Throughout there is a graceful balance between the consideration of actual achievements and an awareness of the existence of the dark borderland of uncertainty which environs all of man's little activities here below. Every page displays a fulness of knowledge and a catholicity of spirit. Mr. Merriam does not speak as from Mount Sinai, but he is inclined to the view that the prospects are good for making a decent civilization through the use of science in adjusting human behavior and unfolding the values of life.

Since academic proprieties and sacred egoism require reviewers to display their wares also, a word or two must be said in criticism. First, there must be an exhibition of microscopic knowledge: Mr. Merriam is not exactly right when he says (pp. 181-82) that the study of municipal government "began" with the formation of the Conference for Good City Government in 1893; James Bryce had already started some things in that line, and Frank J. Goodnow had written a devastating chapter for him. Second, there must be evidence of omniscience: Mr. Merriam does not indicate from what fundamental postulates respecting the nature of the universe he proceeds; why try to make this world a better place in which to live? Third, there must be a citation of grave omission: practically speaking, Mr. Merriam leaves agriculture out of the picture; he emphasizes urban life, but about half of the people live in rural regions. Finally, what about ethics and aesthetics?

CHARLES A. BEARD

NEW MILFORD, CONNECTICUT

Social Psychology. By KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Pp. xvii+674+xxi.

Social Psychology. By JOSEPH K. FOLSOM. New York: Harper & Bros., 1931. Pp. xvii+701.

Social Psychology. By E. T. KRUEGER and WALTER C. RECKLESS. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931. Pp. vii+578.

The three volumes under review, in my judgment, are distinctly superior to earlier texts in social psychology. Each is capable of standing on

its own merits. Together they reflect current trends in social psychology and are suited to consideration from this point of view.

The volume by Kimball Young covers extensive territory. In addition to its central concern with the study of personality, requiring consideration of such topics as original and acquired nature, habit formation, group life, feelings, emotions, language, thought, imagery, and prejudice, it includes a division discussing crowds, audiences, public opinion, and fashion. Despite the wide spread of topics, the treatment is never shallow. The style is lively, points are made clearly, and a wealth of well-chosen illustrative material makes the volume consistently interesting and at points distinctly fascinating.

The place and function of social psychology as conceived by Young is stated in the following remarks:

Social psychology borrows from physiology and experimental psychology the description of the mechanisms of behavior. From sociology and anthropology it derives the patterns which produce in the individual the content of his mind and behavior. Its own function is to trace the development of attitude, idea, and habit in the human individual on the side of both mechanism and content, always with reference to the attitudes, ideas, and habits which rest upon inter-individual stimulus and response [p. 12].

Mechanism and content of the mind are, then, of central concern. The fundamental mechanisms of explanation selected by Young are "the mechanism of conditioned response and the attendant integration of these responses into larger patterns" (p. 77). Mental content is derived from the social environment consisting of cultural influences—the codified or standardized area of group life—and "personal-social" influences—the area not codified or covered by convention.

This is the framework of reference which Young proposes for social psychological work. It is interesting but raises many questions. It fashions social psychology into a form of history and into a form of applied psychology. To trace the genesis of the content of a person's mind and behavior is, construed largely, historical procedure; to employ the "mechanisms" is merely to extend the principles of psychology. With such a program social psychology seems to renounce the right of becoming a science in its own name. Of course, social psychologists in practical study have to ascertain attitudes, images, or other mental content as they are, and the conditions under which they have developed. If however, interpretations, other than historical, are not to be formed out of this material but drawn from other fields of study, social psychology becomes fettered in questionable bondage. Even Young refuses to play consistently the

handmaiden to psychology in this respect. Despite his overpreoccupation with such mechanisms as that of "conditioning," when the occasion demands he is willing to forge his own explanations. Further, he does not always draw upon the social environment, as a repository of patterns, for the "content" of the mind and behavior.

Yet the issue remains. Many aspire to a social psychology in the nature of an inductive science: Where both specific content and general mechanism are not importations, but the former an instrument and projection of personal development, and the latter inferred from the interaction of the person with others and with himself.

Although the marriage of social content with psychological mechanism gives Young's work an eclectic and straddling character, the book shows evidence independently of coming to close grip with life. Its transcendence of mere platitude and its readiness for realistic penetration will cause many to elevate the book to the first rank.

Folsom covers three fields in his volume: individual behavior, social interaction, and culture. In the first, he is concerned with inborn reflexes and behavior patterns, acquired habits, attitudes, wishes, and personality; these he treats as ascending levels of behavior and organization. In his treatment of social interaction he considers such forms as imitation, suggestion, gratification, conflict, accommodation, assimilation, competition, and social control. In the third division he examines the psychology of culture and mechanics of cultural change. The wide embrace of this conception and treatment precludes any extensive discussion in this review. Yet a few remarks may be advanced on the first of the three fields—the one most central in social psychology.

Folsom views personality as a hierarchy. Reflexes are elementary and become organized into habits; reflexes and habits into attitudes; attitudes into wishes; and wishes into the personality. This organization occurs through the process of "conditioning." Attitudes and wishes are the central concepts. The attitude is regarded as "an S-R couplet," "the initial set which determines what the action would be if it were carried out." The wish is treated as a sort of master organization of attitudes, "the more or less hidden, larger, durable organization." The four wishes of Thomas are resurrected by Folsom and made the pillars of personality. They assume the character of master explanations of human behavior.

This general scheme is a neat job of architecture, yet it impresses me as rather artificial. In my judgment, neither the relation between attitudes and wishes is made clear, nor is the case for the utility and importance of the "four wishes" made convincing. Why attitudes are observa-

ble and wishes only inferred; why wishes subsume and direct attitudes; why the four wishes are dominant in the texture of personality—is not shown, despite the assertions made. In the absence of evidence the declaration notwithstanding the cogency of argument impresses me as a rather gratuitous assumption.

As one would perhaps expect from these remarks, Folsom's treatment assumes the form of a cross-sectioning of the organization of behavior. One gets little of human conduct in process or personality in development, no penetrating insights into human nature, and no intimate appreciation of its character—but rather a formal dissection enlivened by witty illustrations. The tendency is to view human conduct through the lenses of book and laboratory theory—not to show close-range familiarity with it. In this respect Folsom is in no sense unique among the other authors treated in this review; and the characterization should not obscure the fact that Folsom has written a very creditable volume. The reviewer marvels at the great amount of interesting and diverse material packed into the book. Folsom has read widely and worked assiduously. I know of no single volume which contains such an extensive and well-presented account of the research findings of psychology and sociology.

Krueger and Reckless modestly tender their volume, not as an introduction to a new system or novel point of view, but as an inventory of "the most usable material in social psychological observation and research." While ideas are chosen from a wide number of writers touching on the field of social psychology, the volume is in the main an introduction to the thoughts of Faris, Mead, Park, and Burgess. Indeed, resort to the teaching of these men is so frequent that the reviewer feels the authors to be somewhat remiss in specific acknowledgment of their indebtedness.

The central theme of the volume is the shaping influence of culture and social interaction on the individual, on human nature, and on the personality. In the play of this interaction original nature emerges into human nature, language is acquired, objects and meanings are developed, motives and attitudes are formed, and personality is built. That these transformations take place is stated lucidly and is neatly illustrated. How they occur is left obscure.

The authors' analyses usually take the form of classification, definition, and illustration. Thus: original nature has such-and-such ingredients, human nature such-and-such traits, there are such-and-such forms of social contact and of attitudes, such-and-such types of imagination. Then such concepts are treated much as one would expect them to be defined in a reference book: succinct passages and copious case material are given to

illustrate the meaning. In this way many items stand out clearly, but there is absent any carefully integrated or well-thought-out structure. In reading the volume I have frequently the impression that the authors had on their hands a series of terms and forced themselves to say something about them. In such instances the treatment is formal and remote; the concepts appear as a lifeless display with little value for use.

Despite these shortcomings the book should be very usable as a text. It is written simply, is illustrated profusely by interesting case material, and is accompanied by lists of exercises and questions of noticeable pedagogical value. It presents a treatment of social psychology which, while familiar to many, has not received the attention, the elaboration, and testing that it deserves. In fact, in view of the paucity of the writing of Faris and Mead, this volume will serve many as a surrogate.

It seems clear from these three volumes that social psychology is working along two paths. One group under the influence of the pattern of the physical sciences are seeking to introduce laboratory and experimental procedures; the limits and character of research are dictated by a particular conception of science and by an aspiration to conform to it. Another group is studying human conduct in its actual setting rather than in especially constructed situations. The techniques of inquiry such as the interview, the life-history, and the field study are such as promise to reveal hidden phases of conduct and of social situations. Perhaps it is not a question as to whether social psychology is to work along one path or the other; certainly investigation will proceed on both fronts. Yet there seems to be some abiding conflict between the two. The one's immediate concern is with a model of science; the other's with direct problems of behavior. The experimentalists are charged that their findings are insignificant and useless; the others that their results are inexact and unverifiable.

It is my belief that this issue—whether genuine or not—will be the major issue in social psychology during the next decade. Perhaps not the least of its values will be to correct two unmeritorious tendencies which stand out obtrusively in the books under review. The first of these, usually found hand in hand with the laboratory approach, is the conspicuous tendency to content one's self with principles of explanation taken from other disciplines. Chief among these is the idea of the "process of conditioning," a phrase which seems to yield to social psychology and intellectual satisfaction which frankly amazes me. This concept has arisen in reference to a process of rigorous laboratory experimentation in which a number of distinct conditions have to be observed. The levity with which social psychologists ignore these conditions and the abandon with which

they use the concept makes one feel that social psychology is still in speculative hands.

The other tendency, indulged in mainly by those who employ the direct approach to human conduct, consists of the use of illustrative and hypothetical cases to prove one's point. This is a vice widely current in present-day social psychology. Pedagogical aids must not be confused with scientific facts. Any discipline which substitutes for the facts, from which study begins, convenient and plausible accounts—whether imaginary or real—may expect to remain in a milling condition.

HERBERT BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Adventure of Science. By BENJAMIN GINZBURG. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1930. Pp. xi+487.

The History of Science and the New Humanism. By GEORGE SARTON. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931. Pp. 178.

Science and First Principles. By F. S. C. NORTHROP. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xiv+299.

The Logic of Science. By HAROLD R. SMART. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1931. Pp. 237.

Number, the Language of Science. By TOBIAS DANTZIG. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. viii+260.

Studies in the Literature of Natural Science. By JULIAN M. DRACHMAN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. x+487.

The reading of any of the books listed will yield profit to social scientists interested in scientific procedure. One encounters frequently in the volumes shrewd insights, accounts of historical episodes, and interesting analyses of method that will mature one's understanding.

The Adventure of Science is to be recommended as the best of the popular histories of science. Ginzburg's approach is through a discussion of the outstanding scientists (Pythagoras, Aristotle, Archimedes, Copernicus, Galileo, etc.). Each is given a short biographical sketch, concise and interesting, followed by an account—invariably well balanced and penetrating—of his scientific development and achievements. The volume is admirably suited to one who wishes a competent knowledge of the great scientific figures who have been the pivots of scientific advance.

The History of Science and the New Humanism contains the Colver Lectures for 1930 delivered in Brown University by Professor Sarton,

long known for his scholarly work in tracing the origins and development of science. In this volume the author espouses the teaching of the history of science as a means of dissolving one of the important conflicts in current thought. A knowledge of this history will induce the skeptic of science to understand its rôle in the development of Western civilization and to appreciate the merit of its spirit. Further, such historical knowledge should lead scientists to gain broader perspective and cultivate more generous and human values of science. The author's plea for this new attitude—the New Humanism—is simple and effective; his erudite sketch of the history of science is a lesson in showing how the new philosophy may be developed.

Science and First Principles is a development of the Deems Lectures delivered by the author in New York University in 1929. The author starts with the assumption that at the basis of all scientific theories are certain primary concepts and principles which are accepted as undefined. His analysis of current scientific theories, such as relativity, the quantum theory, the living organism, genetics, and evolution, show a common set of such primary concepts. These concepts stand in a confused and uncertain relation to one another, and the author has sought to develop a theory covering their relations and to show its philosophical implications. While the argument will interest chiefly philosophers, the lucid treatment of fundamental concepts will appeal to all interested in this phase of science.

The Logic of Science is a clear and penetrating statement although it reflects a certain philosophical bias. Mr. Smart seeks to portray the type of logical relationship peculiar to each of the large fields of scientific interest. He finds mathematics to be marked by one type of logical judgment, physics by another, biology by a third kind, and the social sciences by a still different form whose character remains to be stated analytically. Each with a different kind of relationship necessarily has a different logical procedure and structure. Sociologists must regret the postponement of the elucidation of the logic of social study—a practice which is becoming suspiciously common among philosophers of science. It will be of value to sociologists interested in scientific procedure to read Smart's chapters discussing science and common sense and the character and aims of natural science.

The volume by Dantzig is a charming account of the development of number and its instrumental impetus to the development of science. The author traces the evolution of the number concept from the restricted counting of the primitives down to modern concern with the transfinite

and antinomies, showing the origin and significance of the concepts of the irrationals, of zero, of negative numbers, of complex numbers, of the infinitesimal, of co-ordinate geometry, of calculus, of transcendentals, etc. Such knowledge, which we customarily think of as reserved for the professional mathematician, is presented here with practically no use of mathematical technicalities. The cultured layman will find this volume arresting, particularly in showing the intimate relation of mathematical invention to scientific development.

The volume by Drachman is unique, at least in the English language. It is an effort to develop a history of science as literature, much in the manner of general histories of literature. The period chosen is confined mainly to the nineteenth century; attention is paid chiefly to the works of Lyell, Buffon, Lamarck, Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, Spencer, and others influenced by them. The writings of these men are considered not as mere records of facts or statements of principles but as vehicles of human experience. In some sense the volume is a history of ideas and of their influence on public opinion. The sociologists will be interested specifically in the engaging discussion of Spencer, and more generally perhaps in the demonstration that the landmarks of scientific writing are not dust-dry treatises but genuine human literature.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social Process in Organized Groups. By GRACE LONGWELL COYLE.
New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930. Pp. xiv+245.

This concise volume is the first of the "Contemporary Society Series," which is being projected under the general editorship of Professor R. M. MacIver of Columbia University. Being only about fifty thousand words in length, it is in the nature of a survey rather than an intensive treatment of the field which it covers. That field is in principle a broad one. Professor MacIver undertakes to define it in his Introduction by means of the following questions: "What gives cohesion to a social group? How is the interest for which it stands developed and organized? How are the attitudes of its members adjusted and harmonized? How does authority evolve within it? How does it achieve an individuality of its own? How does it seek to maintain its standards? By what devices is its solidarity fostered?" As the editor rightly remarks, "The answer to these questions brings us to the very core of society." He might have expressed himself even more strongly; if we could answer all of these questions with rela-

tive completeness we should have a large part of the substance of that science of society in the development of which the readers of this *Journal* are all interested.

Obviously, so small a volume is not likely to contain so pretentious a contribution. In fact, the author's presentation of her material is couched in such generalized terminology, and the illustrative portions of the content are so scanty, that the book becomes in effect a suggestive outline to guide research, reflection, and discussion. As such, it compares very favorably with existing literature of similar character. The "organized groups" with which the author is concerned are, chiefly, those which exist and act within communities and nations, though she has not overlooked the implications of her propositions for more inclusive types of societies. The essay is not heavily documented; there is, however, a fairly good bibliography of general works dealing with "sociology, social psychology, and political theory," and a short list of "material on specific organizations." Miss Coyle appears to have leaned especially on the suggestions found in some of the works of Cooley, Simmel, Follett, Dewey, and MacIver. One can detect also an unacknowledged indebtedness to Durkheim and one or two others. It is, however, no disgrace, in the preparation of a volume of this character, to have assimilated some of the ideas current in one's field of inquiry so thoroughly that one is scarcely aware any longer of the sources of some of one's ideas. Students of general and theoretic sociology will find this little book helpful.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Jews without Money. By MICHAEL GOLD. Woodcuts by HOWARD SIMON. New York: Horace Liveright, 1930. Pp. 309.

Jews without Money is further and added testimony to the fact that America, particularly the America of our great metropolitan cities, is still *terra incognita*. There are clearly whole regions of American life that have not as yet, in spite of all our studies of recent years, been wholly or adequately explored.

Social surveys and the persistent inquiries of social agencies have made us familiar with the external conditions and the formal aspects of life in most parts of these vast and complex urban communities. But the very real though invisible world which exists only in the minds and behind the faces of heterogeneous populations we have just begun to explore.

Jews without Money, which purports to be fiction, is based upon the

unquestionably authentic experiences and observations of one who grew up in the world he describes.

Like one of Zola's novels, it has all the characteristics of a human document. To be sure the incidents in human comedy here described are like the incredible streets in which this comedy takes place, a little too crowded. However the whole scene of East Side New York is depicted with vigorous strokes and in colors of startling vividness. No writer has written of the life of the immigrant and of the common man in America with greater understanding, insight, and candor.

Michael Gold, more than any other American writer, writes in the American vernacular. His vocabulary is flavored with the speech of the pavements of New York. His idiom is as American as jazz.

What makes this volume unique as a picture of and interpretation of American life is not, however, its literary style but the ability of the author, out of personal experience of his, to penetrate behind the "excitement, dirt fighting chaos" of the world he describes and discover there the human interest that makes literature.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Filipino Immigration. By BRUNO LASKER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xxi+445.

This report has been prepared by Mr. Lasker acting as a special investigator. He spent a few months on the Pacific Coast and a few weeks in Hawaii, during which time he succeeded unusually well (1) in bringing together the fugitive statistics regarding Filipino immigrants that are to be found in many out-of-the-way places, and (2) in getting in touch with the points of view and attitudes of both Americans and Filipinos. He did not come to the Coast as a stranger and certainly not without a fine understanding of racial conflicts in general. He made the most of his time and produced the only extensive study of the theme now available. His scientific point of view is shown by his reluctance to draw conclusions from the data and to offer solutions. He leaves these dangerous undertakings largely to the readers.

Filipino Immigration is replete with facts about the economic conditions confronting the seventy-five thousand Filipinos in the United States, a group who, for the most part, are energetic young men between the ages of seventeen and thirty, but who in large numbers are becoming discouraged and disappointed in the United States. Their high sense of

pride makes it difficult for many of them to return to the Philippine Islands empty-handed and defeated. Nearly all have come with great expectations, only to find not gold but sounding brass. Mr. Lasker also outlines the social problems confronting the young Filipinos in our country. These include the lack of normal home life, excessive mobility, poor housing conditions, a lack of recreational facilities, taxi-dance-hall problems, and social discrimination. Many come for educational purposes but are engaged in uphill struggles. The prejudice directed by Americans at the Filipinos is especially difficult for these "wards" of the United States to understand. They are not aliens and yet are not allowed (barring a few exceptions) to become citizens. The movement to exclude them from the United States is an affront to them. The author handles these and other difficult problems with skill, giving a short account of the Hawaiian situation and a briefer statement of the Philippine Islands background. At certain points sketchy, and at others very cautious in interpretation, the volume on the whole is highly meritorious.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The Community and Social Welfare: A Study in Community Organization. By CECIL CLARE NORTH. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931. Pp. 359. \$3.50.

The author's purpose in this volume is to make a general survey of urban social work with special reference to its problems of organization and correlation in order to determine the progress that is being made in building up an effective community program. From his point of view every city is at least a potential community with varying degrees of communal effectiveness which may be measured by a study of its varied processes carried on collectively. This volume, which is an analysis of the co-operative aspects of social work activities, may be regarded as an attempt to measure the extent to which the city has achieved a communal character in dealing with problems in this field.

In attacking this problem, the descriptive rather than the statistical method has been used, doubtless because of the difficulty of securing quantitative data suitable for his purpose. A detailed account is given of the programs that have been devised to deal with the problems of dependency, public health, and leisure-time, with special attention to plans for the joint-financing of social agencies and to the interrelations of private philanthropy and public welfare work. Consideration is also given to the

social welfare activities of the school and the church, and a chapter is added dealing with social work among the Negroes.

The book is by no means merely an analysis and description of urban social work activities. The author has ideas of his own as to the direction the community movement should take and gives many suggestions concerning ways of improving social work programs. His treatment of the subject is practical rather than academic, and the volume can be read with profit by those interested in making social work more effective.

J. F. STEINER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

L'Invention. By GASTON BOUTHOU. Paris: Marcel Giard, 1930. Pp. 569. Fr. 75.

While named *Invention*, this work approaches a general scheme of sociology, like Tarde, only reversed, the grand social process being treated as primarily invention and secondarily imitation. The former is made to cover every kind of mental innovation, although artistic innovation is neglected. We shall not blame the author for that—it is going far enough and likely too far to treat as one phenomenon the ratiocinations of an Einstein, a theosophist, a corporation chemist, a savage inventor, a puzzle-solver, and a painter. To be sure, they may all use the same mental traits, only in different proportion. The question is how much profit there be in attempting to describe them all together and subject them to a hundred laws. One distinction the author does make, and discusses throughout: that between the invention of moral values, tastes, etc., and that of mere devices or scientific principles handled without emotion—between the origins of, as we would say, mores and folk ways.

The author's methods of proof are resort to philosophy, modernized armchair psychology, logic, the French sociologists, and some anthropologists, Frazer and Lévy-Brühl being especially cited. There is scarce one figure in the book except the page numbers. There are few proofs of any objective sort. Often primitive customs are cited, with an assumption of equivalence among all backward peoples. If that were true it would prove nothing, at best give a suggestion, as to modern invention of an important and technique sort, whatever it might certify as to other kinds of inventions. In some technic fields today invention is a scientific industry, innovation a vested right. On the basis of sheer ratiocination and dialectic, one principle after another is laid down with scarce a doubt expressed, after the fashion of American sociology thirty years ago. It is usually

yes or no, after the style of philosophy and logic, not the modern sociologist's cautious observation of correlation.

In one case Dr. Bouthoul does positively support his assertion, by citing Ogburn and Thomas' list of 148 inventions made twice or more. He would explain this phenomenon in that the constituent elements for physical inventions and discoveries are permanent, definite, and may become known to many. It is not pointed out that the source of other "inventions" may be still better known, and their variability not lead to greater diversity in the product than in the physical field, where, as he rightly says, no two inventions are fully identical. Duplicate invention, he says, is far from being proved the rule; we are prevented from inventing by the customary associations into which our ideas clannishly group themselves apart; and this trait is especially striking with moral inventions, whose elements were known to millions, yet not compounded. It should be pointed out here that a moral or a social invention may be made thousands, even millions of times, without history taking any account of it. The good example, perhaps a better way in which some mother treated her child, fell in a hostile age, and perished without leaving a trace. The hard, the essential problem for invention in the wide, less scientific fields of society and art is not making inventions—they come cheaply—but propagating the good ones.

In derogation of the Ogburn thesis, Dr. Bouthoul cites typography (p. 262), an invention depending on elements "relatively easy for us to ascertain," and yet which was never put together by the Romans, who possessed for centuries the screw press, a paper (papyrus), printing by seals, inked stamps and stencils, movable letters (children's blocks), publishing houses, and standard editions. Yes, all those elements of the printing complex they had; but one can never be sure there were no requisites missing. The Romans did not have playing cards, printed cloth, short sacred texts, and illuminated books, on which the Chinese and European typographies were built; nor had they any habit of working metal fine to measure, except for objects of art; nor did their artisans, I think, have so much contact with books, engineering, and invention as in Gutenberg's time. By informed inquiries of this sort one can usually solve the riddle of why some invention did not appear as soon as its *prima facie* elements were existent; or appearing, did not come into wide use.

Of course, no such French book has an index. It would not fit into the picture, where logic is more admired than information.

For matters other than technique invention this may be a good book, and may satisfy the French. Almost all of it sounds true. But one won-

ders if some other scheme, some dissimilar triangulation of the social world, from the base of an armchair beside a desk full of other schematizing books, might not be just as true, just as good, and just as unutilizable.

S. C. GILFILLAN

RESEARCH COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL TRENDS
CHICAGO

The Introduction of Farm Machinery in Its Relation to the Productivity of Labor in the Agriculture of the United States during the Nineteenth Century. By LEO ROGIN. ("University of California Publications in Economics," Vol. 9.) Berkeley: University of California Press, July, 1931. Pp. 260. \$3.50.

Dr. Rogin has produced a book which is very useful although it does not conform strictly to its main title in that it is limited to the operations incidental to wheat-raising. It is of interest both to the sociologist and the agricultural historian. The author's purpose in writing this book excuses a lack of completeness in technical description. The accuracy of statement and implication in the parts devoted to the machines themselves leaves something to be desired. In general, he has handled very well a large mass of material, but he seems to have leaned somewhat too heavily on the notoriously unreliable Ardrey and the excellent but not infallible work of Gould, referred to as the *Utica Report*. His use of numerous illustrations is to be commended.

The author has done very well the difficult task of stating the productivity of labor in certain phases of agriculture, particularly wheat-harvesting. Research workers in agricultural history know all too well the unsatisfactory character of the sources for this kind of a study. There is no reason to believe that labor output was any more standardized during the last century than now. In spite of these difficulties Dr. Rogin has made an important contribution to sociological literature in this, which he undoubtedly regards as the most important, part of his book.

In the case of plowing, the actual amount of increase in work done is obscured by the changing quality of the work. The progress of the century in the productivity of agricultural labor can best be illustrated by the case of wheat harvest. At the beginning of the century one man, using a sickle, cut, bound, and shocked from one-half to three-quarters of an acre of wheat in a ten-hour day. With the use of the grain cradle this man was able to put one acre in the shock. The introduction of the horse-drawn hand-raking reaper nearly doubled this amount. It should be

noted, however, that the amount that could be reaped by one man had increased twenty fold with the use of horse power. The labor of binding was the limiting factor of production. The use of the self-raker released one man but left the burdensome hand-binding. The self-binder was a greater labor saver than the parent invention of the reaper itself. With the aid of three or four horses, one man could now cut and shock six acres per day. With two shockers he could cover twelve acres in ten hours, whereas the same force of men, without horses, could care for only one and a half acres by using the sickle.

RUSSELL H. ANDERSON

MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY
CHICAGO

The Historical Backgrounds of Early Methodist Enthusiasm. By UMPHREY LEE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. 176. \$3.00.

"By studying an idea instead of churches or sects, one may be able to place the Methodist movement in the Christian tradition" (p. 11). The author has done precisely this, starting from antiquity. The most interesting parts of the book are the contemporary judgments and explanations of the behavior of the enthusiasts.

The importance of the study lies much less in the changes of content of the idea of "enthusiasm," than in its revelation of the undying struggle between the respectable, recognized functionaries of society and the inspired, enthusiastic insurgent. In one age, the enthusiast may be branded as a tool of the devil. At a later date, his behavior may be explained on natural grounds, but it remains no less reprehensible and repugnant to the authorized leaders of society. The "leveller" is as hard to control as was the tool of the devil. Social institutions require enthusiasm to move the masses of men, but it is a tempered zeal which they require. One might even say that the leaders of a great institution must have a little doubt, considerable guile, some humor, and sophistication to temper their ardor and inspiration. It is this aspect of "enthusiasm" that is of interest to students of society. The problem of this book is a double one; namely, of the creation of enthusiasm and of its tempering to the needs of organized life.

The contribution of the present author is that of the historian, i.e., quotations from documents salted with comments of considerable insight.

His logic is not always above reproach. He sometimes uses two frames of reference in one explanation. What cannot be understood otherwise is to be "explained on pathological grounds." Others than historians run to cover in this fashion to explain unusual behavior. If the historians allow us a little weakness in documentation and the criteria of evidence, we may well allow them a little in the way of eclectic logic.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

McGILL UNIVERSITY

Possession: Demoniactal and Other. By T. K. OESTERREICH. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930. Pp. ix+400.

Social psychologists interested in the more obscure phases of human nature will welcome this volume on possession. Oesterreich, professor at the University of Tübingen, has collected a vast series of recorded instances of possession among primitives, the ancients, and contemporary people. By free yet judicious use of this material he shows the extensive spread of psychological possession among mankind and seeks to analyze its nature. He is led to regard the central mark of possession as the yielding to what is believed to be a spirit or demon; as such it is different from hysteria or other forms of seizure where the individual ascribes his loss of control to natural occurrence. Possession consequently flourishes where people live in a world of spirits, and disappears with the "Age of Enlightenment." One judges that Oesterreich has proved his point, yet one must regret that the analysis was carried no farther. The experiences of inspiration, enthusiasm, ecstasy, intoxication, transportation, and even of well-defined hysterical obsession, if not generic with possession as Oesterreich regards it, are at least marginal. They suggest the need for a more penetrating inquiry which may lay bare more profoundly the nature of possessive phenomena. Yet one should be tolerant of Oesterreich's arrested treatment, for in the voluminous instances which he has so thoughtfully made the bulk of his book will be found materials in abundance for a fresh and perhaps more penetrating attack on the problem.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Genius and Creative Intelligence. By N. D. M. HIRSCH. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Sci-Art Publishers. Pp. xi+339.

The author vitiates much of the criticism that may be leveled at the book by admitting at the outset that no final study of genius is possible

until a genius writes upon genius. From his analysis of man's bio-sociological evolution and psychological processes Dr. Hirsch concludes that the greatest single factor in social development has been the genius who is *sui generis*, a mutation, and as far from man as man is from the ape. The author poetically and rapturously writes: "Beneath, when we approach the inner parts and envisage genius unclothed, naked to the rays of the sun, lo, we behold another species, novel, fascinating, godly, a psychical mutation which lacunizes nature as the birth of the butterfly from the caterpillar" (p. 298).

Many of the considerations offered are speculative in character; such, for example, is the author's view of biological mutations which he regards as "life creations resulting from the accumulation of the temporary unexpressed experience of the germ-plasm. 'In other cases he accepts uncritically such bogeys as the terrible menace of differential fertility and racial deterioration. The most useful part of the book is that devoted to the psychological constitution of man in which the author develops his theory of levels of intelligence. It is somewhat difficult to see why the author regards this volume as "a psychological foundation for twentieth-century political and sociological theory and action."

J. RUMYANECK

LONDON, ENGLAND

Standards of Living: Proceedings of the Thirteenth American Country Life Conference. Madison, Wisconsin, October 7-10, 1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. viii+166. \$2.00.

The gathering together in conference of groups of people interested in common problems is an established part of our mores, and its value perhaps need not be questioned. A comment frequently heard at such conferences, however, is that the values lie not so much in the formal papers as in the opportunity for personal contact between people not otherwise thrown together, and in the informal discussions that result. If this be true, as it probably is, there is a real question about the publication and general distribution of the proceedings of most of these conferences. Certainly the present volume offers students of standards of living little food for thought that is not readily available elsewhere. Nor does it serve as a good introduction to the subject for persons who have thought little on the subject. It offers far too many such platitudes as "It is tremendously important that we think clearly upon the social, educational, and economic aspects of American agriculture." "This convinces me that any work toward raising the standard of living of a community will succeed

more rapidly when linked with a definite effort toward increasing the income of the interested parties." "We must unite all our skills and wills in working out the destiny of the American people."

This is not meant as a criticism of the papers in view of the purpose they were designed to serve. The intention is simply to raise a question about the custom of making books of this stuff for "pep" meetings, and then building libraries to hold the books so constructed. In particular, should a university press lend the glamor of its name to such publications?

HELEN R. WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Cost of Living Studies. IV. Spending Ways of a Semi-skilled Group.

Foreword by EMILY H. HUNTINGTON. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931. Pp. viii + 295-386.

This study is one of the series undertaken at the University of California to show the way of spending at various income levels. Two-thirds of the families covered had annual earnings of between \$1,600 and \$1,800. The number of children per family was two and the majority were young.

Median expenditures as well as mean are given and the details for such general groups as "Household Operation" and "Miscellaneous." The families were found to be adequately fed and housed, but they were practicing rigid economies in clothing and were making small provision for old age or for the husband's death.

HAZEL KYRK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Growth of Ability. By RAYMOND O. FILTER and OMAR C. HELD.

Baltimore: Warwick & York, 1930. Pp. 174. \$2.28.

This book of less than two hundred pages, one of the "Educational Psychology Monographs," is an unusually vigorous presentation of a conditioned response theory of learning. Probably one reason why it is more interesting than the usual book of this sort is that the authors are not afraid to show real enthusiasm for their subject, and also some concern for style.

In the face of much recent criticism of a strictly stimulus-response theory, and after introducing chapters stating quite objectively some of these criticisms and giving full references to the opposing literature, the authors present their own analysis of learning. Their own summary is better than any the reviewer could formulate:

We have adopted the analytic psychologist's description of learning; and that with every frill or excess clause removed. This leaves the exceedingly simple account of learning by the principle of the Conditioned Response. Necessary to the story of all human achievement we have recognized only the circumstances which bring about the conditioning of reflexes, their combination, and the conditioning and fixation of these newly formed responses. . . . The Conditioned *Response* may be a fiction, a too hasty generalization of the observations made upon the Conditioned *Reflex*. . . . All will agree that much experimental verification of these underlying assumptions of the Conditioned Response theory is needed. In the meantime it has seemed a justifiable procedure to develop enthusiasm for the theory and accept it for all it is worth.

The authors state at the outset that they are going purposely to neglect the problem of motivation, feeling that motives have been overemphasized recently. This seems to the reviewer a mistake, especially since the authors show in several places an ability to deal with motivational factors in stimulus-response terminology. Their objection to a mere word which seems vague to them leads them to undervalue a fundamental factor in complex learning and hence weakens a position otherwise excellently developed.

The book is frankly "environmentalist" in point of view, and in suggesting great possibilities of change and development in individuals favors social optimism. Yet it recognizes that hereditary factors are present and must be considered. The authors, unlike most psychologists, recognize that there is question about the aim in adapting individuals. "Let the psychologist have his way," they suggest, "and every malcontent will be made safe for the STATUS QUO!" But they believe in what we might call a pragmatic adaptation, and suggest that "after all, change and reform may still be confidently expected even among people successfully delivered from the shackles of excess emotionality, whether of ecstasy or depression." The book contains many concrete suggestions that should be of help to the teacher, using the word "teacher" in a broad sense.

MARGARET WOOSTER CURTI

SMITH COLLEGE

L'Éveil des nationalités et le mouvement libéral (1815-1848). By GEORGES WEILL. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan. 1930. Pp. 592.

This volume is a general history of occidental civilization in the period 1815-48. It is a well-organized presentation of an enormous subject matter, a vast collection of facts in the nature of events. Although it

gives especial attention to the nationalist and liberal movements of the period and with much success organizes the history of the period around them, the title by no means covers the subject matter. The technic innovations and developments and the facilitation of communication and their economic and social consequences, the realignments of social classes and the awakening of nationalities, and the social ideals and large-scale social movements of these times are given good narrative treatment, while at the same time the policies of the various governments, political issues and personalities, and international politics are concisely and vividly presented. The great scope of the work precludes detailed treatment of any of the topics.

The tendencies of "the new history" are in evidence in two ways: emphasis and scholarly attention are given to more general, and as historians now believe, more fundamental developments than those of "political history"; and the social movement and social trends (sometimes called "social forces"), rather than the nation, are taken as the principal units. This book shows strikingly the disregard of national boundaries by modern social movements and groupings, and the consequent necessity of transcending the nation as a unit in conceiving and writing history. National history may eventually become a subordinate genre within history as a field of scholarship, while national history of less scholarly type may long continue as an expression and instrument of national esprit de corps, and while nations will remain convenient frames for subdividing broader historical subjects.

HARMON HAYES

CHICAGO

Economic Behavior, an Institutional Approach. By W. E. ATKINS, D. W. McCONNELL, C. D. EDWARDS, C. RAUSHENBUSH, A. A. FRIEDRICH, L. S. REED. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1931. 2 vols. Pp. xiv+601, 562. \$6.00.

The authors, who here present their introduction to economics as given at New York University, have gone farther in the direction of sociology than most of those who preach "institutional economics." The Preface states their position, which we might illustrate by a number of sentences such as the following: "Instead of a treatment of land, labor, capital, and enterprise as factors of production, there will be found a description of the business enterprise as a going concern" (p. iv). Accordingly we find fascinating accounts of the inner politics of corporations, of the agitation which leads to a strike, and of the vagaries of the consumer. The marvel

is that, while sticking to their defined point of view, the authors have been able to cover the conventional topics so thoroughly.

The reviewer would refer the writer of the Preface to Sumner's *Folkways* for a second reading. Apparently he did not see the sentence which says that institutions grow by the same slow processes as do the mores (see p. v). Had he seen it, the criticism which occupies half a page would not have been necessary.

There may be an honest difference of opinion as to whether such an approach as this should precede or follow a more conventional course in economics. The reviewer would favor the former. A student who meets economics as comprehensible but not thoroughly rational human behavior will probably never fall down and worship the sacred concepts.

EVERETT CHERRINGTON HUGHES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Allgemeine Staatslehre. By GOTTFRIED SALOMON. Berlin & Vienna: Industieverlag Spaeth & Linde, 1931. Pp. 166.

This book is neither a comprehensive systematic treatise on concept, history, and functions of the state as Ludwig Waldecker's *Allgemeine Staatslehre* (1927) nor the fascinating exhibition of merciless abstract legalism of Viennese color as Hans Kelsen's state theory (1925). And it has nothing in common with distinct contributions to political science as Carl Schmitt's *Verfassungslehre* (1928) or Rudolf Smend's study on constitution and constitutional law (1928). In the prefatory note the author explains that he has aimed at a condensation of his lectures at German administrative academies—post-war foundations of higher learning for civil servants—into a compendium for the use of inquisitive bureaucrats. The result is, however, not entirely satisfactory because, as a whole, the discourse is rather unbalanced. For instance, sovereignty is discussed on less than two pages, and the harrassed reader is hurried through the history of monarchy in exactly one page. Strange enough, there is not one bibliographical footnote in the entire volume, and it is regrettable, too, that the index of names is not wholly reliable. Despite these deficiencies it is beyond any doubt that Professor Salomon presents his material in a captivating manner. This is mainly due to a method that combines continuously factual information and ingenious evaluation which in some cases falls flat because the author does not spend much time in lengthy theoretical reasoning.

FRITZ MORSTEIN MARX

HAMBURG

The Background of International Relations. By CHARLES HODGES.
New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1931. Pp. xvi+743. \$4.00.

Nowhere in the academic curriculum does the traditional departmental specialization seem as artificial as in the broad field of international relations. Hodges has sought to meet the need for a comprehensive introductory textbook and has, on the whole, succeeded remarkably well. He has drawn together the legal, economic, social, and geographical strains in an attractive manner. The book will probably supply quite effective reading for beginning students. The chapters on communication (telegraph, wireless, news services, etc.) are particularly good. Some of the illustrations seem unnecessarily juvenile and the author also appears to push geographical interpretation somewhat farther than technological developments would seem to permit. The bibliographies are unusually extensive and the volume is well worth having for their sake alone.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

International Understanding. By JOHN EUGENE HARLEY. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1931. Pp. xx+604. \$7.50.

The author has taken 604 pages to compile information about international organizations of a broadly educational type. With depressing lack of discrimination, every detail he could secure is incorporated, including complete lists of trustees' names, programs of past years, the titles of all publications, and the names of lecturers and their topics. International House, New York, is accorded ten pages, the League of Nations twelve, and these allotments are typical of the lack of balance in the entire volume. The Appendixes reprint long reports that are available in any reputable college library. The whole "study" might serve as an illustration of the perils to which the "factual" method easily falls a victim. An interesting and useful book could be written on the various organizations "promoting international understanding," but its author will have to possess the insight and courage to go beyond the official documents and the personal statements of prudent functionaries.

The essential factual information in this volume—and it will be useful to have some of it on the shelf—could have been presented at one-tenth of the cost and in one-fifth of the space of the present publication.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Hard Times—The Way In and the Way Out. By RICHARD T. ELY.
New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. x+193.

Since we are experiencing the worst recession in business activity ever witnessed in this country and are in the midst of a record-breaking depression period, this little book should be read especially by those who do not realize that our system of individualistic capitalistic enterprise possibly needs a fundamental overhauling. We have brooked serious business recessions and depressions in the past. Probably we will let this one pass with nothing more than a clamor of words and superficial deeds. But it should be recalled that just before the fall of Rome the Romans were as sure of the glorious future of their way of living as we Americans are of our own.

The keynote and even the title of this little volume were inspired by Dickens' novel *Hard Times*. In the novel the central character made this plea: "Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, root out everything else." Professor Ely makes a similar plea in regard to such essential matters as "Land and Its Uses," "Construction of Buildings," "Overproduction as Fact; Balanced Production as Ideal," "Price and Prosperity," "Integration and Pooling," "The Stock Exchange," "Saving and Spending," and "Money, Credit and Banks." His discussion of the problems abounds with wisdom that many leaders of industry, commerce, and politics might well take to heart.

His other chapters deal with such important questions as "Public Service," "Lack of Harmony between Political and Economic Life and Institutions," "Diversification," "The Idea of Common Wealth," "The Peace-Time Army," and "Research."

The Prologue, an allegory of the gateways into a period of hard times, and the Epilogue, an allegory of the gateways out of such a period, afford most interesting reading. The Appendix consisting of statements by a banker, the Federation of Labor, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and a specially prepared essay by Dr. W. A. Berridge on "What Can Insurance Do?" adds considerably to the book.

Of the suggestions made by Professor Ely, the one on a peace-time army might particularly be given considerable attention. When we decide to fight for "Democracy," we are willing to submit to the hardships of taxation, and to the conscription of a large portion of our male population and of our material resources. It surely ought to be possible in peace times to fight against unemployment and starvation. Why not organize and finance a non-military army that would do for us what individual business

enterprise is failing to do, and thereby employ persons who, through no fault of their own, find themselves in a situation in which no jobs are available and starvation can be avoided only by accepting charity?

S. H. NERLOVE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Road to Better Business—and Plentiful Employment. By EMIL O. JORGENSEN. Chicago: Manufacturers and Merchants Federal Tax League, 1931. Pp. 58.

Considering the fundamental economic fallacy underlying single tax theory, the tenacity of the movement is surprising. Mr. Jorgensen's book adds nothing to single tax theory but is simply an attempt to capitalize on the current depression to gain new disciples for the faith. The single tax as a cure-all for all economic and social ills lies quiescent in prosperity but inevitably, in periods of depression like the present, it bursts forth with renewed vigor.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Union-Management Co-operation on the Railroads. By LOUIS AUBREY WOOD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. xiv+326.

With brief reference to developments elsewhere in the United States and England, this book deals with union-management co-operation as applied in recent years in one or more departments of the Baltimore & Ohio, the Canadian National, the Northwestern, and the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railways—these having about one-sixth of the mileage of the country. It is an excellent contribution to the rapidly growing literature. In fact, its merits are so great that anyone at all interested in the subject will wish to read the volume in its entirety.

Professor Wood visited and inspected between forty and fifty railway shops, interviewed many representatives of management and labor, and exploited the literature extant. What union-management co-operation is and what it has accomplished are described in a concrete way, and the gains realized by the corporations and by the workers are evaluated. This does not mean that the evaluation has taken the form of a total sum; that is quite impossible, for many of the elements in the situation cannot be reckoned in dollars and cents. But the gains of the railways from the elimination of waste, greater efficiency, reduced turnover of labor, and

good will are shown to have been substantial, while the workers have benefited from stabilization of employment, security of the job, and a more dignified position in the industry. The author believes in union-management co-operation. At the same time he is careful to indicate the problems involved in its application and to note the limitations upon the gains, particularly the difference between initial gains and those to be expected after the more obvious forms of waste have been eliminated and the store of knowledge possessed by the workers has been pretty well exploited.

H. A. MILLIS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Questions of the Day. By JOHN A. RYAN. Boston: Stratford Co. Pp. 333. \$3.00.

Father Ryan carries on the liberal tradition fostered by the late Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul under whose jurisdiction he grew up. He combines a genuine and sincere Catholicism with a wholesome, constructive political and economic liberalism. The D.A.R. and others of their ilk class him with the "Reds" and the "Radicals," and not a few Catholics do likewise. Despite all kinds of pressure from such sources upon ecclesiastical authorities here and abroad to tame the wild cleric, Father Ryan goes on his way unmolested. In *Questions of the Day* one gets Father Ryan's views on a variety of topics, political, moral, religious, and economic. It is a book well worth reading. Its appeal is in no sense sectarian. The non-Catholic will find the articles touching upon the Catholic church informing and stimulating.

JEROME G. KERWIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas, Including Selections from His Writings.

By C. F. ANDREWS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 382. \$3.00.

India's Political Crisis. By WILLIAM I. HULL. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. \$2.00.

Today events in India seem to outmarch men's minds, not to say historical records. The projected policies of governments are tacitly dropped by the time they are prepared: witness the fate of the Simon Commission Report. Predictions based upon the study of past social-political movements can have only a limited value under such conditions, and the rapid-

ly changing situation in India demands a plasticity of mental attitude as well as a knowledge of the deeper, more permanent forces which statesmen, not politicians, possess. And statesmanship is not a dominant characteristic of the post-war period.

The volume by Andrews is a sympathetic exposition of Gandhi's relation to the complex background of Indian culture. It does not tell one a continuous story of the development of Gandhi's mind, such as an autobiography presents, but rather a cross-section plus certain historical references. Nevertheless it has much to offer to the busy reader's understanding of a personality who alone appears able to integrate to some extent the tumultuous cross-currents and conflicts of Indian life.

If the Andrews volume deals with personality and culture, that of Everett Stonequist lies in the field of politics. It is a careful analysis of the many political groupings in India and a description of the struggle between those nations striving for complete independence as against those which would be satisfied with dominion status. Such a study, while somewhat out of date by the time it is published, reveals the relative lack of political unity existing among Indians in 1929.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

SKIDMORE COLLEGE

Dangerous Drugs. By ARTHUR WOODS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. vi+123. \$2.00.

It is progress to see a book published by a university press, written by an ex-chief of police, dealing with the most terrible of all vices. The book contains three forceful chapters: "The Alkaloids," "The 'Dope Fiend' and Society," "The Traffic in Narcotic Drugs." Only the last chapter is disappointing. The heart of the book is contained in the following:

. . . narcotics in relation to crime . . . are like weapons: they are dangerous to do the most damage when put in the worst hands, and as long as they are about there is constant danger of calamity. To the criminal-minded, they are as a coefficient of power, heightening courage to bravado, and deftness to lightning-like rapidity. By chemistry they add further instability to those who are already by nature unstable. They induce a state of irresponsibility which readily suggests acts dangerous to society, and they can supply the excess of spontaneity which leads to the prompt carrying out of such suggestions. The criminal, under the steeling influence of these drugs, can become still more professional, and particularly in his earlier apprenticeship can derive from the *sang-froid* he has not yet attained from experience.

The "criminality" of drugs, however, goes beyond such matters as hold

~~Vice and the liquor~~ business, "rackets," and other types of organized crime. The drug addict is always the potential tool of the criminal.

The author is too well informed to offer a solution. His only suggestions are: (1) that the manufacture of narcotics be controlled in each country in such a way that the drug cannot leak out; (2) that every nation adopt and enforce the import and export certificate system.

To the lover of detective stories the chapter on the traffic in narcotic drugs has a rare appeal. Arthur Woods has made plain, what the initiate have known for many years, that dangerous drugs—opium and cocaine—are not only dangerous to the addict but dangerous to society, and the solution appears as far off as the solution of the unemployment problem.

BEN L. REITMAN

CHICAGO

The Treatment of Behavior Disorders Following Encephalitis. By EARL D. BOND and KENNETH E. APPEL. New York: Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1931. Pp. 163. \$1.75.

Here we have a description of the first attempt at experimental study and treatment of the behavior effects of a new kind of disease, encephalitis, or sleeping sickness as it is commonly known. Until recently, post-encephalitic delinquents had only three possibilities: prison, mental hospital for adults, home life in the community. None of these was satisfactory.

In 1924 a new plan of treatment at the Department of Mental and Nervous Diseases of the Pennsylvania Hospital was inaugurated. Quarters were set aside exclusively for study and treatment of children with behavior disorders following encephalitis. During 1924-29 sixty-two children twelve years of age and under were admitted, including fourteen "controls" not definitely post-encephalitic but with behavior disorders resembling those who were. Feeble-minded children and Parkinsonian cases were excluded.

ds and the pa
the various cases. Special attention has been gi
in charge of the children, to their methods of ap
tails of the children's schedules.

The results so far have not been unmixed. While forty-six
forty-eight post-encephalitics, and thirteen out of the fourteen "
showed definite improvement under hospital supervision, only
the twenty-six post-encephalitic cases sent home made good adj
The results, however, have been considerably in advance of any
attained, and the project is a contribution to a better understa
only of the behavior disorders of post-encephalitics, but of bad b
general. A new objective of the school has become the "study o
tion between the behavior disorder characteristic of the post-en
and the great mass of 'bad' behavior in home and at school."

KATHERINE E

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860. By THEO
BLEGEN. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Hist
society, 1931. Pp. xi+413. \$3.50.

This book has its inception in a dissertation presented at th
sity of Minnesota in 1925. It has since been rewritten and a
chiefly in the light of researches abroad.

The Norwegian migration to this country is here traced from
ing of the little sloop with its load of fifty-three persons in 182
the succeeding years with their continuous influx, down to the
Civil War. We have the story of the different settlements in N
Illinois; Wisconsin, Iowa, their branching off into Missouri, Te
Minnesota and Dakota. Ole Bull's attempt at colonization ir
vania and the gold-hunting expedition to California are treat
ludes.

For conscientious research and accuracy, well-ordered arr
and compressed comprehensiveness, this volume will not only
standard record for reference but also as a model for future eff
same line.

...er per... is the one here... has... on...
spect. There were other sides to it no doubt, a psychological
side not within the compass of this book. Mr. Rølvaag's *Giants in the
Earth* might well serve for a companion volume to this history and, since
it belongs to a somewhat later period, still more to Dr. Blegen's promised
additional book carrying the Norwegian migration forward from 1860 to
1924. In this prospective work factors will come into play enhancing and
heightening the interest already evoked by the present eminently able
volume.

OSCAR GUNDERSEN

CHICAGO

*Modern History: The Rise of a Democratic, Scientific and Industrial
Civilization.* By CARL L. BECKER. New York: Silver, Burdett &
Co., 1931. Pp. xii+825+xxiv. \$2.24.

This suggestive volume traces the evolution of European civilization
during the last four hundred years. While the problem of selecting those
materials most illustrative of the general nature of this evolution obvious-
ly presents enormous difficulties, in the present instance skilful choice
serves to enhance the graphic quality of the narrative and more effectively
focus attention upon the essential historical processes. The author dis-
tinguishes five basic features of modern civilization: scientific knowledge,
economic interdependence, humane feeling and democratic ideas, nation-
alism, and internationalism, and he regards their emergence, about 1600,
as marking the beginning of modern times.

SAMUEL WILLIAM HALPERIN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Story of Man's Early Progress. By WILLIS MASON WEST. Rev.
ed. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1931. Pp. xviii+655.

This interesting volume, designed to meet the needs of high-school
students who are taking the first year of European history, recounts the
story of man from the dawn of civilized life to the eve of the French Revo-
lution. In harmony with certain recent tendencies in historical writing,
the author has placed considerable emphasis upon economic, social, and

Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era. By KATHLEEN BRUCE.
New York: Century Co., 1931. Pp. x+482.

Again the old records prove that the history we learned in grammar schools was a figment of the worthy historians' imagination and does not square with the facts. To discover that Virginia was the seat of a prosperous iron industry based on slave labor contradicts several of our preconceived notions of the old South, e.g., apparently southern genius was not confined entirely to politics and agriculture, nor is the much bruted present industrial revolution in the South entirely a characteristic of the post-war era.

Starting with its inception in colonial America the history of the iron industry is traced mainly through the records of the Tredegar Iron Works, through American history down to the Civil War where its importance as a mainstay of the confederacy is stressed. Miss Bruce handles the subject matter with skill and with the confidence which comes from dealing with material of whose importance there can be no question.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Conquest of Life. By THEODORE KOPpanyi. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930. Pp. v+256. \$2.00.

In the compass of some 250 pages Professor Koppányi has managed to present a bird's-eye view of the development of the biological sciences. His use of the historical methods of presentation is made particularly effective by his choice of outstanding contributions which have marked the advances in our knowledge of living things. His style is lucid and direct. Although he presupposes no acquaintance with the subject matter on the part of the reader, his simplicity of presentation is, for the most part, not offensive to the student of biology. One example to the contrary is the lengthy argument in support of the theory of evolution as opposed to the biblical story of the Creation. He rather goes out of his way to give credit to American investigators and research institutions.

Professor Koppányi's modesty should be commended; his own contri-

butions to certain physiological problems are always described anonymously.

This book may be read with great profit by those who have had no training in the biological sciences and with interest by the biologist who desires to refresh his memory of the historical development of medicine and its kindred sciences.

C. PHILLIP MILLER, JR.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Original Lists of Persons of Quality; Emigrants; Religious Exiles; Political Rebels; Serving Men Sold for a Term of Years; Apprentices; Children Stolen; Maidens Pressed; and Others Who Went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700. Edited by JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN. New York: G. A. Baker & Co., Inc., 1931. Pp. xxxii+580.

The title page continues: "With their ages, the localities where they formerly lived in the mother country, the names of the ships in which they embarked, and other interesting particulars. From MSS preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, England."

This book contains invaluable source material for genealogists and students of American colonial history. The editor warns in his Introduction that it contains only the names of those who legally left England. A large number left illegally.

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

CHICAGO

The Half-Way Sun: Life among the Head-hunters of the Philippines.

By R. F. BARTON. New York: Brewer & Warren, 1930. Pp. 315.

Few accounts of a primitive people are as intimate and realistic as this. The author lived for eight years among the head-hunters of Northern Luzon, gaining acceptance among them as a friend and eventually as a priest. He has caught the spirit of the natives' life which enables him to observe conduct clearly and not through the prism of American culture. His descriptions of head-hunting, vengeance ceremonies, and other magical and religious practices are genuinely human, and are presented with refreshing naïveté. This book will interest all students of human nature.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Theatre. By SHELDON CHENEY. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. Pp. ix+558.

Cheney has prepared a monumental work showing profound historical knowledge and ingenious insight—a work which will likely take immediate rank as the foremost of the histories of drama. It unravels the strands of drama, acting, and stagecraft from the early Greeks down to modern times, with some treatment of the theater among primitive people and in the Orient. As a history it stands in its own right and is too encompassing for discussion here. But this volume is not only a history of an interest and an institution—it is also a continuous picture of the *Zeitgeist* of different epochs and different people. Cheney portrays in an admirable way, albeit frequently unwittingly, how the theater mirrors collective tastes and tendencies and reveals intricate linkage with social structure. Its study becomes one effective way of clarifying the more obscure phases of the life of a time. The volume should prove of value, also, to the student of human nature. We have sketched before our eyes the play of impulses, both ordinary and bizarre, the sensuous, the intellectual, the vulgar, the obscene, the ecstatic, the romantic, the effete, and the crude. This provides rich and provocative material for one whose scientific curiosity and disposition transcends toying with questionnaires and tests.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Housing in Philadelphia 1930. By BERNARD J. NEWMAN. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Housing Association. Pp. 44. \$0.25.

The author points out that the high rate of sheriff's sales for the past five years, more than for the preceding twenty-six years, is due primarily to building in the wrong price range. On the basis that the average family of five can afford to purchase a house costing twice the yearly income, 48.34 per cent of families with incomes below \$2,000 are forced, if they buy at all, to buy outside their ability to pay. Figure 5 (p. 22) shows 16.8 per cent of new construction within a price range of \$4,000–\$6,000 compared to 27.48 per cent of families with incomes from \$2,000 to \$3,000, while 51 per cent of new construction within a price range of from \$6,000 to \$8,000 is far more than the 11.71 per cent of families with incomes from \$3,000 to \$4,000 can absorb. "Probably the chief cause for the extraordinarily high sheriff sales rests in the failure of the financial backers of all classes of builders to keep themselves intelligently informed of the dwelling needs and the buying-power capacity of the public" (p. 26).

EARL S. JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Chants populaires du Bresil. Collected by ELSIE HOUSTON-PERET, with an Introduction by PHILIPPE STERN. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930. Pp. 46.

Folk music of South America shows a blending of three influences—Indian, Negro, and Iberian. In Brazil the two latter dominate, as shown by this collection in which only two songs are Indian, all the others a fusion of Negro and Iberian elements, to greater or less degree. Those which come closest to being "drawing-room music" are, of course, those which show the most marked European influence.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

CHICAGO

English Folklore. By A. R. WRIGHT. New York: Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, 1931. Pp. 122.

This book is a collection of folk practices, the mention of which in the newspapers has shown that they have been indulged in since the war. A very interesting section is devoted to the body of folk customs and belief which is looked upon as having the force of law, and yet differs from statutes. The folk notion of Fate is well illustrated throughout the whole book.

HELEN GREGORY MACGILL

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Selected Articles on Censorship of Speech and the Press. Compiled by LAMAR T. BEMAN. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1930. Pp. 507. \$2.40.

This book is compiled to assist debaters. The two topics, censorship of speech, and censorship of the press, are dealt with separately. The literature covered is extensive and would furnish a useful bibliography. On the subject of the so-called Minnesota "Gag Law" there is some very interesting material in the form of Supreme Court statements, editorial comment, and contemporary discussion. This is probably the most useful section of the book.

HELEN GREGORY MACGILL

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Censorship of the Theater and Moving Pictures. Compiled by LAMAR T. BEMAN. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1931. Pp. 385.

This volume is designed essentially as a debaters' handbook. Its two divisions are concerned with censorship of motion pictures, and censorship of the theater. An affirmative and negative argument is presented on each issue and is followed by a select series of articles in which writers have taken one or the other position.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

General Psychology for Professional Students. By A. R. GILLILAND, JOHN J. B. MORGAN, and S. N. STEVENS. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1930. Pp. vii+439.

The authors tell us that this volume, being written for professional students, is more practical and less theoretical than the usual treatise, and that it does not

emphasize some particular point of view. The conventional list of psychological categories and items are covered; the discussion is simple and amply illustrated, but, of course brings out very little that is original.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Men's Wear Merchandising. By KENNETH DAMERON. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1930. Pp. xviii+556.

The author says that his aim "is to present a systematic treatment of the merchandising principles and problems arising from the distribution of men's wear." Discussion of the topic is under the headings of "Consumer Demand," "Retail Distribution," "Wholesale Distribution," and concludes with a division on the "Economic Development of the Men's Wear Industry." The volume contains a great deal of concrete material, picturesque and telling. The discussions are effective and very readable. Of especial interest to sociologists is the engaging treatment of fashion.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Book of My Life. By JEROME CARDAN. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1930. Pp. xviii+331.

Lovers of autobiography will appreciate this addition to their collection.

Jerome Cardan was an eminent physician, mathematician, and scientist who lived in Northern Italy in the lusty and turbulent sixteenth century. He left an intimate account of his life, which might be regarded as the first of the psychological autobiographies. Unquestionably pathological, he shows remarkable powers of observing his own morbidness. These observations are presented in such vivid fashion that the autobiography will have value to contemporary students of morbid-mindedness.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Co-operation in Danish Agriculture. By HARALD FABER. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931. 2d ed. Pp. xix+188.

Danish co-operation has from the beginning achieved phenomenal success in promoting the production and marketing of agriculture produce. It has not tried to accomplish the impossible but has contented itself with securing stability and efficiency with the result that despite its small size Denmark has become an outstanding agricultural country in Europe. The Danish movement has been in sharp contrast to the American co-operative experiments which have invariably been failures. It is an interesting study of the successful functioning of related groups working together which will furnish interesting material for the student of sociology. The present book serves to bring the material in an earlier edition up to date.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Potash Industry. By GEORGE WARD STOCKING. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931. Pp. x+343.

This book offers a comprehensive study of the potash industry developing particularly the importance of potash as a basic raw material, tracing the his-

torical evolution of the industry, its organization and economics, and giving particular attention to the German situation by way of pointing up the material on the American potash industry which is its main concern.

The importance of potash as a basic resource and the difficulties and shortcomings of private management have led Mr. Stocking to think that this industry should be taken in hand by the government before private interests become too securely entrenched to the end, as he thinks, of better serving the public interest. It is a clear presentation of a case for public ownership and control, and students interested in governmental regulation of business will find here an elaborate discussion which is designed to give the facts on which such a program should be based.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Rapports Annuels de l'Inspection du Travail (1929) Royaume de Belgique.

Bruxelles: J. Lebegue & Cie, 1930. Pp. 305.

The official Annual Report of the Belgian Labor Minister contains information on inspections of conditions of work, dangerous establishments, the operation of the eight-hour-day law, and other pertinent matters. The report is made in sections, to cover the work of the various provinces in detail. Its chief value for American students is its accurate and detailed description of Belgian conditions.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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SUICIDE IN THE NETHERLANDS

S. GARGAS

University of Amsterdam

ABSTRACT

In comparison with other countries, the number of suicides in the Netherlands is very small, the rate being the lowest among all the countries of old commercial and industrial culture. The most significant fact is that the rural suicide rate is higher than that for the urban population, probably accounted for by the peculiar conditions of the Dutch farming system under which the aged find themselves a burden, whereas in the city custom requires better treatment of old people. The greater number of Dutch suicides are above eighty years of age. Among women the number is less than among men, but from 1890 to 1927 the difference steadily decreased. Except for the year 1919 married suicides constantly exceed the unmarried and widowed. According to occupation, the greatest number is in the category of laborers; agrarians are next, with many unknown and unclassified. Protestant suicides are much more numerous than Catholic, but the rate among Jews is highest. Melancholy is the chief assigned cause of suicide, insanity the second. During the economic crisis of 1923 financial difficulties were active factors. Since 1916, particularly during 1918-22, hanging has predominated over other means, drowning being second. The figures are too little differentiated to give a further sociological analysis of means.

An act so "unnatural" as suicide has often been a symptom of moral, even of political, decline. In ancient Rome, and until the end of the Republic, suicide was very rare. During the Empire the number of suicides increased, chiefly in connection with political circumstances. From the complaints of the authors of these days (Horace, Tacitus, Suetonius, Seneca, Pliny) about the weariness of life and the general inclination to self-destruction, one can form an idea of the great spread of suicide in the days of the fall of the Roman Empire.

In contrast, during the Christian Middle Ages, when belief in a life after death was strong, suicide was so rare that the inclination

might be thought absent were it not for the penalties of the medieval codes. Among females suicide was practically unheard of.

In the nineteenth century, however, a constant increase in the number of suicides throughout the whole of Europe has occurred. The Jesuit father, H. A. Krose, has gathered the figures for this period and records:¹ "The totality of the officially stated suicides during the nineteenth century amounts to more than one and a half million, whereof 1,300,000 are for Europe alone." For many countries the figures cover only a part of the century. Russia, where seventy thousand cases occurred in the last three decades, is not counted at all in the first seventy years. For France the figures of the first quarter of the century are wanting; for Belgium and Denmark, the first third; for England, the first half; for Saxony, the first thirty years; and for almost all countries, the first twenty years. Thus the number of suicides in Europe is doubtless very much higher for this period. It should be estimated at two million. It must be noted, however, that the two million were not evenly distributed over the entire nineteenth century, as the number of suicides was steadily increasing, so that in the last decades alone forty thousand suicides yearly were counted. This would make one million in only twenty-five years, without reckoning the absolute number in proportion to the increase of the population.

In these statistics the Netherlands are not prominent. Yet Krose observed that the Netherlands had only a few suicides in the seventies, whereas at the end of the nineteenth century they were among the group of states having a moderate number. On another occasion he states that the Netherlands can no longer be counted among the countries having a low suicide rate.² That the Netherlands present no exception from the increasing number of suicides is evident in the first place by the figures of the registrar's office.³ These figures were based on the so-called "doodbriefjes" (certificates of death) delivered by the physicians reporting deaths in accordance with Article 5 of the law of June 1, 1865, in order to obtain burial permits. (Article 4 of the law of April 10, 1869.)

¹ H. A. Krose, S.J., *Der Selbstmord im 19. Jahrhundert nach seiner Verteilung auf Staaten und Verwaltungsbezirke* (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1906), p. 110.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 63 and 66.

³ C. A. Verryn Stuart, *Inleiding tot de beoefening der statistiek* (Harlem, 1913), II, 309.

That it was often doubtful whether the cause of death was suicide or crime is proved by the statistics of suicide prepared by the officials of justice and since 1900 published in the criminal statistics. These criminal statistics give evidence that the fact of suicide is often concealed by the registrar's office. The rates recorded in the criminal statistics are generally 32 per cent higher, which can be explained by the fact that these statistics are the result of an official investigation, whereas the statistics of the registrar's office are prepared according to the statements of private citizens.

According to the registrar's statistics, the number of suicides in 1900 was 350; in 1905, 395; in 1915, 387; in 1920, 495; and in 1925, 456. The criminal statistics give the following figures: 414, 515, 505, 579, 537.⁴ Although immediately after the World War the figures are a little higher, consideration of the whole period (1900-1925) proves that in comparison with the other civilized nations suicide is constantly decreasing. The proportional figures are: 1900, 0.799; 1905, 0.921; 1910, 0.849; 1915, 0.722; 1920, 0.835; 1925, 0.724.

In comparison with other European countries, the number of suicides in the Netherlands is very small. In the twentieth century, according to the criminal statistics, the rate per million was: in 1900, 30.5; in 1905, 92.3; in 1910, 91.6; in 1915, 72.9; in 1922, 75.8. These figures seem very small when compared with those of other European states. According to an inquiry published in 1910 the suicide rates per million were: in France, 228; in Denmark, 220; in Germany, 202; in Sweden, 151; in Belgium, 119; in Italy, 63; in Ireland, 39; in Spain, 20.

Since the World War, conditions in the belligerent nations have become much worse. The average number of suicides per thousand since the war can be estimated as six times what it was before. In the United States the number of suicides varied according to economic conditions. With the rise of war industry it decreased considerably; after the Peace of Versailles it increased, perhaps in consequence of the shortage of labor.⁵

⁴ *Jaarcijfers de Nederlande*, 1916, pp. 18-19; 1921, pp. 22-23; 1925-26, pp. 24-25. *Statistiek Nederland over 1925* (Criminelle Statistiek) (The Hague, 1917), p. 48.

⁵ *Weichbrool der Selbstmord* ("Abhandlungen aus der Neurologie, Psychiatrie, Psychologie, und ihren Grenzgebieten," Vol. XXIII [1923]).

Although the Netherlands do not have the lowest suicide rate, it can be said that they possess the lowest rate among the countries of old commercial and industrial culture. The cause is probably to be sought in the structure of the population, and the predominance of the farming population.⁶

LOCAL DIVISION OF SUICIDE

Dutch suicide statistics show a number of peculiarities, whose causes are difficult to discover, but whose existence cannot be denied. For most countries the principle is applicable that the percentage of suicides increases with the density of the population, so that the large towns show a relatively greater number of suicides than the country. The Dutch state statistics and the statistics of the large towns, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht prove the contrary.⁷

In the years 1915-17 suicides per one hundred thousand inhabitants numbered: in Berlin, 34.6; in Copenhagen, 22.9; in Chicago, 24.2; in Stockholm, 18.3; in Paris, 10.3; in London, 7.0; in The Hague, 7.0; in Amsterdam, 6.8; in Rotterdam, 4.7. These few figures show clearly that the size of the town in the Netherlands generally had no influence on the number of suicides. Although in the foregoing list the town of The Hague, which is the smallest of the three, figures the first, this can be explained by the occupational composition of the inhabitants. For The Hague is the town of functionaries and officers, of intellectuals, and manufacturers, among whom there is a higher suicide rate.

The ratios in Holland for the period 1911-20 per 100,000 are as follows:

Towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants.....	6.7
Towns of from 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.....	5.8
Towns of from 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.....	5.1
Communes from 5,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.....	6.6
Communes of less than 5,000 inhabitants.....	7.1
Average on the whole country.....	6.5

⁶ R. Gaupp, *Ueber den Selbstmord*, 2 Auflage (München, 1910), p. 10.

⁷ *Statistiek von Nederland. Statistiek . . . 1925*, p. xxix; *Statistiek der bevolking von Amsterdam 1921*.

The smallest communes with less than 5,000 inhabitants show the highest rate of suicide. The social, or, better, the socio-psychical situation seems to be the best in the towns from 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, because there suicide occurs the least. Why suicides are more numerous in the country than in the large towns is difficult to explain. It is generally supposed that because of the density of population in the big towns with their hygienic, social, and economic dangers the rate is always greater. In contrast, tranquility of village life is usually given to explain their almost universally lower rate.

The cause of this unexpected condition is, perhaps, the fact that in the Netherlands, thanks to the excellent communications, the rural inhabitants know also the culture of the towns from their own view, but they can make only little use of it, owing to the long distances. Therefore the gray despair of everyday life is felt much more keenly, especially by the aged, who furnish the majority of the suicides. Perhaps it is also owing to the fact that in the Netherlands everything is evaluated in terms of money, so that the old people in the country feel that they are no longer needed. In the little system of the Dutch farm they feel themselves absolutely superfluous, whereas in the big towns according to the prevailing customs and manners the members of the family are forced to treat their old relatives better. These are all quiet tragedies, which can be explained better by individual and psychological study than by administrative statistics.

The significance of the density of population for the number of suicides is best illustrated by comparing the figures of the whole country with those of the four large towns (Table I).

The proportional figures of the large towns are seen to be always lower than those for the whole country. It seems, therefore, that social conditions in the large towns of the Netherlands are better than in the country.

Below we shall see that the greater number of Dutch suicides are aged people (above eighty years of age). The problem, therefore, is one of the relation between the working part of the population and the part that can work no longer. In the town the elders are not begrudged the pleasure and the honor due the aged; in the country they feel bitterness and despair. The population in a few large

towns affects the population density in the provinces, and yet the suicide ratio is not always proportional, as shown in Table II.

At the head of this list is the populous province of South Holland, with the large towns Rotterdam and The Hague; then follows North

TABLE I
NUMBER OF SUICIDES PER 100,000 INHABITANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS
1921-25, INCLUSIVE

YEAR	THE NETHERLANDS		AMSTERDAM	ROTTERDAM	THE HAGUE	UTRECHT
	Men	Women				
1921.....	0.94	0.34	0.63	0.71	0.67	0.28
1922.....	0.98	0.36	0.58	0.64	0.55	0.55
1923.....	0.88	0.32	0.73	0.51	0.61	0.41
1924.....	0.92	0.32	0.65	0.59	0.57	0.34
1925.....	0.92	0.32	0.67	0.71	0.76	0.47

TABLE II
POPULATION AND NUMBER OF SUICIDES IN PROVINCES
OF NETHERLANDS, 1925

Province	Population	Number of Suicides
North Brabant.....	802,766	29
Guelderland.....	781,901	49
South Holland.....	1,800,012	98
North Holland.....	1,339,722	90
Zealand.....	249,192	24
Utrecht.....	376,661	18
Friesland.....	398,187	57
Overysel.....	470,921	27
Groningen.....	384,418	34
Drenthe.....	222,816	14
Limburgh.....	489,139	16

Holland (with Amsterdam), and the list is closed by the sparsely peopled and economically poor province of Drenthe. Remarkable is the very high number of suicides in the purely agrarian province of Friesland. I believe this must be explained by the agrarian character of the prevailing system of inheritance, whereby the undivided farm falls to the oldest son, with consequent and economic injustice to the younger brothers and sisters.

Also, according to Dutch criminal statistics, which record suicide

figures for a long period of years according to the division of the Courts of Appeal, it appears that the lowest ratio is found in the district of the court of Hertogenbosh, and the highest ratios in the districts of Amsterdam and The Hague. Now Hertogenbosh is the capital of North Brabant, with a population density, according to the census of December, 1920, of 147.1 per square kilometer, whereas the density of population of North Holland (Amsterdam) comes to 470.4 per square kilometer, and that of South Holland (The Hague, Rotterdam) to 572.3. Although it is impossible to deduce from these figures an accurate statistical law, one may say that the small number of suicides in North Brabant is connected with the sparsity of

TABLE III
SUICIDES IN AMSTERDAM, 1890-1919

Period	Men	Women	Total	Rate per 100,000
1890-94.	122	23	145	6.76
1895-99.	88	28	116	4.83
1900-1904.	118	30	148	5.57
1905-9.	207	52	259	9.27
1910-14.	138	51	189	6.43
1915-19.	148	72	220	7.01

the population of this province, with the prevailing agrarian occupation of the people, and with the prevailing influence of the Catholic Church. All these social phenomena influence each other mutually.

On the other hand, the theory of the increase of the number of suicides finds application also in the town of Amsterdam. For the period 1890-1919 we find the figures appearing in Table III.

In the period 1905-9 the number of suicides increased remarkably, which can be explained, perhaps, by an economic crisis. Besides this we observe a permanent increase of the suicides, especially of women.

DIVISION OF SUICIDES ACCORDING TO SEX

The number of suicides in the Netherlands, as in other countries, is greater among men than women. According to von Oettingen the proportion between the sexes is one to three or one to four. Thus, for one hundred women suicides there are three or four hundred men, whereas for one hundred women criminals there are five hundred

men criminals. The women thus take a greater proportional part in suicide than in crime.⁸

But there are also other phenomena in this matter. The first accurate statistics of suicide, which were prepared in Sweden, showed the participation of women to be very high, although the number of suicides was low. As the number increased, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the participation of women remained the same, but at about the end of the century it decreased.⁹

The increase of the participation of women in suicide can be stated very clearly in Amsterdam in the foregoing six quinquennial periods (1890-1919). Of the total numbers of suicides we find the following percentages to be women: 15.9, 24.1, 20.3, 20.1, 27.0, and 32.0. The

TABLE IV

Year	Men	Women	Total
1921.....	34	9	43
1922.....	32	8	40
1923.....	33	17	50
1924.....	33	10	43
1925.....	38	14	52
1926.....	39	18	57
1927.....	45	27	72

participation of women is therefore increasing. The same trend is seen in Amsterdam for 1921-27. The figures for this period were obtained from Dr. Van Zanten, director of communal statistics, and are as shown in Table IV. The increasing number of women suicides is undeniable, the figures for 1927 being especially remarkable.

Marriage seems not to have a favorable influence on the number of suicides in the Netherlands, as in other European countries. During 1916-25, according to the criminal statistics, most of the suicides, both men and women, were married. The percentages are as follows: 1916, married 40.73, not married 43.88, having been married 15.39; 1921, 39.30, 37.67, 23.04; 1925, 35.29, 46.79, 17.91.

Except for the year 1919, the time of transition between war and

⁸ A. von Oettingen, *Moralstatistik*, p. 719.

⁹ G. von Mayr, *Statistik und Gesellschaft*, II, 307.

peace, and of consequent political, moral, and economic crises, when the number of married and unmarried suicides were equal, married suicides constantly exceed those of the other two categories and show a tendency to increase. About the same proportions exist for men and women, although the difference between married and unmarried is not so great among women as among men.

In using these figures it must be observed that the number of male suicides (46.79 in 1925) is slightly in excess of the average proportion of married men in the total male population in ten years according to the 1920 census (46.53), whereas for married female suicides the number remains considerably below the average (42.53 and 45.43). This shows relatively fewer suicides among married women than among married men.

The rigorous individualism of Dutch people is often mentioned. This seems to come frequently to the foreground in Dutch marriages. The marriage is often ended by the suicide of one of the couple, usually the man.

In contrast with the Dutch statistics as a whole, the situation in foreign countries is approximated by the statistics of the commune of Amsterdam for the period 1905-14. According to the census of 1909 and calculated per 100,000 inhabitants, widowers and widows composed the majority of the suicides (52.26 men and 7.14 women); the divorced ranked second (24.04 and 5.03); married suicides were much fewer (15.93 and 4.48); and the unmarried suicides above fourteen years numbered only 14.99 for men and 3.88 for women.

Widowers and widows thus compose the principal element. The same is also true for the general mortality figure. But whereas, in the period 1908-11, of the totality of deceased 19.8 per cent were unmarried, 47.7 per cent married, 31.5 per cent having been married, and 1.0 per cent divorced, the figures for suicides in 1905-14 were 34.7, 50.7, 13.6, and 1.0, showing that in Amsterdam most of those who committed suicide were not married.

All these observations bear upon the time before the World War. For the later period we have no special statistical researches, and the International Institute of Statistics has not yet published any significant findings.

DIVISION OF SUICIDE ACCORDING TO AGE

Statistics show that in the Netherlands the number of suicides increases with age. Likewise the Prussian and Italian statistics give higher figures for the age group thirty to thirty-five years than for the group twenty-five to thirty, both for men and women. In general (and this is proved especially by the researches of Krose for the last third of the nineteenth century), the period from fifty to sixty is very critical, although there are differences in different countries, the different structures of the populations according to age having an influence.

In the Netherlands, according to the statistics of the registrar's office, the number of suicides eighty years of age and older is pre-

TABLE V

Year	14-19 Years	20-49 Years	50-64 Years	65-79 Years	80 and Over	Total
1920.....	1	22	16	9	.....	48
1921.....	3	23	8	7	2	43
1922.....	.....	20	12	6	2	40
1923.....	1	27	13	9	.....	50
1924.....	1	17	17	8	.....	43
1925.....	2	26	16	8	.....	52
1926.....	2	29	16	8	2	57
1927.....	1	39	24	8	2	72

ponderant, this group comprising 337 of the total of 456 suicides in 1925; so that we can say that suicide in the Netherlands is a phenomenon of old age.

Dutch criminal statistics are not classified for the period above sixty years of age, so that the figures for eighty years and older do not appear. According to these statistics suicide is highest, both for men and women, in the age group thirty to fifty years (30.75 per cent of the men, and 35.58 per cent of the women). But these figures are relative to the percentage of the population included in this age group according to the census of 1920. For men the percentages are almost equal (30.75 per cent and 30.48 per cent), but for women considerably higher (35.58 per cent and 31.17 per cent). In other words, the participation of male suicides in the age group showing the highest figure is below the totality of men in this group, and thus in proportion small, whereas the participation of women is considerably above the level, and thus proportionally very great.

Suicides of children under thirteen years (since 1921 from eight to fourteen years) are in the Netherlands not an unknown, but happily a rare, phenomenon. In 1901-5 there were eleven boys and one girl; in 1916-20, fourteen boys, no girls; in 1921-25, ten cases in all.

For Amsterdam we find the number of suicides according to age as given in Table V.

DIVISION OF SUICIDE ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

The inclination to self-destruction is related to the practice of certain professions. But statistical researches on the relations between suicide and occupation are, unfortunately, little developed, so that it is impossible to formulate in this matter statistical laws. Rost, the German-Catholic inquirer, writes on this matter about principally German material:¹⁰

The lowest number of suicides is found among the agrarians, the churchmen, the educators, the instructors, nurses, and sanitary service employees. Suicide occurs more among commerce, traffic, business and industry, also among the purely intellectual professions. Excess of culture and a certain deficit of it are the extremes, between which suicide is divided among the professions.

Also such an ingenious and prudent observer as Adolf Wagner wrote about half a century ago:¹¹

The agrarian population shows, among the large classes of professions, the lowest number of suicides, and is far removed from the business class, although this distance varies in different countries. The liberal professions and the higher cultured classes show a figure for suicide which is a little above the average for the whole people. In trade and industry the figures are below the general average.

On almost all these points circumstances in the Netherlands are reversed. Criminal statistics are very well developed in this field and give for the year 1925: agrarians, 13.41 per cent; business men, 10.05 per cent; clerks, 2.01 per cent; laborers, 23.21 per cent; domestics, 3.13 per cent; functionaries and liberal professions, 7.59 per cent; without occupation, 39.73 per cent.

The greatest number is thus of persons without occupation or whose occupation is unknown. It is a regrettable practice to make this category so large, since it should be possible to determine ap-

¹⁰ H. Rost, *Beiträge zur Moralstatistik* (Paderborn, 1913), p. 118.

¹¹ A. Wagner, *Gesetzmässigkeit in den scheinbar willkürlichen menschlichen Handlungen* (Hamburg, 1864), II, 208 and 213.

proximately the occupation by the clothing, underwear, etc. Beside this category of persons without occupation, we find the highest figure for laborers. Their position in the Netherlands is not so secure as, for instance, in neighboring Germany. The economic crisis, which burst forth in the Netherlands at the end of the World War and in the few years following, especially during the great German inflation in 1922 and 1923, has left its clear traces in the suicide statistics of laborers.

DIVISION OF SUICIDES ACCORDING TO RELIGION

It has been known a long time that religious affiliation is closely related to suicide. Alexander von Oettingen is of the opinion that the number of suicides is relatively higher in a country where a religious denomination is dominant than where it is only tolerated,¹² and he thought to prove this principle by the suicide statistics in Prussia, Bavaria, and Austria. In these three countries the relative number of suicides was greater among Protestants than among Catholics, but the proportion is most unfavorable for the Protestants in Prussia, a little better in Bavaria, and the best in Austria. He points out also that in Transylvania the relative number of suicides among Catholics is greater than among Protestants. When he refers, in this connection, to a Bavarian statement of the year 1872 according to which Catholics in Protestant surroundings have a higher suicide rate, he contradicts his own thesis. For in that case the Catholics formed a religious minority which, as a fervent community, would strongly deter them from suicide.

On this point I should like to cite the following conclusion of a Catholic author:¹³

It is clear that not the fact of belonging to the one or the other confession as such, on the basis of the certificate of baptism, increases or decreases the inclination to suicide. Here it is not the question, as Adolf Wagner says, of the dogmatic differences of the different religions, but of the grade, in which each religion yet actually effectively is an earnest matter of faith for the great mass of its followers. This is why Protestant countries like Sweden, Norway, and England show a relatively low number of suicides. The people of England are religious, the civilized as well as the uncivilized. The Protestant principle of liberty

¹² A. von Oettingen, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

¹³ H. Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

has in the course of its development led to toleration and in consequence has made religion a real matter of the heart. In no other country has worldly literature such a high and religious spirit as in England. Christian and non-Christian, everyone respects the institutions and convictions, which are sacred to millions of his fellow-citizens. Therefore the inclination to suicide is small here, compared with other countries very small.

Concerning Germany and Switzerland it seems to be stated that the Catholic part of the population has a relatively lower number of suicides than the Protestant group. In general in Germany there is an excess of Protestant suicides over Catholic. But this excess shows, in the period 1849-1905, a tendency to decrease, which indicates an equilibration of predispositions for suicide by the members of the two confessions, or, what is the same, a decrease of religious sense in the Catholic part of the population, which lacks in the latter part of the period the excitement of the *kulturkampf*.

In the Netherlands suicide of Catholics is not so frequent as of Protestants, in proportion to the number of Catholics in the whole population. Israelites, and persons who belong to no congregation whatever, have higher suicide rates than the normal. According to the statements of the registrar's office in the years 1900-1910 there were, per 100,000 Protestants, 17.07 suicides; per 100,000 Catholics, 7.04; per 100,000 Israelites, 28.30. These three confessions are thus in a proportion to each other of 100:45:166. The Catholics were below the average, the Israelites far above. In the years 1907-08 the proportion was 100:47:140; in the years 1905-06, 100:48.5:148.¹⁴

The same proportion we find for the town of Amsterdam. In the years 1905-14 there were, per 100,000 inhabitants, 8.19 suicides of Protestants, 5.14 of Catholics, 9.96 of Israelites, 4.18 of those without religion. Of the total number of suicides 21.7 per cent were Protestant, 15.9 per cent Catholics, 37.3 per cent Israelites, and 25 per cent without religion.

The differences between the different religions are thus very great. Among Protestants the number of suicides is much greater than among Catholics, but among Israelites it is the highest. This last fact, which is parallel with the phenomena in other countries, is remarkable for many reasons. In former times suicide of Jews was

¹⁴ C. A. Verryn Stuart, *op. cit.*, V, 331.

very rare. Niewenhuygen says that the number of suicides by Jews was always very small. The present high rate can be explained by their intensive participation in the commercial world and the difficult circumstances therein. Commercial adversity leads to suicide especially by Israelite women, as, in general, the participation of women in suicide is very high in this community. Catholic women seem to be armed best against suicide, probably in consequence of the tranquil character of the Catholic communes amidst the dominant Protestant population, and of the consolations of the Catholic Church, which have a special influence on the female mind.

MOTIVES OF SUICIDE

The motives of suicide are very circumstantially treated in Dutch criminal statistics. Table VI shows the causes assigned in the years 1923-25.

TABLE VI

	1923	1924	1925
Melancholy, etc.....	266	291	260
Madness, disorder of mind.....	64	69	60
Financial difficulties, shortage of labor, adversity in business.....	19	10	16
Dipsomania.....	13	11	6
Love.....	7	1	3
Fear of persecution.....	3	20	6
Other causes.....	17	20	15
Unknown.....	118	119	117

As in the professional statistics of suicide, so for motives the number of "unknown" is very great. But in most instances the causes, if not known, can easily be deduced from the circumstances.

Most of the suicides in the Netherlands are motivated by melancholy, insanity coming second. Suicide out of love seems not to be active; suicide caused by dipsomania occurs decreasingly, which indicates the mental sanity of the Dutch population. Financial difficulties were active factors during the economic crisis—caused by the German inflation of the year 1923, the fear of persecution in 1924, because then the criminal consequences of the financial difficulties of 1923 became important. The whole gives a figure corre-

sponding with the results of the researches of Adolf Wagner.¹⁵ The relatively "noble" motives are relatively weak as opposed to the lower motives.

TECHNIQUE OF SUICIDE

The technique of suicide, the manner in which death takes place, is of sociological significance as giving a very interesting view of the psyche of the individual, of his energy to commit suicide. It is obvious that the different manners of killing one's self are divided very differently among the different groups of suicides.

From Prussian statistics one obtains the impression that the different manners of killing one's self remain the same from year to year.¹⁶

When we follow the different manners of suicide over a long period, it is clear that among both men and women death by hanging is steadily increasing. Among one hundred cases of voluntary death by the rope there were found:¹⁷

Period	Men	Women
1835-39	31.5	25.0
1840-44	34.5	27.1
1848-52	37.6	27.2
1853-57	31.0	27.3
1858-65	42.1	28.5

When we count the two sexes together, the increase is so constant that in each of the periods it is more than 2 per cent (2.3-2.7).

Adolf Wagner, by citing the example of Saxony, tries to prove that the suicide with the most miserable motive takes ordinarily the most usual way (the rope), whereas the nobler motives (unhappy love, loss of fortune, etc.) lead mostly to more noble ways (poison, shooting weapons).¹⁸

But such hypotheses are too little supported by statistics, as appears from the fact that in the twentieth century death by hanging has decreased, and that suicide by poison, especially among women, has increased.

¹⁵ Adolf Wagner, *Gesetzmässigkeit in den scheinbar willkürlichen menschlichen Handlungen* (Hamburg, 1869), II, 153.

¹⁶ G. von Mayr, *Statistik und Gesellschaftslehre*, II, 371.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 705.

¹⁸ Adolf Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 259, Table H.

A. von Oettingen has already pointed out that not only every town and every country has its specified number of suicides, but also its number for hangings and drownings, which remain periodically the same. Berlin, Frankfort, London, Paris, and Geneva have completely different numbers for drowned, hanged, and shot; for instance: those shot in Frankfort formed 22 per cent (then there was a gambling hell in the neighborhood), but in London only 4.4 per cent. Those hanged: Geneva, 15.16 per cent, but Berlin 43.6 per cent. It is known that the little piece of the Seine at Paris has received more victims of desperation than the whole river in its farther course; poisoning also is very frequent in Paris (18.8 per cent), whereas hanging occurs very rarely (10 per cent), less than anywhere in the world.

In the Netherlands since 1916 suicide by hanging has predominated, also among youths under thirteen to fourteen years. Drowning comes second. In the years of economic crisis (1918-22) these methods of suicide, especially hanging, have spread widely.

Shooting weapons come only third, cutting weapons fourth, poisoning fifth, suffocation by coal or by gas sixth. In the years of crisis (1918-22), especially in 1919, self-murderers often threw themselves on the railway. Of little significance were the devices of throwing one's self from a height, setting fire to one's self, death by electricity, etc. From these figures we can only conclude that during the years of economic crisis persons in adversity chose mostly hanging as the means of suicide, and not so often shooting. For more details, we can give the figures in Table VII.¹⁹

A further sociological analysis of these figures seems to be impossible, because they are too little differentiated. Steckel speaks about a symbolism of the manners of suicide, where he writes:²⁰

The choice of the manner of suicide reveals important circumstances. Women who are fallen or who fight with seduction throw themselves out of the window. One who carries about secret and criminal ideas of poisoning will poison himself. Those who desire the fire of love will set fire to themselves. Those who fancy that they are surrounded by poisonous thoughts will open the tap. This is the symbolical language of the suicide.

¹⁹ *Statistik van Nederland. Criminale Statistik over 1925.*

²⁰ Steckel, *Die Geschlechtskulte der Frauen 1921*; Wulffen, *Das Weib als Sexualverbrecherin*, p. 254.

In our opinion it is mere phantasy to draw from the techniques of suicide such sweeping conclusions as to the psychical state of the

TABLE VII

Cause	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Drowning.....	151	137	182	181	187	141	171	176	173	153
Hanging.....	210	217	286	261	262	255	267	231	254	250
Shooting weapon.....	33	41	46	60	39	39	24	33	38	23
Cutting weapon.....	16	9	21	20	14	20	18	18	14	23
Poison.....	12	16	12	23	20	20	13	20	16	24
Coal gas.....	14	20	12	24	33	26	25	18	25	44
Throwing from height.	1	7	7	7	9	8	4	10	6	4
Throwing on railway..	10	1	9	20	13	12	10	9	17	13
Setting fire to them- selves.....	1	1	.....	1	2	3	1	2	1	2
Bleeding.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Electricity.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Unknown.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1

individual. Nevertheless, these observations of the renowned neurologist seem to be worthy of further statistical research.

PROSPERITY, DEPRESSION, AND THE SUICIDE RATE

WALTER C. HURLBURT
Rutgers University

ABSTRACT

Since the cyclical fluctuations of the suicide rate arise from a multiplicity of causes, it is useless to attempt to establish a causal relationship between business activity and suicide by reasoning a priori. Empirical tests, however, indicate that the suicide rate tends to fluctuate roughly (in an inverse manner) with the rate of business activity. Changes in the suicide rate are contrasted with changes in business activity by the use of a number of indexes, but all yield substantially similar results.

On purely a priori grounds, cyclical fluctuations in business activity would appear to have an important bearing on cyclical fluctuations in the suicide rate. During periods of economic depression business failures are numerous, unemployment becomes acute, incomes are reduced, and a feeling of economic insecurity prevails throughout the community. These grave economic maladjustments undoubtedly give rise to abnormal mental stresses and strains which, in turn, may be expected to react in a positive fashion upon the suicide-rate curve. During periods of prosperity, on the other hand, the number of business failures tends to decline, wages and profits rise to relatively high levels, unemployment decreases, and the sense of economic insecurity becomes far less intense than formerly. Under these circumstances the number of suicides occurring as a direct result of economic maladjustments should diminish. The suicide-rate curve should also decline, provided the economic factor has considerable weight in the determination of the suicide rate.

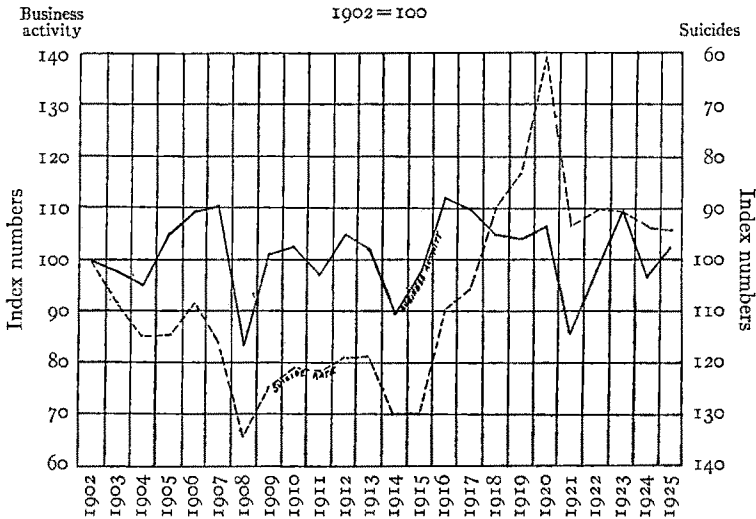
There is, of course, the possibility that the non-economic factors influencing the suicide-rate curve may outweigh the economic factor. For this reason, a priori conclusions concerning the relationship between prosperity, depression, and the suicide rate should be subjected to empirical tests. Chart I, contrasting the rise and fall of business activity with the rise and fall of the suicide rate over a twenty-four-year period, is an attempt to suggest the existence of an empirical basis for the belief that fluctuations in the suicide rate are influenced by fluctuations in business activity.

Chart I indicates that notable declines in business activity have been closely followed by substantial increases in the suicide rate. Conversely, periods of business prosperity have been accompanied by decreases in the suicide rate. However, one exception should be noted. The inverted suicide-rate curve rises rapidly between 1917 and 1919, yet the curve of business activity falls slightly in 1917 and remains almost stable during 1918 and 1919. It should be noted,

CHART I*

Suicide curve is inverted

1902 = 100



* The curve of business activity is based upon *Axe-Houghton-Annalist* statistics of production and consumption. The suicide rate curve is based upon Bureau of the Census statistics of the suicide rate per 100,000 population in cities having 100,000 population or more in 1900.

however, that 1917, 1918, and 1919 were years of war-prosperity—a fact which is indicated by the relatively high position of the curve of business activity. On the whole, Chart I suggests a degree of causal relationship between business activity and suicide, for the respective curves decline simultaneously during 1902-3, 1907-8, 1913-14, 1920-21, and advance simultaneously during 1905-6, 1909-10, 1915-16, and 1922.

Conclusions arising from an examination of Chart I constitute a working hypothesis only. The suicide-rate curve is based upon statistics of the suicide rate in urban cities (cities of over 100,000 popu-

lation in 1902) and must be accepted with caution. In addition, the use of a single measure of business activity is open to criticism, for individual measurements of business activity do not invariably reveal the same story.

TABLE I

YEAR	BUSINESS ACTIVITY*		SUICIDES†		
	Index I‡	Index II§	Census	Metropolitan||	Metropolitan¶
1902.....	"Normal"	.....	100	100	100
1903.....	-13	.....	+ 8	+ 9	+ 9
1904.....	- 4	"Normal"	+ 6	+ 8	+ 7
1905.....	+ 3	+ 4	+ 1	+ 11	+ 9
1906.....	+12	+ 7	- 8	- 6	- 15
1907.....	+ 1	+ 8	+ 8	+ 11	+ 13
1908.....	-12	-10	+16	+20	+14
1909.....	+ 4	+ 1	- 8	- 6	- 8
1910.....	+ 6	+ 3	- 3	- 3	- 3
1911.....	- 2	- 5	+ 1	+ 3	+ 2
1912.....	+ 5	+ 5	- 3	- 3	- 2
1913.....	+ 5	+ 7	.....	+ 2	- 1
1914.....	- 9	-10	+ 8	+ 5	+ 5
1915.....	- 1	- 4	.....	+ 2	+ 1
1916.....	+ 9	+10	-16	-12	-17
1917.....	+10	+13	- 5	- 3	- 6
1918.....	+ 6	+11	-16	-15	-10
1919.....	+ 2	+ 1	- 6	- 2	- 7
1920.....	- 3	- 3	-13	-19	-18
1921.....	-17	-20	+26	+22	+24
1922.....	- 6	- 8	- 5	+ 3	- 6
1923.....	+ 5	+10	.....	.....	- 2
1924.....	- 2	- 1	+ 3	.....	+ 5
1925.....	+ 5	+ 6	+ 2	+ 1	- 1

* The percentage increase or decrease in business activity, measured each year from a theoretical "normal" state.

† The percentage increase or decrease in the suicide rate, measured each year from the preceding year. Leaders indicate that no change occurred.

‡ The American Telephone and Telegraph Company's index is employed.

§ The Babson index is employed. This index does not date beyond 1905.

|| Original Registration States Area.

¶ Expanding Death Registration Area.

Fortunately, means for further statistical measurement is at hand. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has collected statistics of the suicide rate in two areas. The first area is known as the Original Registration States Area; the second as the Expanding Death Registration Area. In Table I the Metropolitan Company's statistics of suicide (in addition to census statistics) are employed to indicate percentage increases or decreases in the suicide rate as measured

each year from the preceding year. Yearly changes in the suicide rate (as measured from the preceding year) are then contrasted with average changes in business activity as measured each year from a theoretical "normal" state. Two barometers of business activity are employed.

The tentative conclusions drawn from Chart I are reinforced by an examination of Table I. The contents may be summarized as follows: (1) With the exception of 1920, years in which business activity receded from a point above "normal" to a point below "normal" were years in which the suicide rate increased. (2) With the exception of 1905 and 1925, years in which business activity advanced from a point below "normal" to a point above "normal" were years in which the suicide rate decreased. (3) With the exception of 1905, 1907, 1913, and 1925, years in which business activity stood above "normal" were characterized by a declining suicide rate. (4) With the exception of 1920 and 1922, years in which business activity stood below "normal" were characterized by an advance in the suicide rate.

The years 1907 and 1920 deserve special consideration. The suicide rate increased sharply in 1907, yet the two barometers of business activity fail to register business activity as being below "normal." Here is revealed the danger arising from the use of a yearly, rather than a monthly, average of business activity. The first eight months of 1907 were characterized by intense business activity, culminating, however, in a disastrous financial panic in October. Thousands of business men were ruined during the last four months of 1907—a fact which an average of business conditions for the year fails to reveal.¹

The year 1920 was characterized by a decrease in business activity and a decrease in the suicide rate. However, the last six months of 1920 marked the end of a five-year period of unprecedented prosperity, and throughout this period the suicide rate had been declining rapidly. In addition, the enormous profits which were ac-

¹ There is a possibility that 1929 may prove to be a repetition of 1907. During the first seven months of 1929, business activity, according to the *Annalist's* index, stood above "normal." But the Wall Street *débâcle* soon ensued, and, according to the medical examiner, the suicide rate in New York City increased nearly 33 per cent for December (1929). Since then the rate has climbed higher and higher.

cumulated in the United States during the war undoubtedly eased the economic depression of the latter months of 1920. But by the summer of 1921 war profits were largely erased, and with the continued decline of the price level business failures became numerous and the suicide rate advanced.

TABLE II

YEAR	BUSINESS CONDITIONS*	SUICIDES		
		Census	Metropolitan†	Metropolitan‡
1902	P	100	100	100
1903	P D	+ 8	+ 9	+ 9
1904	D	+ 6	+ 8	+ 7
1905	P	+ 1	+ 11	+ 9
1906	P	- 8	- 6	- 15
1907	P D	+ 8	+ 11	+ 13
1908	D	+ 16	+ 20	+ 14
1909	P	- 8	- 6	- 8
1910	D	- 3	- 3	- 3
1911	D	+ 1	+ 3	+ 2
1912	P	- 3	- 3	- 2
1913	P D	.....	+ 2	- 1
1914	D	+ 8	+ 5	+ 5
1915	P	.....	+ 2	+ 1
1916	P	- 16	- 12	- 17
1917	P	- 5	- 3	- 6
1918	P	- 16	- 15	- 10
1919	P	- 6	- 2	- 7
1920	P D	- 13	- 19	- 18
1921	D	+ 26	+ 22	+ 24
1922	P	- 5	+ 3	- 6
1923	P D	.....	.....	- 2
1924	D P	+ 3	.....	+ 5
1925	P	+ 2	+ 1	- 1

* The symbol "P" stands for prosperity, "D" for depression, and "P D" indicates that prosperity and depression alternated during the year.

† Original Registration States Area.

‡ Expanding Registration States Area.

The measurement of business activity by means of devices which introduce the concept of "normality" is open to a degree of criticism and, in addition, the use of yearly averages as quantitative measures of prosperity and depression may conceivably lead to confusion and error. It is, therefore, desirable to contrast yearly percentage increases or decreases in the suicide rate with an authoritative non-statistical conspectus of changes in business activity. The conspectus of business conditions used in Table II is based upon material

compiled from the *Business Annals* of the Bureau of Economic Research. The statistics of suicide are those employed in Table I.

For all years except 1910, 1915, and 1922 the use of the business conspectus in Table II yields results essentially similar to those obtained through the use of the indexes of business activity employed in Table I. Excluding 1902, the conspectus indicates eleven full years of prosperity and six full years of depression. In eight of the eleven years of prosperity the suicide rate declined, and in five of the six years of depression the rate advanced. With the exception of 1905, increases or decreases in the suicide rate in other full years of prosperity or depression were not significant.

Only three of the seven years in which prosperity and depression alternated are marked by significant changes in the suicide rate. In 1903 the rate rose 9 per cent, but economic depression was unusually severe during six months of this year. As previously stated, a sharp increase in the suicide rate accompanied the financial panic of 1907, while a decline in suicides accompanied the termination of a five-year period of prosperity in 1920. In 1921, however, the suicide rate increased nearly 25 per cent.

The economic factor is but one of many diverse elements entering into the determination of the suicide rate, and it is doubtless impossible to segregate this factor in order to determine its relative importance. However, by means of contrasting the cyclical fluctuations of business activity with the cyclical fluctuations of the suicide rate we obtain results which indicate a certain degree of causal relationship between prosperity, depression, and the suicide rate: (1) Between 1902 and 1925 the suicide rate revealed a tendency to decline in years of prosperity and to advance in years of depression. (2) The suicide rate registered its greatest increases in years of acute economic distress, namely, 1907, 1908, and 1921. (3) The suicide rate registered its greatest decreases during the period of abnormal prosperity between 1916 and 1920.

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF SUGGESTION ON THE DISCRIMINATION AND THE VALUATION OF PEOPLE

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN AND J. W. BOLDYREFF

Harvard University¹

ABSTRACT

This article summarizes an experimental study of the influence of two kinds of suggestions—a false dogmatic and a “persuasive”—on the discrimination and the valuation of people. In all, 1,484 persons were experimented upon, taken individually and in groups of various size. Contrary to the signalization of the reality of the sound-stimuli, about 96 per cent of all subjects followed the false dogmatic suggestion; only about 4 per cent of the subjects were able to hold their sense of discrimination against the impact of the false dogmatic suggestion. The “persuasive” suggestion explicitly solicited the critical judgment of the subjects; 58.9 per cent followed it, 20.8 per cent “suspended their judgment,” and 15.9 per cent disagreed with it. The following relationship between the success of the suggestions and the size of the group was observed: the group of about twenty-four persons happened to have the highest percentage of agreement with the second suggestion, the percentage of acceptance of the first suggestion tended to decrease with the increase in the size of the group, while that of acceptance of the second suggestion tended to increase with the increase in the size of the group. The popular opinion, that the larger the group the more suggestive it is, appears to be considerably contradicted by these data. The study further discloses a conspicuous and curious tendency toward a “logical rationalization of blunders” in the way of building a “tower of reasons” for the justification of an error made. Several other details are touched upon in the course of the paper.

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE EXPERIMENT AND ITS TECHNIQUE

This study is in essence an investigation of the influence of two kinds of suggestions on the discrimination and the valuation of people. The subjects were largely high-school and college (graduate and undergraduate) students, male and female; the experiments were performed upon 1,484 persons—on 32 individuals, separately taken, and on 21 groups, ranging from 4 to 299 to a group (see Table I). The procedure of the experiment may be outlined thus:

1. A short questionnaire was distributed to the subjects (or the subject):

Questionnaire

Please fill in your answers in the blank spaces.

Be brief.

1. Have you heard the first record before? _____
2. Have you heard the second record before? _____

¹ Authors gratefully acknowledge a financial aid received for this study from the Harvard Committee for Economic Research.

3. Which of these records do you like better?
 - a) first record? _____ Why? _____
 - b) second record? _____ Why? _____
 - c) no preference? _____ Why? _____
4. What meaning (sorrow, joy, religious devotion, call to arms, and so on) has each of the records for you?
 - a) first record? _____
 - b) second record? _____

5. The following statement was read next:

We are making a study of the problem: to what extent the opinions and evaluations of the experts in literature, music, painting, and other forms of art coincide with the opinions and evaluations of the public, generally, and various social classes particularly. For this time we are taking two variations of the same musical theme by two prominent composers. Practically all musical critics declare that the variation which we shall play on the first (the second) record is much more beautiful than the variation which we shall play on the second (the first) record. Now we want to find out whether this opinion of the experts in musical criticism is shared by this as well as by several other groups. Correspondingly, we shall ask you to listen carefully to the first and to the second record and then to write your opinion on the short questionnaire which is given you. Now, the first variation which is declared by the critics to be musically finer, superior, and more beautiful than the second variation, will be played first. Please, listen attentively to both records and without any bias give your opinion, honestly as you really feel.

In order to eliminate the influence of the order of playing with some individuals and groups the second record was declared to be superior to the first record and the wording was then accordingly altered to fit the recommendation.

1. The first record—Brahms, Op. 68, Symphony No. 1, in C Minor, Part VI, Victrola No. 6660-B, Victor Company, Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra—was taken out of an album, put on a phonograph (Sonora portable) and played (at the rate of seventy-eight revolutions per minute, a Victor brass, medium-tone needle being used).
2. After the record was played it was immediately taken off the phonograph and put away from the direct vicinity of the album and the phonograph.
3. A copy of the *Musical World* was shown to the audience and it was told:

When the variation that you shall hear played on the second record came out, the variation that you heard played on the first record was already recognized to be a masterpiece. Since both variations were on the same musical theme, the critics naturally compared them. I shall read to you a quotation from the *Musical World*, one of the outstanding musical periodicals, referring to the second variation.

When the second record was declared to be superior to the first record the wording of the statement above was altered to fit the recommendation.

4. The volume was opened now and the following abstract read:

Concerning the music of the new variation, we will, and may, express our opinion very briefly; it struck us throughout as an exaggerated imitation of a well known

masterpiece, totally deficient in self-subsistence and beauty. From first to last we missed originality of invention and plastic power, nay, even natural sense for what is lovely; on the other hand, the variation exhibits an astonishing familiarity, or rather complete identification with all Master's modes of expression and means of effect. Even when there were no direct reminiscences, we always heard Master's voice. Such palpable imitation of a master has invariably a disagreeable effect: in the present case, that effect is actually painful.

The book was shut and left where it was before.

7. The second record—Brahms, Op. 68, Symphony No. 1, in C Minor, Part VI, etc., i.e., *in all respects identical to the first record*—was taken out of the album, put on the phonograph, and played (at the same speed, using the same needle).
8. The audience was told to fill in the questionnaire and hand in the answers (in case of large groups the subjects were asked to pass the answers to the aisle where they were collected by the operator and his assistants).

The procedure of the experiment was kept as nearly constant as the circumstances would permit; same operator conducted the experiments (except with the groups Nos. 1-3), same phonograph was used (except with the groups: No. 4, Silvertone phonograph, and Nos. 21 and 22, Gramophone phonograph), same kind of needle was always used, and same speed employed (except with the group No. 21). The wording of all the statements made during the experiment was absolutely constant, the slight alterations to fit the recommendation when the record played second in order was declared "superior" to the record played first were standardized for all experiments where the second record was so recommended. Since the external disturbances if strong tend to introduce factors foreign to the studied phenomena, all the groups thus affected were excluded from the quantitative analysis of the experimental data—in groups Nos. 9 and 12 the subjects had some previous information as to the real purpose of the experiment; in groups Nos. 13 and 19 the teachers in charge of the rooms where the experiments were conducted, not being aware of the exact nature of the experiment, but trying to be of help, gave lengthy "explanatory" speeches; in the No. 21 group several disturbing factors were in evidence, the main being some person constantly trying to get into the room where the experiment was in progress, knocking on the doors, etc. The only variations purposely introduced were: the alternation in recommendation of the first or of the second record, described above, and experimenting on groups of varied size.

This description shows that the experiment contained *two different suggestions*: one, that the records were different, while in fact they were identical; the other, that one of the records was, in the experts' opinion, superior to the other. The first suggestion was given to the audience as a mere matter of fact and no room was left for any doubt that they might be identical and no effort was made to stimulate the critical judgment of the audience as to their difference or identity. It was a purely *dogmatic* suggestion contradictory to the reality. Its task was to find out to what extent a false dogmatic suggestion could dim the sense of the discrimination, through the organ of hearing, of the audiences and to carry with it their judgment contrary to the evidences of the reality. The audience, in making its judgment, was thus put between two opposite forces: the force of a dogmatic statement that the records were different; and that of the real identity of the records which had to be sensed by their organ of hearing. The manner of response to this suggestion depended largely upon the ability to discriminate between the similarity or dissimilarity of the sound-stimuli, assuming that a disposition to follow the dogmatic assertion and the familiarity with this piece of music were constant.

The second suggestion was quite different in its nature. It solicited a critical attitude of the audience: "Please, listen attentively to both records and without any bias give your opinion, honestly as you really feel." It explicitly left room for a display of an independent choice to the subjects; it made it even necessary. The only weight with which it tried to influence their choice, and judgment, was "the opinion of the experts" thrown into play. In this sense it was "critico-persuasive" and non-dogmatic. The manner of response to it largely depended upon "the dispositional judgment," habits, and traditions accepted by the person. Persons who are habitually disposed to accept the experts' opinion would follow the recommendation; similarly those who are antagonistically disposed to expert opinion in their normal life would likely prefer "the inferior" record. In other words, the previously existing and established habits and dispositions of the subject would probably condition his mode of response to the second suggestion.

In presentation of the experimental data the emphasis was placed

on clearness and simplicity. In addition, few special aspects of the problem of suggestion were given a special consideration.

TABLE I
INFLUENCE OF SUGGESTION ON THE VALUATION AND THE
DISCRIMINATION OF PEOPLE

(Without differentiation as to the order of recommendation; unreliable data excluded in calculating percentages)

DESIGNATION OF THE GROUP	AGREEMENT		DISAGREE- MENT		SUSPENDED VALUATION		DEFINITE RECOGNITION		TOTAL
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.
1. Harvard.....	7	53.8	2	15.4	4	30.8	0	0	13
2. Radcliffe.....	4	50.0	1	12.5	2	25.0	1	12.5	8
3. Radcliffe.....	6	100.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
4. Battle Creek.....	10	76.9	2	15.4	1	7.7	0	0	13
5. Harvard.....	1	25.0	3	75.0	0	0	0	0	4
6. A family.....	3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	0	0	5
7. Miscellaneous*.....	16	50.0	7	21.9	9	28.1	0	0	32
8. Radcliffe.....	16	59.3	7	25.9	4	14.8	0	0	27
9. Harvard.....	1	.....	3	.....	3	.....	0	.....	7
10. Junior college.....	6	46.1	3	23.1	4	30.8	0	0	13
11. Radcliffe.....	15	71.4	2	9.5	3	14.3	1	4.8	21
12. Radcliffe.....	13	.....	7	.....	16	.....	4	.....	40
13. High school.....	103	.....	54	.....	108	.....	25	.....	290
14. High school.....	86	57.0	10	7.0	36	24.0	18	12.0	150
15. High school.....	34	60.7	1	1.8	19	33.9	2	3.6	56
16. High school.....	46	73.0	8	12.7	8	12.7	1	1.6	63
17. High school.....	30	62.5	0	0	15	31.3	3	6.2	48
18. High school.....	26	50.0	8	15.4	12	22.8	6	11.8	52
19. High school.....	22	.....	2	.....	22	.....	11	.....	57
20. High school.....	26	49.1	7	13.2	16	30.2	4	7.5	53
21. High school.....	58	.....	42	.....	70	.....	57	.....	227
22. High school.....	169	56.5	4	1.3	82	27.5	44	14.7	299
Totals.....	22	698	.....	174	.....	435	.....	177	.....
Mean.....	1	31.7	.....	58.9	.....	7.9	.....	15.9	.....
Standard deviation.....	.....	.....	.....	15.5	.....	16.7	.....	10.5	.....
Coefficient of variation.....	.....	.....	.....	26.3	.....	105.0	.....	50.5	.....

* Group No. 7 represents thirty-two individual tests.

After these preliminaries, attention may be turned to a concise description of the main results. These are given in subsequent tables. Few commentaries to them follow.

2. MAIN RESULTS

Table I presents the summary of all experiments in absolute numbers, with all groups included, and in percentages, with the

unreliable data excluded (all the tables to follow have the unreliable data excluded also). The order of listing, 1-22, is according to the date of performance of the experiment—e.g., group No. 1 was the first experiment, etc. The answers to question 3—"Which of these records do you like better?"—were accepted as the data, indicative of the composite response to the suggestion. On this assumption a four-way classification of the answers was made in Table I, viz.: "Agreement" (with the recommendation); "Disagreement" (with the recommendation); "Suspended Valuation"; and "Definite Recognition." The groups where no "Definite Recognition" is found are, therefore, to be regarded as ones where the false dogmatic assertion dimmed the sense of discrimination of the whole group and carried its judgment contrary to the evidences of the reality.

Table II offers the percentage data in Table I regrouped according to the order of recommendation, i.e., whether the recommended record was played the first or the second. Table III shows the percentage of the subjects who accepted and rejected the first suggestion.

These tables are instructive in several ways. First, Table III shows that about 96 per cent of the persons followed the first suggestion. Thus a mere dogmatic statement, bluntly put, that the records were different, dimmed their sense of discrimination and led them to an entirely wrong conclusion, in spite of the contrary evidence of the reality—the real sound-stimuli. Only some 4 per cent of all the persons experimented upon were able to resist the suggestion and to perceive the real stimuli adequately. This fact once more supports similar results obtained in many studies of suggestion, when a speech-reactional suggestion falls upon an "unguarded state of mind." Under such condition people can look, touch, smell, taste, and hear the real stimuli—objects, events, phenomena—and yet be unable to perceive and to understand them adequately. In these circumstances they can be made to see "a lion in a calf," "a great book in a rotten best-seller," "a great thinker in a newspaper nullity," "a masterpiece in an utterly rotten stuff," and so on. As a matter of fact, it is possible to claim that a very considerable portion of the opinions and judgments of the people who have and pass judgments, including scholars and scientists, is of the same na-

ture as the above judgment of 96 per cent of the persons experimented upon. Only a small fraction of human beings seems to be

TABLE II
INFLUENCE OF SUGGESTION ON THE VALUATION AND
DISCRIMINATION OF PEOPLE

Designation of the Group	Agreement	Disagreement	Suspended Valuation	Definite Recognition
The Recommended Record Played First				
1. Harvard.....	53.8	15.4	30.8	0
4. Battle Creek.....	76.9	15.4	7.7	0
6. A family.....	60.0	20.0	20.0	0
7. Miscellaneous*.....	50.0	25.0	25.0	0
8. Radcliffe.....	59.3	25.9	14.8	0
16. High school.....	73.0	12.7	12.7	1.6
18. High school.....	50.0	15.4	22.8	11.8
20. High school.....	49.1	13.2	30.2	7.5
Mean.....	59.0	17.9	20.5	2.6
Standard deviation.....	9.9	4.8	7.7	4.2
Coefficient of variation.....	16.8	26.8	38.0	161.5
The Recommended Record Played Second				
2. Radcliffe.....	50.0	12.5	25.0	12.5
3. Radcliffe.....	100.0	0	0	0
5. Harvard.....	25.0	75.0	0	0
7. Miscellaneous*.....	56.3	12.5	31.2	0
10. Junior college.....	46.1	23.1	30.8	0
11. Radcliffe.....	71.4	9.5	14.3	4.8
14. High school.....	57.0	7.0	24.0	12.0
15. High school.....	60.7	1.8	33.9	3.6
17. High school.....	62.5	0	31.3	6.2
22. High school.....	56.5	1.3	27.5	14.7
Mean.....	58.6	14.2	21.8	5.4
Standard deviation.....	18.1	21.4	12.1	5.5
Coefficient of variation.....	30.9	150.7	55.5	110.8

* Group No. 7 represents sixteen individual tests each, i.e., sixteen with the recommended record played first and same number with the recommended record played second.

able to hold its sense of discrimination, and adequate perception and understanding, against the impact of various dogmatic suggestions beginning with an advertised commodity and best-seller and ending with "the truths" of Christian Science, evolution, fundamentalism, communism, capitalism, rotarianism, liberalism, and innumerable number of other "isms." Under such conditions clever advertising

and propaganda can transform an utterly poor commodity into "the best on the market."

It goes without saying that the success of such a suggestion depends upon many conditions. Among these the following deserve a special mention: (1) the degree of a person's familiarity with the

TABLE III

INFLUENCE OF SUGGESTION ON THE VALUATION AND
DISCRIMINATION OF PEOPLE

(Table showing percentage of the acceptance of the first suggestion that the records are not same; without differentiation as to the order of recommendation)

Designation of the Group	Acceptance of the First Suggestion	Definite Recognition
1. Harvard	100.0	0
2. Radcliffe	87.5	12.5
3. Radcliffe	100.0	0
4. Battle Creek	100.0	0
5. Harvard	100.0	0
6. A family	100.0	0
7. Miscellaneous*	100.0	0
8. Radcliffe	100.0	0
10. Junior college	100.0	0
11. Radcliffe	95.2	4.8
14. High school	88.0	12.0
15. High school	96.4	3.6
16. High school	98.4	1.6
17. High school	93.8	6.2
18. High school	88.2	11.8
20. High school	92.5	7.5
22. High school	85.3	14.7
Mean	95.6	4.4
Standard deviation	5.2	5.2
Coefficient of variation	5.4	118.2

* Group No. 7 represents thirty-two individual tests.

real object (or event) involved in the suggestion: the less the familiarity and knowledge, the greater the success of the false suggestion; (2) the complexity or simplicity of the real object (event, phenomenon) involved in the suggestion: the more complex it is, the more difficult is its adequate knowledge and consequently the greater the chance for a false suggestion's success; (3) the presence or absence in the person of the bias against or for the real object involved in the suggestion: biases generally are hindrances to an adequate under-

standing of the object; (4) the degree of the prestige, especially that of impartiality and knowledge, of the suggester in the eyes of the audience: the more "open" and "uncritical" it is, the more easily it can be misled. One word of caution or warning in our experiments would have been enough to reduce greatly the above 96 per cent of the misled persons. (5) Finally, a blunt, purely dogmatic, matter-of-fact suggestion is likely to be more successful than a "critico-persuasive" suggestion which tries to give its reasons and attempts to appeal to the "rational part of human mind." In giving the reasons, such a "persuasive" suggestion opens simultaneously vistas of other possible opinions and solutions: stimulating thus the critical judgment of the audience, eliminating its "unguarded state of mind," and in this way weakening its influence more than strengthening it through motivation and arguments. All the great suggesters, beginning with famous hypnotists and ending with various religious, political, revolutionary, and literary "suggesters," have generally followed the path of the dogmatic rather than of the "persuasive" suggestion.

Second, the tables show that the success of the second "persuasive" suggestion was much more modest than the first one. Only 58.9 per cent of the persons definitely followed the "opinion of the experts"; 15.9 per cent definitely disagreed with it; 20.8 per cent hesitated; and the remaining 4.4 per cent recognized that the records were identical. Though 58.9 is much lower than 95.6 who accepted the first suggestion, nevertheless it is almost four times higher than the percentage of those who disagreed and about three times higher than the percentage of those who suspended their judgment. This means that the second suggestion was also effective though it consisted only in the quotation of a few lines from the opinion of one of the experts. This once more stresses the fact of how easily people's judgments can be misled, even when an appeal is made to their critical and conscientious choice, if a small "ball" in form of "an opinion of an authority" or some other "reason" is thrown in the game. On a large scale, and in thousands of forms, the facts of this kind happen daily in social life, especially on various political platforms, in discussion clubs, various lectures, and so on. Experienced "shepherds" particularly like to appeal to their own and their audi-

ences' "openmindedness" and "common sense" and "critical judgment." Having impressed thus the audiences with their sense of "fairness" they throw—intentionally or not—"a small similar ball" in their game and carry on themselves and their sheep from one nonsense to another. In fact, such an "openmindedness" is often nothing but a mere "empty-mindedness" and "blindness."

It appears that the "Agreement"—column (Tables I, II) exhibits the greatest stability (Pearson's coefficient of variation being employed), followed by the "Suspended Valuation"—column; the "Disagreement"—column shows a high degree of relative variability, except with the groups where the recommended record was played first, with a still greater variability observed in the "Definite Recognition"—column. A feature to be commented upon here is the comparatively greater stability of the first three columns with the recommended record played first, as against the high variability of the first three columns obtained with the recommended record played second. The "Definite Recognition"—column, however, shows a higher variability with the recommended record played first. The success of the summation of the two suggestions in this light, particularly as given by the values of the "Agreement"—column (slightly higher mean value and smaller coefficient of variability) and the "Definite Recognition"—column (lower mean value and larger coefficient of variability), seems to be somewhat greater when the recommended record is played first (see Table II). A plausible assumption is that when the recommended record is played first it attracts the attention of the audience more than the second record, above all by the very fact that it is played first; on the other hand, the subjects are more likely to be inattentive to the second record having been told that it is merely an "imitation" of the first record "totally deficient in self-subsistence and beauty." Whereas, when the recommended record is played after the record which is declared to be inferior to it, the audience perforce maintains an attentive attitude when the first (inferior) record is being played, this resulting in a greater degree of definite recognition of the identity of the records played. To verify this assumption further, Tables III and IV were set up: the first classifying the data as to the acceptance of the first suggestion and "Definite Recognition," and the second

differentiating this classification according to the order of recommendation.

TABLE IV

INFLUENCE OF SUGGESTION ON THE VALUATION AND
DISCRIMINATION OF PEOPLE

(Table showing the percentage of the acceptance of the first suggestion that the records are not same)

Designation of the Group	Acceptance of the First Suggestion	Definite Recognition
The Recommended Record Played First		
1. Harvard.....	100.0	0
4. Battle Creek.....	100.0	0
6. A family.....	100.0	0
7. Miscellaneous.....	100.0	0
8. Radcliffe.....	100.0	0
16. High school.....	98.4	1.6
18. High school.....	88.2	11.8
20. High school.....	92.5	7.5
Mean.....	97.4	2.6
Standard deviation.....	4.2	4.2
Coefficient of variation..	4.3	161.5
The Recommended Record Played Second		
2. Radcliffe.....	87.5	12.5
3. Radcliffe.....	100.0	0
5. Harvard.....	100.0	0
7. Miscellaneous.....	100.0	0
10. Junior college.....	100.0	0
11. Radcliffe.....	95.2	4.8
14. High school.....	88.0	12.0
15. High school.....	96.4	3.6
17. High school.....	93.8	6.2
22. High school.....	85.3	14.7
Mean.....	94.6	5.4
Standard deviation.....	4.4	4.4
Coefficient of variation..	4.6	81.5

The figures obtained in Tables III and IV seemingly support the above assumption. However, since the "Disagreement"-column of the data secured with the recommended record played second had a lower value (lower mean value and much higher coefficient of variation) than the corresponding column secured with the recommended record

played first, the greater degree of an acceptance of the first suggestion with the recommended record played first does not necessarily imply that people prefer one musical selection to another exclusively on the bases of recommendation and attracted attention, the latter being more intense when the recommended record is played first

TABLE V

INFLUENCE OF SUGGESTION ON THE VALUATION AND
DISCRIMINATION OF PEOPLE

(Table showing the cases of agreement with the recommendation and the cases of disagreement, in percentages of the total definite valuation, i.e., exclusive of the cases of suspended valuation and the cases of definite recognition; without differentiation as to the order of recommendation)

Designation of the Group	Agreement	Disagreement
1. Harvard.....	77.8	22.2
2. Radcliffe.....	80.0	20.0
3. Radcliffe.....	100.0	0
4. Battle Creek.....	83.3	16.7
5. Harvard.....	25.0	75.0
6. A family.....	75.0	25.0
7. Miscellaneous.....	69.6	30.4
8. Radcliffe.....	69.6	30.4
10. Junior college.....	66.7	33.3
11. Radcliffe.....	88.2	11.8
14. High school.....	89.6	10.4
15. High school.....	97.1	2.9
16. High school.....	85.2	14.8
17. High school.....	100.0	0
18. High school.....	75.6	23.5
20. High school.....	78.8	21.2
22. High school.....	97.7	2.3
Mean.....	80.0	20.0
Standard deviation.....	17.2	17.2
Coefficient of variation..	21.5	86.0

(see Table II). Moreover, some of the answers in disagreeing with the "opinion of the experts" implied as a possible reason of action the greater familiarity of the theme, having heard of variation preferred directly after a similar variation. This suggested another possible way of reclassifying the data. An attempt was made to neutralize the influence of the acceptance of the first suggestion through exclusion of the cases of suspended valuation and the cases of definite recognition. The absolute (actual) numbers of the cases

of agreement and disagreement were now taken, their sum for each experiment set equal to 100 per cent and designated as "total definite valuation" for that experiment. The cases of agreement and disagreement were next expressed as percentages of the "total definite valuation" for each and all experiments.

The justification of this procedure is hardly necessary. Of course, a complete elimination of the influence of the acceptance of the first suggestion is not to be expected. Yet, it is tangible that the persons accepting the first suggestion that the records are not the same are led to accept the second suggestion that one record is superior to the other; thus they are confronted with the second suggestion that according to the critics the pointed-out record, first or second, whichever the case may be, is the superior one. Obviously, a subject may agree, disagree, or suspend his valuation; the summation of all agreements and disagreements for the entire audience may be regarded as the total definite valuation made by that audience.

The ratios obtained for Table VI render themselves, possibly, to the following explanation: when the record played second in order is being recommended, the suggestion that the records are different is not as well received as when the recommended record is played first (Table IV); however, after the subject accepts this suggestion, and the suggestion that one of the records is superior to the other—the "suspended variation" represents the cases of acceptance of the first suggestion, primarily—the final suggestion per se is more effectively positively responded to if the recommended record is played second, thus affording the hearer an added opportunity to perceive the combination of the tones and the law of their arrangement. This should explain the seeming inconsistency of the values of Tables II, IV, and VI. It must not be forgotten, either, that while the greater familiarity with the musical theme makes it more understandable and preferable to the subject, at the same time it makes it easier for him to discover that the records are identical—this is clearly a phenomenon of antagonistic interaction.

Of the possible classifications as to age, sex, education, and the size of the group, only the latter was considered justifiable. Table VII presents the data, in percentages, grouped as to: "Agreement,"

"Disagreement," "Suspended Valuation," and "Definite Recognition." The "Agreement"-column appears to indicate that the great-

TABLE VI
INFLUENCE OF SUGGESTION ON THE VALUATION AND
DISCRIMINATION OF PEOPLE

(Table showing the cases of agreement with the recommendation and the cases of disagreement in percentages of the total definite valuation, i.e., exclusive of the cases of suspended valuation and the cases of definite recognition)

Designation of the Group	Agreement	Disagreement
The Recommended Record Played First		
1. Harvard	77.8	22.2
4. Battle Creek	83.3	16.7
6. A family	75.0	25.0
7. Miscellaneous	66.7	33.3
8. Radcliffe	69.6	30.4
16. High school	85.2	14.8
18. High school	76.5	23.5
20. High school	78.8	21.2
Mean	76.6	23.4
Standard deviation	5.8	5.8
Coefficient of variation	7.6	24.8
The Recommended Record Played Second		
2. Radcliffe	80.0	20.0
3. Radcliffe	100.0	0
5. Harvard	25.0	75.0
7. Miscellaneous	81.8	18.2
10. Junior college	66.7	33.3
11. Radcliffe	88.2	11.8
14. High school	89.6	10.4
15. High school	97.1	2.9
17. High school	100.0	0
22. High school	97.7	2.3
Mean	82.6	17.4
Standard deviation	21.7	21.7
Coefficient of variation	26.3	124.7

est success for the combined effect of suggestions is obtained with the "24.0" group; this group likewise exhibits the lowest "Suspended Valuation" value, and a comparatively low "Definite Recognition" value; its "Disagreement" value is nearest to the mean of the "Disagreement"-column.

In the study of a composite effect of several indirect and direct suggestions it must not be overlooked that any change in the en-

TABLE VII

INFLUENCE OF SUGGESTION ON THE VALUATION AND
DISCRIMINATION OF PEOPLE

(Classification as to the size of the group; without differentiation as to the order of recommendation)

Classes (Average Number in a Group)	Agreement	Disagreement	Suspended Valuation	Definite Recognition
1.0.....	50.0	21.9	28.1	0
8.9.....	58.9	22.4	17.1	1.6
24.0.....	65.4	17.7	14.5	2.4
54.4.....	59.1	8.6	26.1	6.2
150.0.....	57.0	7.0	24.0	12.0
299.0.....	56.5	1.3	27.5	14.7
Mean.....	57.8	13.15	22.9	6.15
Standard deviation....	4.4	7.6	5.2	5.5
Coefficient of variation....	9.6	58.0	22.7	89.7

TABLE VIII

INFLUENCE OF SUGGESTION ON THE VALUATION AND
DISCRIMINATION OF PEOPLE

(Classification as to the size of the group; without differentiation as to the order of recommendation)

Classes (Average Number in a Group)	Agreement with the Second Suggestion in Percentage of All Answers	Acceptance of the First Suggestion	Agreement with Second Suggestion in Percentage of Total Definite Valuation*
1.0.....	50.0	100.0	69.6
8.9.....	58.9	98.4	71.4
24.0.....	65.4	97.6	78.9
54.4.....	59.1	92.8	87.5
150.0.....	57.0	88.0	89.6
299.0.....	56.5	85.3	97.7
Mean.....	57.8	93.7	82.5
Standard deviation.....	4.4	5.5	10.1
Coefficient of variation.....	9.6	5.9	12.1

* All answers minus "Suspended Valuation" and "Definite Recognition."

vironment may be differently reflected on the success of each of the suggestions, per se. Thus it should be obvious that the acceptance of the first suggestion is easier to establish as the size of the group decreases, especially if a limited period of time is at the operator's disposal. This is amply supported by the data in Table VIII, and

is generally a known fact to the practicing hypnotists. However, the values of "Agreement in Percentage of Total Definite Valuation" show a steady rise as the size of the group increases. Now the reason for the optimum group becomes more clear—it may be said to be the product of the interaction of these two antagonistic tendencies. The fact that, as the size of the group increases, the tendency is toward greater conformity with the opinion of the experts, i.e., with the traditional opinion, as expressed in percentage of total definite valuation, is further supported by the examination of the second column of Table VII. It may be said now that the method offered here for isolation of the individual effect of component parts of a composite (both) suggestion is to be regarded as at least roughly accurate. The examination of the "Disagreement"-column in Table VII reveals a definite decline as the size of the group increases, while the ratios of definite recognition rise. The significance of the variation in values of the "Suspended Valuation"-column is not clear; the "24.0" group again exhibits a central tendency, with the lowest value for this group speaking for its optimum claim from the standpoint of success of the composite suggestion. These results disagree with prevalent opinion that the larger the group the more easily it can be misled. The above results show a much more complex situation.

The last point to be mentioned is a curious fact of "*rationalization of blunders*" disclosed by the answers to the questions 3 and 4 of the questionnaire. The main moral of this fact is that man has a proclivity to "rationalize" everything, not only his right statements and correct opinions and judgments, but also, and perhaps especially, his wrong ones. Having made a blunder, he is disposed to build a tower of arguments for justification and rationalization of this blunder. He is particularly reluctant to ask whether the basic judgment which he is going to "rationalize" is entitled to such a rationalization. The following samples will clarify these propositions. All the answers which followed the first suggestion with the exception of the classes of the "Definite Recognition" and "Suspended Valuation" gave many a reason why they preferred one record to another and what meaning they felt to be conveyed by the first and the second records. The following are a few examples out of many.

WHY ONE RECORD WAS PREFERRED TO
ANOTHER, THOUGH IN REALITY
THEY WERE IDENTICAL

WHAT MEANING HAD EACH RECORD,
THOUGH THE RECORDS WERE
IDENTICAL

SIX CASES OF FIRST RECORD PREFERRED

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. because it expresses my feeling at the time and because it has more beauty | 1. first record: a happy person thinking of the sorrows and joy of life; second record: call to arms |
| 2. more substance | 2. first record: joy; second record: none |
| 3. more smoothly transitional | 3. first record: philosophical contemplation of life; second record: jerky composition spoils mood |
| 4. higher artistic quality | 4. first record: deeper feeling for religion; second record: tendency to mere pleasure |
| 5. sound record is too sharp and shrill | 5. first record: sorrow; second record: none |
| 6. more harmonious and artistic | 6. first record: rest and peace; second record: sensation of harshness, no particular meaning |

SIX CASES OF SECOND RECORD PREFERRED

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 7. smoother | 7. first record: movement—broken; second record: contentment—a steady procession |
| 8. clarity, tone | 8. first record: confused thinking; second record: awakening from reverie |
| 9. deeper | 9. first record: nothing in particular; second record: spiritual happiness |
| 10. more alive | 10. first record: sorrowful religious devotion; second record: joyous religious devotion |
| 11. more unity | 11. first record: none; second record: joy |
| 12. more delicate, restraint | 12. first record: demand; second record: supplication |

The meaning of these results needs no further commentary and shows particularly clearly human "prepotent reflex" or disposition to rationalize blunders. Looking about us, at our own and our fellows' behavior, we can see this fact every day and anywhere. Many

a "rationalization"—of economic system, social system, human beliefs, opinions, mores, and what not—are often nothing but the rationalization of blunders or the worst kind of irrationality, the irrationality of a man who is erring and who, at the same time, is not only unaware of his erring but is confident in his righteousness and correctness and scientific thinking. Tertullian's "*Credo quia absurdum*" is not dead at all; perhaps now it is more alive than ever. ,

THE RISE OF MODERN RACE ANTAGONISMS

FREDERICK G. DETWEILER

Denison University

ABSTRACT

The origins in history of the race antagonisms existing in the modern world are shown to date from the period of the discoveries. Ancient civilizations such as Greece and Rome had very little social discrimination based on color or race. There was considerable sense of unity in the Roman and medieval world. Contacts with red and black men that followed adventure into the Western Hemisphere and the lands of Africa and India took on certain hostile aspects. The sciences of the eighteenth century classified plants and animals, and infant anthropology made distinctions which were instantly supported by the new philology. These distinctions were eagerly employed by those who had any interest in promoting national differences, differences between slave and master, and other lines of cleavage accepted by economic groups. Lately the impact of Western nations on the Far East has stirred racial feeling.

Race antagonism is the dislike and hostility felt by large numbers of people for others, who are thought of as a different sort of mankind. It is not necessary that the antagonistic groups belong to different races; it is sufficient that they think they do. If Englishmen dislike Frenchmen just as any two groups might dislike each other—say two colleges that play football or two states that have a war—that is one thing. But if the Englishmen begin to write and make speeches about “the Anglo-Saxon race” or the “manifest destiny of the long-heads”; and refer confidently to the “Celtic temperament” and the “Gallic race,” that is another thing. We call it race antagonism.

In the ancient world, wars and animosities between states do not seem to have been felt as antagonisms of race. Each little group apparently had its aristocracy composed of families that carefully guarded their genealogical records as well as they could and made some attempts to keep their marriages within bounds. But even these had their intermarriages, often based on political reasons. There were plenty of unions with representatives of other groups, whether dignified by the name of marriage or not. Petty wars, piracies, migrations, far-traveled trade routes, domestic slavery—all these kept the peoples of the ancient world in motion and mixture. As early as the age of bronze this movement was going on from one end of the Mediterranean world to the other.

Color antagonism does not seem to have existed. Egyptians probably looked down on Negroes as a people who lacked their own powerful culture, but scarcely as a race to be despised on account of skin color. Some students consider that Negro blood was at certain periods represented in the Egyptian royal line. There was a time, too, when dark Hamites—thus to refer to the “Ethiopians”—ruled Egypt, and the prophet Isaiah spoke of them with large deference. Moses married an “Ethiopian” wife. Fair complexions may have been desired for their women by some peoples. Greeks may have regarded the northern types more highly, although it cannot be shown that their greatest gods were blond. The attempt to do this rests upon an exaggerated interpretation of certain Greek adjectives. The Shulamite of the Song of Solomon, who was “black but comely,” was looked down upon by the daughters of Jerusalem only as a poor girl who was compelled to work in the heat of the sun.

The fact is that all such peoples were in close proximity to the dark-skinned Caucasians of Africa and Arabia, a region of the world where the dividing line between white and black cannot be clearly and incontestably drawn.

Certain far-reaching distinctions, of course, did exist. One was the familiar distinction between Greeks and barbarians. Aristotle thinks of barbarians as different in that they are by nature destined to be slaves. Yet Aristotle's concept of nature is scarcely to be pressed as equivalent to race in our terminology and would not in his day be understood at all by the great multitude. Other Greeks, indeed, approach this concept when they speak of the great distinction between themselves and Persians as resting on the Greek ideal of liberty on the one hand and the Persian submission to despotism on the other. This is what we would call a “cultural distinction.” “The Greeks,” says Edwin Bevan, “thought poorly of barbarian cultures, but provided a barbarian took on the Hellenistic character they do not seem to have subjected him to any social exclusion on account of his blood.”¹

At any rate, from Alexander's time up to the end of the Western

¹ In F. S. Marvin (ed.), *Western Races and the World* (Oxford, 1922), p. 60. Bryce may be quoted in apparent contradiction of the foregoing in chap. vii of his *The Holy Roman Empire*.

Roman Empire the world seemed to be busy obliterating sectional distinctions. The idea of a single world inhabited by one humanity was crystallized in the term "*oikumene*." When Alexander and his successors were spreading Greek culture far and wide, mixed populations in the cities began to come into existence. The great Macedonian himself had celebrated in Susa a symbolic marriage of the East and the West. He took two wives from the Persian royal house and gave eighty princesses to his generals. To be sure, the generals were not enthusiastic about these consorts and many afterward repudiated them. There were individuals, too, like Juvenal, who bemoaned the deluge of Eastern blood that poured westward—"Orontes has flowed into Tiber!" The best Romans would not tolerate marriages with outsiders. Virgil cries "Shame!" (*nefas*) on Antony for marrying Cleopatra, and Horace holds that the Roman soldier disgraces himself by taking a barbarian wife.² Yet it is not because the poets are afraid of racial qualities but because they abominate the disregard of the Roman custom of marriage between citizens. At any rate, Orontes continued to flow, poets or no poets. According to Tenney Frank, 90 per cent of the free plebeians at the end of the first century after Christ had oriental blood. The tendency toward a leveling of distinctions was reinforced by governmental policy. Often foreigners were advanced to official position and troops from every nation under heaven were employed as auxiliaries in the army. Early in the third century Caracalla gave citizenship to every free-born man in the bounds of the Empire. Other tendencies are well known—the teaching of the great lawyers about the law of nature in which all men everywhere had rights; the influence of Stoic and other philosophers; the inclusive character of mystery religions; and above all the spread of Christianity.

When the Western world went into its medieval phase, political society was broken up into the fragments out of which feudalism was built. But a powerful church with its center at Rome kept all these fragments aware of the spiritual unity of Christendom. There were wars, raids, and bitternesses; but all men who belonged to Christendom were the same kind of men. The Crusades—at first at any rate—strengthened the feeling of unity, and the medieval

² *Aeneid*, viii. 688; and Horace's *Odes*, iii. 5.

university with its widely cosmopolitan student body was an influence toward internationalism. But the Crusades and other movements showed the existence, outside the pale, of Jew, heathen, and Turk. Medieval romances that dealt with the legends of Arthur and Charlemagne kept alive in the mind of Europe the struggles with paganism and Mohammedanism. Jews and Christians succeeded in keeping the fires of animosity burning, the latter principally by attacking the former; the former by nursing their wrongs. Chaucer's *Prioress' Tale* and Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* have familiar stereotypes of the Jewish-Christian antagonism. And if the Turk is still today "the unspeakable Turk" or "the sick man of Europe," it is because he was for centuries the great enemy and grim specter threatening Europe until long after the Middle Ages.

Jew, Turk, heathen thus stand over against Christian Europe and serve as forerunners of the concept of alien races. Just where race itself as we now hear about it slipped into men's thinking is hard to tell. "Until the latter part of the eighteenth century, no one had doubted, so far as I can discover, that man, so far as he could be regarded as animal at all, formed a single indivisible species."³ The *Oxford English Dictionary* quotes no occurrence of the term "race" in the present-day sense from any writer earlier than Goldsmith, whose *Natural History of Animals* (1774) tells us that "the second great variety of the human species" was "the Tartar race." Perhaps the distinction between civilized man and savage so commonly taken for granted in the philosophizing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prepared men to make the racial distinction as well. This itself must have been helped forward by all the processes of exploration, colonization, exploitation, and enslavement through which Europe made its contacts with the wider world from the times of Columbus and the Elizabethan sea captains on. The sailor came home to increase his prestige by the wild tales of

anthropophagi and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders.

Soldiers went out into a mysterious distance to conquer uncivilized men. Missionaries swept by splendid philanthropy went to the new

³ John L. Myres, *The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science*, "University of California Publications in History" (Berkeley, 1916), Vol. IV, No. 1.

heathen and described them in somewhat terrible terms; it helped the cause to paint the savage repulsively. Many friendly adjustments were made with these new peoples; but, as in the case of the early settlements in America, there was bloody fighting too. The net result of European contacts with the "uncivilized peoples" has been to put the latter in a very lowly place.

One thing that contributed decidedly toward this result was the wide extension of slavery since the discoveries. The modern world did not, of course, create this institution, but merely accepted it from the Roman past on the one hand and the prevailing practice of Africa on the other. "As early as 1309, Negro slaves were bought and sold in Portugal and Spain," we are told.⁴ In 1442 certain Portuguese subjects of Prince Henry the Navigator brought some Moors from Africa and were commanded to return them. But when they did so they received in exchange gold dust and ten black slaves. This may have been the beginning of the slave trade, which soon afterward was taken up by the Spanish and the English.

The effect on the rank and file of English-speaking people was to make all slaves members of a permanently inferior caste. All Africans, also, were thought of as potential slaves. The public did not know any way to distinguish Africans from others except by their dark color. Hence they and the red men as well were thought of as different sorts of mankind from the white, and soon little children found in their geographies pictures of men of other colors.

How recent color distinction is can be seen even in Shakespeare. In *The Merchant of Venice* the Prince of Morocco is a dignified suitor for the hand of Portia, although he makes haste to apologize for his complexion. In other words, light complexions are preferred, but dark ones do not in themselves hinder marriage. This is made clearer in *Othello*. The hero is referred to as black and sooty but is allowed by the Venetians in the play (and by the audience) to marry Desdemona. The father cries out that she has acted against logic and against nature, but the Duke and his retinue take no notice of the cry.

No doubt if the colonists, soldiers, merchants, and adventurers of western Europe had lived alongside of the newly-discovered red

⁴ William C. Macleod, *The American Indian Frontier* (New York, 1928), p. 120.

men and black men without war, competition, or slavery, race antagonisms would not have become conventionalized and generally accepted in our nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Today, as we know, white people and "native-born of native parents" often live peaceably and democratically alongside of other races, but occasionally, through the chance of some unfortunate meeting or personal clash, conceive a fixed antipathy toward the others. Lasker, Bogardus, and others have presented us with illuminating studies of the inception of "race prejudice" as it is often called. General observation, however, shows that the vast majority of the unfriendly attitudes are born in social situations in which the other race already appears as an outsider or a lower caste. We are suffering today because our forbears in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries set the red men and the black into certain lowly frames of reference. The black men went into the compartment called "slave," the red men into a compartment called variously "savage," "heathen," "the conquered race." In other words, most human contacts—by far the largest proportion—are friendly ones. But the centuries in which Europeans were making their first contacts with other racial groups were centuries of enslavement, slave punishments, Indian wars, and reprisals. When taking part in clashes like these, clashes that always seemed to the white man to be forced upon him by circumstances, it was impossible not to become heated. Such heat produces an attitude of hostility that becomes conventionalized and more or less permanent. A prejudicial treatment of any individual of the other group can henceforth always be justified by telling what *his* ancestors did to *my* ancestors.

Of course, the philosophers who wrote between the time of the discoveries and that of the French Revolution were not disturbed in their armchairs by any such hostilities. The men beyond the seas are to them examples of the man in a state of nature, or simply "the noble savage." Montesquieu knows that the slave owners have worked out a justification based on an idea of the blacks that their own harsh mastery had suggested (*The Spirit of Laws*, Book XV, chap. v), and laughs in his sleeve while he makes them say:

These creatures are all over black, and with such a flat nose that they can scarcely be pitied. . . . It is hard to believe that God, who is a wise Being,

should place a soul, especially a good soul, in such a black, ugly body. . . . The Negroes prefer a glass necklace to that gold which polite nations so greatly value. Can there be a greater proof of their wanting common sense?

In the latter part of the eighteenth century abolition societies were beginning to be formed, and the famous "Société des Amis des Noirs" included such names as Robespierre, Lafayette, and Condorcet. The rising tide of romantic humanitarianism expressed itself in Schiller's *Hymn to Joy* (used afterward by Beethoven in his Ninth Symphony):

Seid umschlungen, Millionen!
Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt!

"I embrace you, O ye millions,
And fling my kiss to the whole wide world."

But the opposite tendency appears, too. Already Linnaeus, whose *Systema Naturae* passed through ten editions (1735-60), had classified his *homo sapiens* into four races—American, European, Asiatic, Negro; and Blumenbach, called the father of anthropology, recognized five—Caucasian, Mongoloid, Malay, American, and Negro (1781). Soon scholars were fascinated by the study of Sanskrit and the philology of the Indo-European tongues. Franz Boop's *Comparative Grammar* (1833), published in Berlin, lent tremendous impetus to the idea of an Aryan race and its superiority. When Schlegel pronounced the principle, *Quot linguae tot gentes*, he was merely emphasizing what was coming to be generally believed. The fallacy that a language group was a race group and that a nation speaking a specific language must have a specific character and culture "dominated continental thought . . . for half a century, reinforcing the sentiment of nationality in public affairs."⁵ Writers and readers of books began to use the term "race" to dignify their concept of this or that people. Macaulay, who published in 1848 the first volume of his celebrated *History of England*, uses the word in this sense ("the Norman race") and is so taken with it that he allows it to appear twenty-three times in the first sixteen pages. In 1852 Edward Everett Hale quite casually refers to the Irish as a race—"a great race of men, which, in one way or another, has been undergoing

⁵ John L. Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

defeat for centuries." He was thinking of the Irish immigrant, at that time the very picture of defeat.⁶

If now we follow the work of the intellectuals we find ourselves overwhelmed with an enormous literature produced during the nineteenth century directly or indirectly expressing the importance of the concept of race to the developing nationalism of the post-Napoleon time.⁷ Germans, French, English, to say nothing of Italians and Slav nationalities, becoming newly aware of themselves, sought to represent their uniqueness by imagining a mystical and profound character inhering in their people since time immemorial.⁸

The growth of anti-Semitism is definitely dated as a racial doctrine in 1874.⁹ The story of this movement, so largely responsible for the famous Dreyfus case in France and still alive, according to recent press accounts, would make a book in itself. We now know that Jews are composed of individuals and groups differing vastly from each other, that they do not constitute a racial type, that they have accommodated themselves successfully to the cultures of the various nations among whom they have settled and accepted the enthusiasms of these nations, that in spite of these things they have been the object of pogroms and popular movements like our Ku Klux Klan, and finally that they have reacted to the anti-Semitic drive by creating Zionism with heightened group consciousness and emphasis on group solidarity. It may be that the fear of Jews and the thousand attempts of Gentiles to guard against them are the factors that keep alive in the group their determination to realize a peculiar mission to mankind.¹⁰

It must be borne in mind that the multitudes of common people in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not read history, philology, and anthropology. Their racial antagonisms may have been influenced by some thoughts that percolated down to

⁶ *Letters on Irish Emigration* (Boston, 1852), pp. 47-58; printed in Edith Abbott, *Historical Aspects on the Immigration Problem* (Chicago, 1926).

⁷ Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York, 1926), chap. vii.

⁸ See, for instance (Pan-slavism), R. W. Seton-Watson, *Europe in the Melting-Pot* (London, 1919), pp. 207 ff.; and (Teutonism) Frank H. Hankins, *The Racial Basis of Civilization* (New York, 1926).

⁹ *The Jewish Encyclopedia*.

¹⁰ Hayes, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 ff.

them from the discussions of the intellectuals, but they were primarily caused by the pressure of alien groups upon each other as these came in contact through the wars and migrations subsequent to the Industrial Revolution. In America, of course, the impact of white men on red men made our early pioneers race conscious, but the problems incident to the enslavement of the Negro were the greatest incitements to this psychology. In Europe there were not wanting popular leaders, publicists, demagogues, and statesmen with nationalistic axes to grind. There were peasant classes, tenant classes, landlords, nobles, ruling minorities, and subject minorities. In America there were proletarians not only of the Negro group but of every people under heaven. Differences between Catholic and Protestant and between the upper and lower layers in society came to be thought of as differences in mankind. As Magyar peasants looked down on the Slovaks and their corn-meal mush, the "native American" despised the Jew, whom he associated with goose grease, and the Italian, who fed on spaghetti. These cultural clashes were real; and so were the economic competitions, as, for instance, between the "poor whites" and Negroes in America after the Civil War.

It is not strange, then, to have a little German tailor in Dayton, Ohio, explaining to the writer, in the summer of 1914, that he had a brother in Lodz who assured him that Germany was compelled to fight because the Russians had mobilized; for the Russians, as he knew from personal experience, were not like other men—they were wild people.

One does not need to dwell at length on the exaggerated racial consciousness that now shows itself on the international stage. The World War with the treaties and discussions that have followed it has accentuated this consciousness. Peoples are now calling each other names. The outstanding problems are those caused by the domination of great nations over small ones and Western nations over those in the East. Eastern nations, from the time of our first knowledge of them, fell easily into the classification of "heathen." Antagonisms seem at first to be purely cultural. For instance, India is experimenting with revolution because it wants to assert its own culture, religion, spinning wheel, and cotton against the hustling

and industrialized West. Yet everybody knows that the edge of its resistance is whetted by the European assumption of superiority. The rank and file of Englishmen think of the Hindu as a "nigger," and English clubs are not open to Hindus. Other examples in the British Empire will occur to any reader. America has its black neighbors in Haiti, oppressed by the same uneasiness, subject peoples in the Philippines, and citizens in Porto Rico. A Porto Rican goes into an American barber shop, is called "nigger" and refused service. Thereupon he kills the barber.

We have no proof that actual differences between races extend any farther than certain matters of bodily form, structure, color, and dimensions. Yet in the world in which we live there is now a powerful belief that race is a hidden and decisive force lurking, tigerlike, in the essential makeup of the man above, the man below, or the man outside. Unfounded as these apprehensions may be, they are active forces in national and international policies. They are sentiments and emotional echoes stirred into being by wars, migrations, enslavements, exploitations, revolts, competitions, cultural clashes, and doctrines emanating from a few intellectuals. In most cases, attitudes did not first arise and bring on certain clashes, but the clashes have produced the attitudes. At the same time it is quite possible that the attitudes now existing may produce more hostilities in the future.

SOCIAL SCIENCE MATERIALS IN FAR EASTERN CULTURE

MAURICE T. PRICE
Chicago, Illinois

ABSTRACT

In American academic tradition and organization, "oriental" has been given a Near Eastern connotation as indicated in the personnel and publications of the American Oriental Society. While building up genetic links between the West's complex industrial culture and its precursors, this concentration overlooks the third of the world's population in the Far-Eastern and Indian Orient outside of this genetic stream and, hence, the more significant for social sciences professing to be built upon all available comparative data on human social life. Presenting cultural forms intermediate in stability and complexity between those usually analyzed by anthropology and those sketched by the historian of modern times with the aid of specialists, yet undergoing change on their fringes, these regions afford data peculiarly suited to specialists in cultural sociology, economic development and population, and social psychology. The analysis of contemporary changes should also allow a checking up of the effects of the practical policies of trade, missions, and politics.

Although preliterate, ancient Mediterranean, and modern civilizations have all been undergoing investigation for additions to both the content of history and the generalizations of the social sciences, and for light on current problems, the Far Eastern and East Indian civilizations have scarcely been envisaged by the rank and file of the administrative heads of liberal arts, history, and social science departments in American colleges and universities, for the unique contributions they may have. Occasionally the insights and hypotheses of some earlier students of Indian and oriental culture like the early linguists, Sir Henry Maine, or even Max Weber, have passed into the history of social theory; but even such names are not built into any continuous tradition of scholars that for a moment can be compared with the cumulative tradition of "orientalists," represented by the American Oriental Society, who, until quite recently, have practically monopolized in behalf of early Near Eastern researches the very notion of "oriental studies" in scholarly American thought.

While the analysis of early Near Eastern cultures is valuable for its contribution to a genetic account of occidental culture, the analy-

sis of Far Eastern cultures is more valuable for comparative purposes. Moreover, in the Far East and India there are long stabilized yet complex types of civilization and profuse documentation that suggest an unrecognized field of study midway between anthropological investigation of preliterate life and the sociological or social science investigation of contemporary society. And finally, the analysis of Indian and Far Eastern cultures is at present both theoretically significant for an appreciation of the culture contact and diffusion processes which are of interest to anthropologist, sociologist, and historian, and practically significant for an understanding of current international and world-relationships in trade, politics, population, and culture in general.

To begin with the last point mentioned, those interested in world-trade, world-politics, and world-international co-operation, not to speak of philanthropy and Christian missions, have of late been under the necessity of considering the rôle of the Far Orient. To secure the analysis and interpretation of that rôle, they cannot fall back upon the opinions of their milieu. The dominant opinions and attitudes of a country like the United States toward the Far East, as ascertained by questionnaire studies, by an acquaintance with the popular press, and by the policies of certain philanthropic and propagandic movements, are largely the product of sentiment and misinformation. Among otherwise well-informed people, new developments in Far Eastern trade, in diplomatic contentions and tactics, in policy toward press censorship, education, missionary effort, and Communism, are explained differently by almost every different writer. Consider for a moment the assertions of such a fore-shortened perspective as Peffer's *China—the Collapse of a Civilization!* Almost the same might be said for accounts of India. As a consequence, practical policies have been conscientiously pursued by Western as well as Eastern interests which have been astounding from the standpoint of the misconceptions involved. The very notion of the existence of general principles of cultural interpenetration as such, alongside of the more specialized principles of international economic relations, or the urgency of investigating them as applied to oriental-occidental relationships, is not considered seriously by otherwise reflective leaders of policy and thought.

A given trend of population concentration or movement within some region of the Orient may be traced to geographic and economic conditions. A movement to and from some Asiatic country may be attributed to special conditions of contact with the outside world. Much less likely to be discerned is the difference in the manner in which different aspects of culture may be introduced into an alien civilization, and in the rate at which they may be introduced. The rôle of transportation and communication, and the time-space factor, are often assumed to effect changes, including regional development and urbanization; but the wider implications of these influences are seldom followed through.

Frequently undervalued is the rôle which specific psychological traits play alongside of technical paraphernalia and capital, in the obsolescence, maintenance, or adoption of economic and other "complexes." The effect of population mobility and circulation upon institutional stability is generally overlooked in studies of the Orient. The prerequisites and functions of institutional continuity between the old and new orders need thorough examination in every oriental country. Constant consideration must be given the question of social control (or "law and order") during a period of cultural transition and of the increase and decrease of various group influences. The rôle of such informal controls as fixed social status in the older orders of society and temporary status in transition orders is also important.

The expectancy and anticipation of certain types of social conflicts, and their actual conditioning factors, utility, and general effect, invite study. The general and conceptual is continually being mistaken for achievement of the specific and definite; for example, widely enunciated principles and programs are mistaken for the execution of technical procedures, explicit arrangements, organizational forms. The rôle of intermediate individuals (cultural hybrids and mixed bloods) and groups must be watched as carriers of the new culture patterns and as bridges in the relationships of the indigenous and alien peoples. Equally necessary is it to understand the pretended nature and actual rôles of group illusions and passions, whether of purely local or of nationality groups. Such are the kind of basic factors, relations, and trends which are not likely to be given

due weight in the analyses of occurrences and practical policies in the Orient.

It is not claimed that such theoretical factors and principles are altogether obvious and ready to be applied in actual situations, but that we can find out enough about them to help clarify not only natural unplanned occurrences in the Far East, but the results of definite policies there, if the data are attainable. And for such purposes it should be thoroughly worthwhile for our colleges and universities to offer courses on the changes resulting from the impact of Western civilization, both on account of the value of the analysis as such and on account of the essential supplement they provide to courses in contemporary Far Eastern history, in international (political) relations of the Far East, in Far Eastern trade, in Missions, etc.

While stressing the practical utility of such work, there need be no apology nor reticence as to its theoretical value. The social sciences should profit very substantially by the analysis of the impact, interaction, and fusion of cultures and peoples going on during the last few centuries on the fringes and in the hinterland of Asia (and Africa). Heretofore, the diffusion of culture, for instance, has been most discussed by archeologists, anthropologists, and historians, who have drawn their conclusions from traits and complexes surviving a long time after the original contact. Granting their procedure, one can only study a battle, for instance, between two armies by counting whatever bones and weapons still happen to be left on the battlefield some decades or centuries later.

In contrast to such materials, the actual process of culture contact involves trial and error in unfamiliar situations, pressure from groups and institutions on both sides and manipulation by vested interests directly and indirectly. There is shock and conflict, resistance and counter-attack, and the conditioning influences of the cultures, the populations, and the geographic environment. It is this complex process that the student of interpenetration of cultures in the contemporary Orient must analyze and generalize. Such studies should certainly be of genuine value to social science theory.

While the analysis of the facts and processes lying behind contemporary relationships should lead, on the one hand, to substantial

contribution to the theoretical understanding of cultural change, it should be founded upon the study of oriental culture as such. For, it is not merely basic aspects in the cultural impact and transfusion processes that have been overlooked, it is also the part played in these processes by the basic complexes and traits of oriental civilization, and the very nature of oriental civilization itself, that are misunderstood.

If the second proposition, the need for the study of oriental culture, is accepted, we still have to raise the point of its place, function, and contribution within the social science field and curriculum. If the teacher available has had a broad and genuinely scientific training, a somewhat prolonged "participation" or residence within some oriental country, and some substantial background in the comparative analysis of differing cultures, he might teach in history, oriental studies, or any social science field in which he has special preparation (assuming, of course, that he is allowed time to keep up on such a broad field). Although specialists in such Western disciplines as art, geography, or political science might feel disposed to give courses on the art, geography, or political theory and practice of some country in the Orient, even though they have not saturated themselves in its civilization, they must realize that the functional relation of any one aspect of oriental culture to the total configuration of that culture is likely to be quite different from that in the case of the Occident. The general failure to appreciate this point in a number of American universities and colleges warrants special emphasis upon it. To illustrate what is involved, the interpretation of the current political institutions of China require a knowledge of the governmental functions (from the Western viewpoint) performed by Chinese guilds, village elders, family, and social status; a knowledge of the dominant ideas, attitudes, vested interests, and objective relationships in these institutions, which tend to make them perform those governmental functions; a knowledge of the outside forces operating upon these other institutions to make them continue or cease to perform those functions; a knowledge of the institutional facilities being developed in recent times, which are laying the cultural foundation for certain new political trends. With this caution let us turn to those disciplines—history, anthro-

pology, and sociology in particular—that professedly emphasize the functional interrelationship of different aspects of culture and the difference in the total configuration of different cultures, to see just what rôle they may play in the analysis and presentation of oriental culture in our colleges and universities.

The first thing to be borne in mind regarding the analysis of Far Eastern cultures is the necessity of pioneer work by archeologist, linguist, and trained critic of historical documents. The historian is interested next in producing a chronological narrative in which not only events, but superstitions, proverbs and moral codes, prescriptions of ceremonial and rite, agreements and contracts, legal codes, and systems of religious and philosophical thought, are placed in time and milieu—unless, of course, such historical work itself be divided up amongst the specialists in economic history, in history of political institutions, in history of philosophy, etc., respectively, under the conditions stipulated in the above paragraphs.

It is when the historian's narrative leads into generalizations about the psychological attitudes and beliefs, about trends in culture, about interrelations between different aspects of culture, about the values in different parts of it, that we find it especially necessary to compare his efforts with those of other workers in these fields. On two points in particular is comparison pressed. First, it is claimed that ethnocentric national bias, occidental versus oriental bias and vice versa, modern versus ancient prepossessions and vice versa, creep in when the bounds of pure objective description are overstepped. In lieu of any reliable findings comparing historians, on this score, with other social scientists, should we not say that some liability toward such biases may arise from the second point of comparison, namely, that of impartial, cultural analysis. Although his range of historical knowledge and his wide acquaintance with personalities and social movements may equip the historian to interpret the functioning of various cultural features in the changes going on at any one time, an examination of either histories themselves or works upon history writing indicates that the historian has to cover so much ground that he can seldom be a specialist in the (other) social sciences, and hence is liable to be somewhat handicapped for drawing social science generalizations in any field unless

he has been preceded by a swarm of specialists in the various aspects of culture.

As in the case of the historian, the particular rôle which the anthropologist, especially the cultural anthropologist, may play in the analysis of oriental culture and its presentation in our colleges and universities, though he may be equally concerned with the interrelations of various aspects of culture, will of course grow out of his peculiar approach, technique, and professional qualifications. To these we now turn.

Foregoing the advantages and escaping the disadvantages of covering long ranges of history, the current historical anthropologist has tended to limit his field, first, to the study of preliterate cultures, and then, in the case of each worker, to concentration on first-hand analysis of one or two of these preliterate cultures, with the most cautious generalizing upon other cultures. The materials he uses in his investigation and generalization, moreover, are particularly conducive to objectivity—museum artifacts first of all, then language forms, ceremonials, forms of organization, folklore—in general, objects or long stabilized patterns crystallized out of group behavior.¹ These materials, with an identity quite different from single events, with varying but rather explicit component parts, with a minimum of psychological interpretation, seem to provide quite reliable indices of characteristic social behavior and clues to the characteristic functional relations of different kinds of behavior as compared with the historian's usual "events" and explanations of trends of events, particularly in the Mediterranean and European worlds where those events are part of such a rapidly moving drama of civilizations.² Dealing with a relatively simple rather than a quantitatively complex culture and with comparatively static rather than vigorously dynamic types of behavior, the anthropologist, then,

¹ Of late there has reappeared among this school the older tendency to define psychological attitudes and social-psychological situations; but efforts along this line are so fluid, diverse, individual, and devoid of any persisting classifications, that as yet the traits sought or situations described cannot be spoken of in summary terms as can the above kinds of objective traits.

² The contrast here is one chiefly of emphasis: The historian is interested in events primarily to fill out his chronological sequences. The anthropologist is also interested in events, primarily, however, as illustrations of cultural types or patterns.

has been able to be both comprehensive in his analysis of any given culture and rather confident in his interpretation of the interrelations between its different aspects.

In brief, the narrowing of his field to alien, comparatively simple, and long-stabilized cultures, in one or two of which he directly participates so far as he can, coupled with his concentration upon comparatively objective materials, has constituted the anthropologist's advantage, as compared with the historian, for interpreting a given cross section of any culture with which he has been accustomed to deal.³

The next question is: How far do oriental cultures present materials susceptible to these working habits and techniques of the anthropologist?

The economic statistics of recent Far Eastern yearbooks may raise the question whether the Orient has not broken out of the molds of ancient casting suited to the anthropologist's methods, and has taken more complex forms, rapidly changing and permeated with new attitudes. Speaking generally, however, these newer characteristics are far from the dominant ones of the Orient, having developed only in certain ports, on its fringes, and having sifted into other regions in the most fragmentary and uneven manner, particularly in China and India. The great bulk of the people in the East are either entirely under the influence of the ancient culture or dominated by it in most of their community life and conduct. They have been grounded in a life far nearer the simplicity of the preliterate world than the elaborate specialization and complexity of Western urban industrialism. It conforms to patterns of culture somewhere intermediate between those studied by the anthropologist without the aid of specialists in economic, political, educational, and philosophical achievements, and those studied by the contemporary historian with the aid of specialists in each of these various subdivisions of culture.⁴

³ In one sense, the anthropologist is one of the specialists whose labors the historian takes up into his more sweeping synthetic narrative; in another sense, the anthropologist tries to do intensively, for a given simple culture of a given time and place, virtually what the historian of today tries to do for the entire culture of today.

⁴ Professor Frederick J. Teggart, after reading this paper before its abbreviation for the present article, has called my attention to the danger of letting this relationship

Its economic activity, for instance—while much of it has appeared to be on a level with that of some advanced preliterate peoples—has ramified on its industrial side into more diversified handicrafts, into elaborate guild organizations and traditions, into more extensive commercial and exchange practices, and into a cluster of subsidiary specialized activities that offer parallels to ancient Near Eastern and mediaeval times. Its controls of social behavior are certainly a contrast to many occidental forms, particularly of political government, being grounded in considerable part upon a régime of social status as secure as any primitive régime. Without presuming in any way to place the different aspects of oriental culture into any scheme of social evolution, one can easily see that, from the standpoint of sheer number of traits and groupings of traits, they do lie upon levels somewhere intermediate between those usually analyzed unaided by the cultural anthropologist and those sketched, with the aid of specialists, by the historian of contemporary Western civilization.

It may be felt by some that this intermediate position between preliterate simplicity and occidental complexity seems to be inconsistent with the contrast we suggested between the changeableness and fluidity of patterns in the industrial West and the fixity and stability of patterns in the East. Specifically, then, has advance in cultural complexity brought to oriental culture a mobility and a changeability that here, too, rank it on levels somewhere between the rapidly changing Occident and the supposed fixity of the preliterate groups studied by the anthropologists?

To the great majority of people in Chinese and Indian Asia, it is not merely the enormous variety of conduct found in the modern occidental city that astonishes them; it is more particularly the freedom of the individual to attach himself to any of the most diverse cultural subgroups, and the fact that each succeeding genera-

between preliterate, oriental, and occidental cultures be thought of as an ascending series from the standpoint of "judgments of value." I heartily agree. I do not hold the Spencerian view that increased differentiation or complexity necessarily means "progress" or greater worth. Throughout this paper I am thinking of number of traits, variety of traits, stability of complexes, mobility of people, and elaborateness of interrelationships, purely in matter-of-fact, temporal, and quantitative series.

tion deviates so much from its predecessor. This is something so alien to their cultures that in their minds it can scarcely be reconciled with anything short of utter chaos. The necessity of adopting one's parent's occupation, of abiding by the wishes of one's elders while they live, of conforming to one's ancestors' norms is certainly far more like that which we have been accustomed to associating with preliterate groups. Indeed, whereas the norms of preliterate cultures are handed down by oral tradition, those of the Land of Sinim and the great regions flanking the Himalayas have, for over a score of centuries, been recorded in books, providing a certain definite authority to which appeal might be made and from which oral tradition had less chance to deviate. Here the patterns of behavior have been embedded, as it were, in the chiselling of wood blocks and the calligraphy of manuscripts as well as in the protoplasm of habit. The importance of this in maintaining continuity and stability of cultural forms can scarcely be exaggerated.

From the standpoint of present-day students, the fact that these stabilized patterns are caught in the meshes of a literary matrix and there preserved for analysis and for comparison with observed behavior is as important as is the fact of the stable base. The investigating anthropologist drawing his interpretation of an artifact from the observation of two or three ceremonies in which it is used or from the testimony of some aged remnant of a decadent tribe is in a different position from that of the investigator who has copies of social and ceremonial codes in various editions reaching back a thousand or two thousand years, copies of histories which exhibit conformity and deviation from those codes over the same period, and present-day conduct still conforming in many respects to those very codes.

The fact that the behavior presented in these documents and observed in the Orient today are in many respects puzzling to the occidental is the more challenging to him who is seeking to generalize on associated human beings, on cultural forms, and on their interrelations with each other and with their environment. It would be of added significance if this contrast of Far Eastern and Indian behavior with the present-day Occident extended also to a contrast with ancient Near Eastern, Greek, and Roman civilizations to which the West is so plainly linked genetically. Just as modern studies of

preliterate people have required a revision of certain earlier notions of factors in behavior and social achievement, so it may be that more of our so-called scientific generalizations about social behavior may have to be qualified as being pertinent merely to Western cultural situations. However this may be, the very profuseness of the documentation upon many aspects of Far Eastern and Indian culture, and the contrast its analysis seems to offer to current analyses of both primitive and Western industrial civilizations present a striking opportunity to the social scientist for added perspective of cultural and social processes and for broader understanding of the Orient and to the social engineer for light upon the implications, expediency, and results of practical policies and programs being carried out by indigenous reformers and governments, and in foreign trade and politics.

Mention should also be made of certain other approaches in social science and in sociology especially, which might supplement each other in investigation and presentation of the general field we have been sketching. First, there is the approach of the cultural sociologist. They claim not only to be utilizing the modern historical anthropologist's concepts and techniques, but to be elaborating and supplementing them with techniques common to sociologists for studying census returns, election ballots, spatial distribution of commodities, and various other objective data essential to the understanding of changes taking place in society. It would be difficult to find a group of students professing to cover more completely the kind of materials available on oriental civilizations.

Before judging the adequacy of the cultural approach, however, one should draw a distinction between the data of climate and natural resources, of their economic exploitation, and of the consequent population movements and cultural changes, and the culture data not directly utilized in usual economic generalizations and population studies. Only in recent data on colonial areas and on parts of Asia are facts on geographic environment, on economic flow of commodities, and on population movements presented accurately enough for co-ordination in any comprehensive interpretation of cultural change in such regions. Here, other approaches beside the culturalist's must be used. Wherever the stability of the ancient culture is breaking down, moreover, the culturalist's generalizations

on current diffusion of Western commodities and ideas into Asia may have to allow for such conditioning factors as the urban-ward movement of workers to centers of mass production, and both the consequent rise in the buying power of these people and the weakening of controls which, in their clans and villages, would have prevented them from adopting the given commodities and ideas.

Cultural data and facts of economic opportunity and population movement in response to that opportunity, however, in and of themselves, are hardly adequate to explain the differences in the way Japan and China have adapted themselves to Western culture; nor to explain the reason Sun Yat-sen held out for a "republic" in 1911 as against a more gradual transition from the ancient governmental forms to the modern; nor to interpret the nationalistic waves of antforeignism in the Orient. Such situations in the cross currents of culture contact bristle with problems of applied individual and group psychology. Certainly if sociologists and social psychologists are not to abandon the most prolific and crucial of their problems, they must attack this situation of flux and conflict. Should objective indices be difficult to obtain and should biographical and other subjective and semisubjective data need to be utilized for the time being, at least there may be enough of such indices and data gathered to correct grosser misinterpretations and lessen the number of possible hypotheses.

Thus, supplementing the techniques of historian and anthropologist, the other social scientists are beginning to find, in the historical and scientific study of the Orient and oriental-occidental relations, data to aid in reinterpreting group behavior and cultural processes, clues to judging the effects and therefore advisability of various commercial, political, and other policies. If social science is the science of man and not of preliterate, Mediterranean, and Euro-American peoples, then it cannot avoid including the peoples of India and the Far East in its scope. If the larger practical policies and programs of oriental peoples or of occidentals with reference to the Orient, are not to issue in much needless misunderstanding, friction, suffering, and disaster, they should at least take cognizance of suggestions from the ablest research into traditional culture, into cultural and psychological changes now going on in the Orient, and into the actual relationships between orientals and occidentals.

VILLAGE¹ POPULATION CHANGES

S. C. AND AGNES RATCLIFFE
Bloomington, Illinois

ABSTRACT

The change in population size during the last decade was studied for more than 12,000 incorporated villages of less than 2,500 inhabitants each. The villages were arranged in three classes on the basis of size, and the percentages which lost population were ascertained for each class. For the United States as a whole the percentage rates vary uniformly with size, but this is not true for each individual state. Geographic distribution of decrease rates, by percentage groups, is displayed on accompanying maps.

I

This article deals with 12,343 incorporated places of less than 2,500 population each. A threefold classification is employed: places which had between 2,500 and 1,000 inhabitants in 1930 constitute Class I; those which had between 1,000 and 500 at the same date, Class II; and those which had less than 500 inhabitants in 1930 constitute Class III.

The number of incorporated places dealt with in this study is not the total number of such places enumerated in continental United States in 1930. Volume I of the *Fifteenth Census*² reports that number as 13,433. The discrepancy results from the fact that this article treats of changes in population size since 1920, hence could include only those villages for which comparative data are given. Another limitation should be noted. The data presented here pertain to *incorporated* places only and therefore constitute far from a complete analysis of village population changes. Indeed, this defect is so serious as to render unwarranted any assumption that the trend toward decline of incorporated villages can be asserted of American villages in general.

II

The specific purpose of the investigation was to ascertain the percentages of villages in each of the three classes defined above which

¹ The term "village" as here employed has no reference to political organization and is, therefore, applied indiscriminately to cities, towns, villages, and hamlets. The only criteria are: *a*) concentration of population; and *b*) less than 2,500 inhabitants.

² P. 14.

declined in population size during the decade 1920-30.³ The findings can most readily be seen by examining Table I.

The rates of decline are quite in accord with Gillette's generalization that "the smaller the place, the greater is the liability of loss of population."⁴ When the data for each individual state are examined, however, the correlation between the class of villages and the percentages declining does not hold true in each instance. Nine exceptions are found in the total of forty-five states.⁵ Of the nine,

TABLE I
NUMBER OF INCORPORATED VILLAGES IN UNITED STATES AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGES SHOWING POPULATION DECLINE, 1920-30

CLASS	NUMBER COMPARED	LOST POPULATION	
		Number	Per Cent
I. 2,500-1,000.....	3,171	890	28.0
II. 1,000-500.....	3,208	1,419	44.2
III. Less than 500.....	5,964	3,389	56.8
Total.....	12,343	5,698	46.1

however, South Carolina alone constitutes a significant exception. The variations in percentages are large enough to constitute important exceptions in two other states, namely, Vermont and Wyoming, but the total number of villages in each of these, forty-nine and sixty-three, respectively, is so small that it nullifies the importance of the variations. In the other six states for which Gillette's generalization does not hold true, the variations from it as reflected in percentage rates are very slight. The states are Arkansas, Iowa, New Mexico, North Dakota, Tennessee, and Virginia. Complete data for each state are given in Table II.

An examination of Table II shows that the states vary vastly in the number of incorporated villages they contain. And this is im-

³ For prior decades see J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, rev. ed. (Macmillan, 1928), pp. 431-45; or 1st ed. (Macmillan, 1922), pp. 460-74. Also, C. Luther Fry, *American Villagers* (Geo. H. Doran Co., 1926), chap. iii.

⁴ Rev. ed., p. 435.

⁵ No incorporated villages are reported for Massachusetts, New Hampshire, or Rhode Island.

portant in considering the percentages which suffered population decline. To say that in Nevada 100 per cent of the villages in Class

TABLE II
NUMBER OF INCORPORATED VILLAGES IN UNITED STATES AND NUMBER AND
PERCENTAGES SHOWING POPULATION DECLINE, 1920-30, BY
STATES AND CLASSES

STATE	ALL INCORPORATED VILLAGES			CLASS I VILLAGES; 2,500-1,000 POPU- LATION			CLASS II VILLAGES; 1,000-500 POPU- LATION			CLASS III VIL- LAGES; LESS THAN 500 POPULATION		
	Total Num- ber	Lost Popu- lation		Total Num- ber	Lost Popu- lation		Total Num- ber	Lost Popu- lation		Total Num- ber	Lost Popu- lation	
		Num- ber	Per Cent		Num- ber	Per Cent		Num- ber	Per Cent		Num- ber	Per Cent
Alabama.....	218	70	32.1	64	5	7.8	60	16	26.6	94	49	52.1
Arizona.....	18	8	42.2	9	2	22.2	9	6	66.6	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	294	161	54.7	58	26	44.8	67	29	43.4	169	106	62.7
California.....	111	26	23.4	78	11	14.1	21	5	23.8	12	10	83.3
Colorado.....	194	80	41.2	42	11	26.2	47	18	38.3	105	51	48.5
Connecticut.....	82	13	15.8	77	11	14.2	3	1	33.3	2	1	50.0
Delaware.....	47	16	34.0	11	1	9.1	10	2	20.0	26	13	50.0
Florida.....	138	25	18.1	52	3	5.7	45	11	24.4	41	11	26.8
Georgia.....	486	248	51.0	91	31	34.0	96	45	46.8	299	172	57.5
Idaho.....	119	74	62.1	22	10	45.4	25	13	52.0	72	51	70.8
Illinois.....	901	579	64.2	211	98	46.4	249	155	62.2	441	326	73.9
Indiana.....	387	200	51.6	96	33	34.3	128	67	52.3	163	100	61.3
Iowa.....	817	476	58.2	122	48	39.3	208	131	63.0	487	297	60.0
Kansas.....	463	239	51.6	87	32	36.7	128	64	50.0	248	143	57.6
Kentucky.....	304	128	42.1	77	13	16.8	69	26	37.6	158	89	56.3
Louisiana.....	153	46	30.0	56	12	21.4	41	10	24.4	56	24	42.8
Maine.....	19	4	21.0	8	1	12.5	5	1	20.0	6	2	33.3
Maryland.....	104	36	34.6	26	5	19.2	35	12	34.3	43	19	44.2
Massachusetts.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan.....	340	116	34.1	111	24	21.6	94	29	30.8	135	63	46.6
Minnesota.....	608	355	58.3	92	43	46.7	139	72	51.8	377	220	58.3
Mississippi.....	267	78	29.2	55	8	14.5	82	17	20.8	125	53	42.4
Missouri.....	630	398	63.1	116	48	41.3	130	78	60.0	384	272	70.8
Montana.....	87	51	58.6	24	10	41.6	28	18	64.3	35	23	65.7
Nebraska.....	472	236	50.0	71	21	29.5	108	46	42.6	293	169	57.7
Nevada.....	9	6	66.6	5	2	40.0	.....	.....	.....	4	4	100.0
New Hampshire.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Jersey.....	146	12	8.2	84	1	1.2	33	5	15.1	29	6	20.7
New Mexico.....	29	4	13.7	11	1	9.1	11	1	9.1	7	2	28.6
New York.....	349	118	33.8	146	34	23.2	125	50	40.0	78	34	43.6
North Carolina.....	393	81	20.8	91	5	5.5	95	18	18.9	207	58	28.0
North Dakota.....	282	130	42.0	29	11	37.9	59	18	30.5	194	101	52.0
Ohio.....	649	265	40.8	164	42	25.5	188	82	43.6	297	141	47.4
Oklahoma.....	403	223	55.3	102	39	38.2	98	46	46.9	203	138	67.9
Oregon.....	167	92	55.0	29	9	31.3	33	13	39.3	105	70	66.6
Pennsylvania.....	614	197	32.1	213	49	23.0	170	58	34.1	231	90	38.9
Rhode Island.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
South Carolina.....	214	75	35.0	52	16	30.7	37	6	16.2	135	53	42.4
South Dakota.....	250	154	59.4	41	19	46.3	61	35	57.3	157	100	63.7
Tennessee.....	164	51	31.1	49	12	24.5	54	13	24.1	61	26	42.6
Texas.....	341	151	44.2	194	59	25.7	90	54	60.0	57	47	82.4
Utah.....	106	72	67.9	34	17	50.0	41	30	73.1	31	25	80.6
Vermont.....	49	22	44.8	20	7	35.0	9	6	66.6	20	9	45.0
Virginia.....	155	46	29.6	42	9	21.4	42	9	21.4	71	28	39.4
Washington.....	169	95	56.2	42	16	38.1	50	23	46.0	77	56	72.7
West Virginia.....	157	54	34.3	63	13	20.6	41	15	36.6	53	26	47.4
Wisconsin.....	371	174	46.9	87	25	28.7	134	63	47.0	150	86	57.3
Wyoming.....	63	33	52.3	17	6	35.2	10	2	20.0	36	25	69.4

III lost population during the last decade is factually true. But its bearing on the establishment of a trend in village decline is not

nearly so great as are the smaller percentages of decline in the states of Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. For in Nevada the total number of villages in Class III is only four, whereas in the other three states the number of villages in that class that lost population exceeded 250 in each state.

III

Gillette's generalization, supported by the percentages in Table I, suggests that small villages must either grow to be large ones or pass out of existence. This idea is reinforced by the prevalent notion that the present abundance of American villages is a consequence of horse-and-wagon transportation. To the extent that this notion is valid one may expect that automotive transportation will, so to say, predestine some villages for survival and others for extinction.⁶ In favor of this hypothesis is the fact that at each of the last two census enumeration periods the percentage of the total population resident in incorporated villages has shown a decline. Casting doubt upon it, however, is the fact that the total number of incorporated villages has increased with each decade since 1890; and the further fact that the total population of such places has progressively increased.

The average size of villages has, with one exception and that a very slight one, progressively declined since 1890. In 1930 it was less than at any other of the recorded periods. But average size cannot validly be employed either in favor of or against the hypothesis in question. Lastly, in this regard, because the data are not available for all villages but only for incorporated ones, conclusive evidence of a trend toward fewer and larger villages cannot be provided. The changes since 1890 are presented in Table III.

IV

Comprehension of village decline may be aided by noting its geographic distribution. This is displayed on the accompanying maps for the villages of each class, based on five percentage groupings. The states in each group and for each class are arranged in Table IV.

⁶ This is discussed by Gillette and Fry in the references cited above.

TABLE III

NUMBER, POPULATION, PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION, AND AVERAGE
NUMBER OF INHABITANTS OF INCORPORATED VILLAGES OF
UNITED STATES, 1890-1930*

Year	Number of Villages	Population	Percentage of Total Population	Average Size
1930.....	13,433	9,183,453	7.5	683
1920.....	12,857	8,969,241	8.5	697
1910.....	11,832	8,169,149	8.9	690
1900.....	8,930	6,301,533	8.3	716
1890.....	6,490	4,757,974	7.6	733

* Compiled from data on p. 14 of Vol. I, *Fifteenth Census*.

TABLE IV

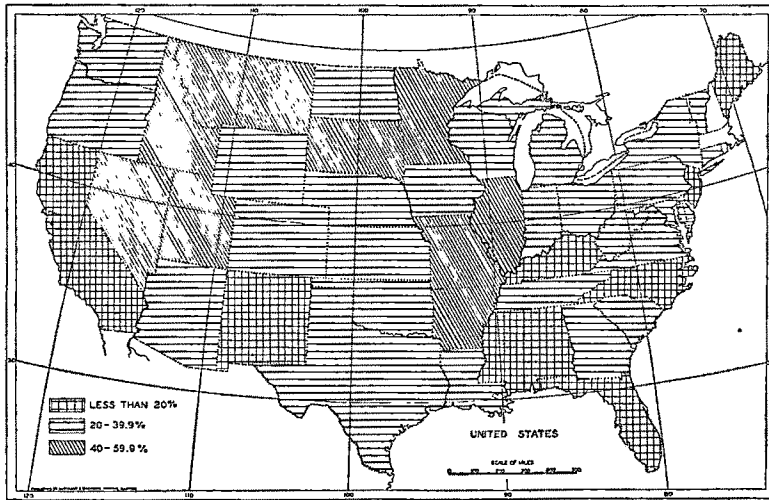
STATES ARRANGED BY PERCENTAGE GROUPINGS OF VILLAGES WHICH LOST
POPULATION DURING THE DECADE 1920-30, FOR EACH CLASS

Percentage Groups	Class I Villages 2,500-1,000	Class II Villages, 1,000-500	Class III Villages, Less than 500
Less than 20	Ala., Calif., Conn., Del., Fla., Ky., Me., Md., Miss., N.J., N.M., N.C.	N.J., N.M., N.C., S.C.	.....
20-39.9	Ariz., Colo., Ga., Ind., Iowa, Kan., La., Mich., Neb., N.Y., N.D., Ohio, Okla., Ore., Penn., S.C., Tenn., Tex., Vt., Va., Wash., W.Va., Wis., Wyo.	Ala., Calif., Colo., Conn., Del., Fla., Ky., La., Me., Md., Mich., Miss., N.D., Ore., Penn., Tenn., Va., W.Va., Wyo.	Fla., Me., N.J., N.M., N.C., Penn., Va.
40-59.9	Ark., Idaho, Ill., Minn., Mo., Mont., Nev., S.C., Utah	Ark., Ga., Idaho, Ind., Kan., Minn., Neb., N.Y., Ohio, Okla., S.D., Wash., Wis.	Ala., Colo., Conn., Del., Ga., Kan., Ky., La., Md., Mich., Minn., Miss., Neb., N.Y., N.D., Ohio, S.C., Tenn., Vt., W.Va., Wis.
60-79.9	.....	Ariz., Ill., Iowa, Mo., Mont., Tex., Utah, Vt.	Ark., Idaho, Ill., Ind., Iowa, Mo., Mont., Okla., Ore., S.D., Wash., Wyo.
80 and above	.....	.....	Calif., Nev., Tex., Utah

Several facts are brought out clearly by the charts. The heaviest shading, representing more than 80 per cent decline, is absent from Charts I and II, portraying the distribution of losses for villages of Classes I and II. The next heaviest, representing between 60 and 80 per cent loss, is also absent from Chart I which deals with villages of Class I; while the lightest shading, representing less than 20 per

CHART I

DISTRIBUTION OF STATES BY PERCENTAGES OF VILLAGES OF CLASS I
THAT LOST POPULATION 1920-30.



cent loss is absent from Chart III which deals with villages of Class III.

In Chart III all of the states covered by the two heaviest shadings lie west of the Mississippi River, except Illinois and Indiana. Conversely, all of the states covered by the lightest shading employed on the map touch the Atlantic seaboard, except New Mexico which stands out in contrast to its neighbors. In Chart II the same general distribution is again seen. The heaviest shading employed lies west of the Mississippi with the exception of two states. Of these, Illinois retains its place as in Chart III but Vermont is substituted for Indiana. New Mexico is again covered with the lightest shading while the other states similarly hatched touch the eastern coast. The extremes

CHART II

DISTRIBUTION OF STATES BY PERCENTAGES OF VILLAGES OF CLASS II
THAT LOST POPULATION 1920-30.

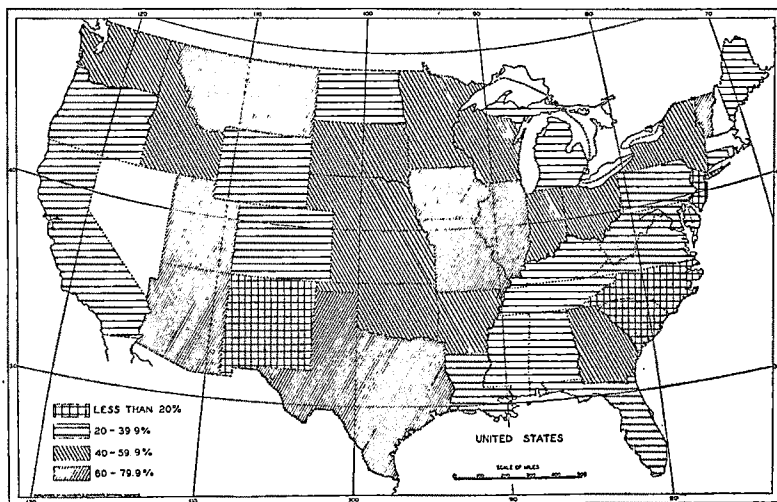
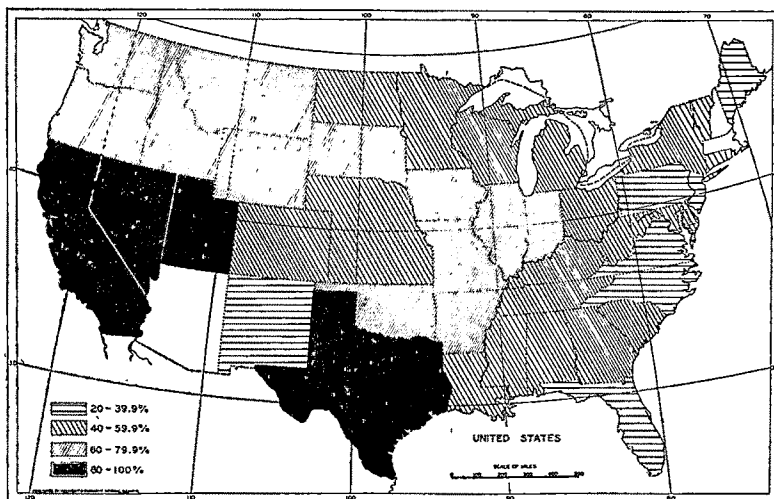


CHART III

DISTRIBUTION OF STATES BY PERCENTAGES OF VILLAGES OF CLASS III
THAT LOST POPULATION 1920-30.



of the three shadings employed on Chart I follow the same general distribution as that found on the other charts with the exception that California has joined the lightest shaded group. The total number of states covered by the extreme shadings on this chart is only twenty-one. Of the remaining twenty-four states one or more is located in each of the nine "Geographic Divisions" employed by the Bureau of the Census.

FIVE GENERATIONS OF A BEGGING FAMILY

HARLAN W. GILMORE

Tulane University

ABSTRACT

Five generations of a begging family, in a southern city of 160,000, reveal a transmitted social pattern. Begging developed as a means of livelihood after the economically dependent family withdrew from the vicinity of the kinship group who had supported them. The family solidarity carried over, and social agencies found it impossible to make any contributions that were not distributed among all members. The consequent ill-repute into which the family fell and the inability to obtain public aid led them to turn to begging. The succeeding generations were born and reared as beggars, and the children acquired the philosophy, technical knowledge, and status of beggars. The intelligence quotients were not low enough to furnish an explanation.

It has been recognized for some time that antisocial traits, such as delinquency and dependency, tend to be prevalent in some kinship groups and apparently have a tendency to be passed down from one generation to the next. Studies such as *The Juke Family* by R. L. Dugdale and *The Kallikak Family* by H. H. Goddard give strong evidence that such traits are prevalent in certain families from one generation to another, but no study thus far has adequately traced the processes by which such patterns develop and are transmitted. Most studies of dependency and delinquency have either been based on the assumption that these traits are innate or have attempted to study the individual more or less divorced from his family background, and neither approach has been wholly satisfactory. The following case study of five generations of a family, which the author found living in a southern city of about 160,000, is offered as an illustration of an approach which may prove more fruitful. In this case, an attempt has been made to take into consideration as far as possible all factors in the family situation which affected the personality of the individuals and to trace as clearly as possible the processes by which the pronounced dependency pattern developed and was passed on to the next generation as a part of the family tradition.

CASE HISTORY

Some sixty years ago a young man, Thomas Jed, in his early twenties took up residence in a small southern town of three or four thousand population. The fragmentary information available indicates that he came from an adjoining

state, though little is actually known of his past. He was at that time a heavy drinker. So far as we are able to learn, he had no communication with any of his relatives, excepting one brother, after he reached this town. This brother lived in one of the prairie states to the southwest, and apparently was comfortably situated. He, in later years, sent Thomas considerable money, and at one time offered to remove Thomas and his family to the prairie section and help him get established, but this offer was rejected.

Shortly after Thomas took up residence in this town he married into a family, with a large kinship connection in the locality, who were, and still are, of low economic and social status in the community. The men worked at menial occupations and had small incomes. However, these families have always had an exceptional reputation for thrift and for economic responsibility. Their credit even today is accepted without question by the merchants of the town, and it is an unheard of thing for any member to have been dependent on a public agency. A strong familism seems to have prevailed which made of it a sort of self-aid group. All unfortunate members seem to have been provided for out of the family coffers, and loans of one member to another for small economic enterprises have been rather common. In this respect the family seems to have fulfilled almost ideally the family responsibilities imposed by the mores of the Old South.

The family created by Thomas' marriage became a problem almost immediately. Births occurred in rapid succession. In all, eight children were born, two of whom died in childhood. From almost the beginning the family was dependent. Thomas, because of his drinking, was never able to provide the income necessary to care for the needs of his family. But Mrs. Jed's relatives rose to the occasion and supplied the deficit, so that the family was not dependent on public agencies. Thomas was not able to hold paying jobs and soon confined his productive activities to running a small fish market. As a matter of fact his place of business hardly could be designated by the term "market" for it consisted only of a few barrels set out by the sidewalk, and his patronage was principally among the Negroes.

His drinking habit seems to have been chronic, and as a result the economic condition of his family grew worse rather than better. Each additional child brought greater expense without any additional income. This increased burden fell on Mrs. Jed's relatives, and it is to their credit that they practically supported the family for more than twenty years.

In the home Thomas seems to have had the patriarchal ideal of being lord of all he surveyed, but he seemed much more interested in protecting his rights than he did in exercising them. He resented the interference of his wife and of his wife's relatives in the way he reared his children, but he exerted no great effort to rear them himself. Consequently they grew up with a minimum of training. They attended school only in so far as the law required, and none of them completed the elementary grades. Likewise in the matter of occupational

training, the children were never forced to work and never had to contribute to the family income. In the words of Mrs. Jed's nephew, "In spite of the protests of Mrs. Jed and of the relatives, Thomas never taught the boys to work."

All of the children married in their early adult years. One of the girls married a local man and seems to have succeeded very well for a few years. The two boys and one of the girls moved soon after their marriage to a city of about 100,000 located some fifty miles from the town in which they were reared and were followed shortly by Thomas and Mrs. Jed. The remaining two girls moved with their husbands to other sections of the South. Within a few years, however, all of the girls had acquired children, had lost their husbands through death or through desertion, and finally, finding themselves widows with children to care for, joined their parents and brothers in the city.

Thus, in the course of a few years we find the whole immediate kinship group transferred from a small town to a city. It consisted at this time of an aged couple who had always been economically incompetent, of four widows with a total of thirteen children, and of two younger men with families. One of these men had a large and increasing family, and the other had acquired his father's drinking habit, so that he was scarcely able to support himself and his wife even when he tried.

The whole kinship group, of course, almost immediately fell into dependency, but they no longer received aid from Mrs. Jed's relatives. They now became charges of the public. The old family pattern, however, carried over, and the family solidarity held fast, so that in the new situation the members comprised a compact social group. As Mrs. Jed's family had comprised a co-operating group in maintaining independence, the new group carried on co-operating activities in dependency. Any aid received by one family was readily shared with others who might not have been so "fortunate." This, of course, brought them into ill repute with social agencies. Case workers found that they could not treat any family in the connection as a unit, and to reconstruct the whole group was a task of such magnitude as to stagger the most optimistic worker. As a result, the family became a "bug-a-boo" for family agencies. It became known as "a bunch of worthless beggars that nothing could remedy."¹

Membership in the family became as definitely a stigma among social agencies as certain racial marks are among some social groups. The members, thus, soon found it impossible to secure aid from social agencies and were forced to resort to other means. They applied to churches and to other social organizations and received considerable aid. Some members tried going back to the town of their birth, but found that they were welcomed no longer by their more distant relatives and that their lot was no better than in the city. At various times members tried moving to other cities, but, since they seem never to have used aliases, their identity was quickly disclosed. Sooner or later, therefore, all have returned.

¹ Quoted directly from an old case record on this family which is on file in one of the agencies.

All of this conflict with social agencies tended only to increase the social distance between the family and society which to the family the agencies represented. Accompanied by the familism which already existed, the opposition developed very strong in-group feelings between the members and strong out-group feelings toward society, especially social agencies.

Blocked from securing help from social agencies, the members showed considerable aptitude for securing aid from other sources. Begging was resorted to by many of the members. Thomas Jed became an ordinary street beggar and Mrs. Jed became a house-to-house beggar. One of the widows developed into probably the most successful residence beggar in the city. Another member became an habitual church beggar. Other members have secured aid from agencies when they could, received help from churches frequently, and have begged when necessary.

In their begging activities, the adult members of the family have made liberal use of the children. Children have been taken by their parents or have been sent alone to solicit aid from agencies and from churches. They have been sent out occasionally on the street to beg alone. And almost invariably the adult doing residence begging has carried one or more children along as a sample of the "half dozen sick children at home." One of the widows, who does residence begging, carried her youngest daughter, an anemic-looking child, along on these begging expeditions until this daughter was married at the age of nineteen. Since then she has been making use of her grand-children.

As the children have reached adulthood and have gotten married their families have become constant or occasional public charges. The living members of the kinship group consist of the second, third, fourth, and fifth generations, the original Thomas and Mrs. Jed having died several years ago. A number of the third generation have families, and a few of the fourth generation have married in their teens and have young children. And for every marriage, with the exception of two, there is a case record on file in some relief agency in the city in which they live. The two marriages to which exception is made are those of two women of the third generation who were taken from their mother when they were very young and were reared in an institution. In so far as the author has been able to learn, the families of these two women have a clear record both as regards delinquency and dependency. From the standpoint of relief agencies, the descendants of Thomas and Mrs. Jed represent at the present time an annual case load of approximately fifty individuals. The records of these agencies, however, only represent a small part of the total aid secured by this family. Individuals, churches, and civic organizations have been importuned as persistently as have the relief agencies, and perhaps with greater success.

ANALYSIS

In consideration of this case it is important to see, first, the processes by which the begging pattern developed in the family, and,

second, the processes by which the pattern was passed on from one generation to the next. It is evident that the begging pattern had its beginning in a difficult economic situation resulting primarily from the drinking habit of Thomas Jed. This economic situation placed the family in a dependency relationship in that it became necessary for it to receive outside aid. This dependency was "nursed along" for a number of years by the patriarchal kinship group, and it was not until the second generation had reached maturity that the situation became a public problem. The difficulties of the family became a public responsibility when the family transferred its residence from a small town to a city and the support of the patriarchal kinship group was withdrawn. In its attempts to make a satisfactory dependency adjustment in the city the family first sought the aid of the relief agencies, but it soon fell into difficulties with these agencies because of its practice of sharing things more or less equally among all families in the group. And apparently this practice of sharing was a direct carry-over of the mores of the patriarchal kinship group to which the family had been connected. From the relief agencies the family seems to have extended its plea to other organizations, such as churches, and, finally, it gradually acquired begging techniques for appealing directly to individuals.

Once developed, this dependency and begging tendency was passed on in the family tradition by a somewhat complicated series of processes. In approaching the problem of analyzing the processes by which the begging pattern has been passed on from one generation to another, the matter should be considered perhaps from two different angles. There seem to be, in the first place, certain handicaps which the children acquired in the dependency situation and which made it difficult for them, as adults, to succeed in economic competition. These handicaps, in the case of the second generation, and the same thing is largely true of succeeding generations, seem to have taken the form of a lack of education and a lack of vocational training. The result of this deficiency seems to be particularly apparent when the family transferred its residence to the city and the support of the kinship group was withdrawn. In this situation the members were totally unprepared to gain a livelihood for the family through recognized occupations.

In this connection, the question arises inevitably as to whether the members of this family have not suffered also from a handicap of mental deficiency. In an attempt to answer this question, intelligence tests were given to several of the members. Since it was impossible for the investigator to compel members of the family to go to a clinic or to take the tests, it was found necessary to have a trained tester visit in the homes and secure tests on as many children as possible. In all, tests were given to ten children, members of the third and of the fourth generations. The scores secured by these tests are as shown in Table I.

TABLE I

Generation	Family	Sex	Age	I.Q.
Third.....	A	boy	7	108
Third.....	A	boy	7	87
Fourth.....	B	boy	6	110
Fourth.....	B	girl	9	95
Fourth.....	B	boy	13	77
Fourth.....	C	boy	13	108
Fourth.....	C	girl	9	90
Fourth.....	C	boy	7	84
Fourth.....	C	boy	11	73
Fourth.....	D	boy	9	70

It appears that these scores do indicate a trace of low mentality in the family. However, the percentage of persons showing low mentality in these tests is by no means as large as the percentage of persons having dependency and begging traits. It seems wise, therefore, to consider low mentality as a contributing handicap, and not as a direct causal factor.

In the matter of physical handicaps, the family does not seem to be subnormal. It, of course, does not have a clear bill of health, but, with the possible exception of two cases of venereal disease, the ailments suffered by the family seem to be those more or less common to all families. There are no blind, crippled, or deformed persons in the group.

On reaching maturity and facing economic problems with which he was unable to cope, there were several factors which favored a member of this family begging from public agencies and from in-

dividuals as a means of economic adjustment. In the first place, he was born and reared with the status of his family which was the status of a beggar. This meant that he did not have to give up friends, change social worlds, or suffer any additional social degradation if he took up the practice of begging. Furthermore, he suffered no personal disorganization by entering that profession. Being reared in a begging family, which had acquired a philosophy justifying its living out of the public bounty, the individual took over this philosophy along with other family traditions. Thus while he might have considered it "wrong" to steal, rob, or "bootleg," no compunction of conscience was suffered from begging. Finally, the child reared in one of these families served an apprenticeship in which he acquired a liberal knowledge of the begging techniques. He was taken along by adults or sent alone on begging expeditions and readily learned the techniques of securing aid from organizations and from individuals. In short, when the child reached adulthood, he had the philosophy of life, the technical knowledge, and the status which tended to make it easier for him to secure a livelihood through begging than through any other profession.

THE SOCIAL BELIEFS OF COLLEGE SENIORS

GEORGE J. DUDYCHA

Ripon College

ABSTRACT

A list of twenty-five propositions dealing with social and political problems and concepts was presented to 305 college Seniors from seven midwestern denominational colleges. The votes are compared with those previously obtained from Freshmen. The replies of the Seniors resemble closely those of the Freshmen. Both groups have a social philosophy in harmony with the leaders among their elders.

The nature and stability of a social group depend, in part, upon the beliefs and attitudes of the individual members who compose that group. Particularly timely and instructive is a study of the beliefs of adolescents, and more particularly that select group of adolescents who are in college, because many common-sense judgments have been made concerning their beliefs. These commonplace observations made by uncritical observers need to be corroborated or discarded. It is for this reason that the writer has undertaken to ascertain the extent of belief or disbelief of college Seniors with reference to certain problems, modes of behavior, and concepts.

The present report, which is a phase of a more extensive study, is concerned with some of the political and social beliefs of college Seniors. In earlier articles¹ the writer dealt with the religious, moral, popular, and social beliefs of college Freshmen.

The method of approach to this study is as follows: The Seniors of seven midwestern colleges² which participated in this investigation were presented a list of twenty-five propositions dealing with social and political problems and concepts, and were asked to respond to each by indicating their belief or disbelief. Since the questionnaire was submitted to the subjects during the spring of 1930, and thus almost at the close of their Senior year, their responses were no doubt colored to a greater or less extent by four

¹ "The Religious Beliefs of College Freshmen," *School and Society*, XXXI (1930), 206-8; "The Moral and Popular Beliefs of College Freshmen," *ibid.*, XXXII (1930), 69-72; "The Social Beliefs of College Freshmen," *ibid.*, pp. 846-49.

² The colleges which participated in this investigation are: (1) Baldwin-Wallace, (2) Coe, (3) Huron, (4) Illinois, (5) Milton, (6) Monmouth, (7) Ripon.

years of college instruction. The list of propositions submitted, given in Table I, was prefaced with the following instructions:

Opposite each of the following propositions make a cross [X], in one of the five columns, according to your belief.

Under A if you implicitly believe.

Under B if you are inclined to believe, but doubt.

Under C if you do not know whether you believe or do not believe [non-committal].

Under D if you are inclined to disbelieve and doubt.

Under E if you absolutely do not believe.

In Table I the propositions are listed in the order in which they were ranked by the 305 college Seniors who participated in this investigation. Proposition 1 was believed to the greatest extent, proposition 2 was believed to a less extent, and so on through the entire series to the last proposition, which was disbelieved to the greatest extent. The rank of each proposition was determined by the score.³

As we begin our examination of the results which were obtained for the 305 college Seniors, our attention is immediately drawn to the first three propositions which deal with three vital social institutions: the home, marriage, and the church. We note that 95 per cent of the Seniors believe that the home is a necessary social institution, that 91 per cent believe that marriage is indispensable to society, and that 89 per cent believe that the church is one of our necessary social stabilizers, especially when we have heard so much concerning what adolescents are supposed to believe. These results, then, certainly do not indicate that these representatives of modern youth have lost faith in the home, and that they look upon marriage as a ritual of fear and the church as a system of outworn taboos and liturgy. Faith in youth is here reassured, especially for those who have become somewhat apprehensive concerning the beliefs and attitudes of adolescents. But, someone may ask, what do these Seniors mean by marriage? This question we cannot answer definitely from our results; but one thing we can say: whatever they mean by marriage they certainly do not mean companionate marriage, for this proposition was ranked lowest, being disbelieved by 67 per cent

³ The score for each proposition was determined by giving each response a value as follows: A, +2; B, +1; C, 0; D, -1; E, -2.

of the subjects and believed by only 14 per cent. This again is a striking observation in view of the recent widespread publicity given to the idea of companionate marriage.

TABLE I*

LIST OF PROPOSITIONS

1. The home is a necessary social institution. (1)
2. The institution of marriage is necessary to society. (2)
3. The church is necessary to society. (3)
4. Venereal disease is a social menace. (5)
5. The democratic form of government is superior to the monarchical. (4)
6. Many government officials are "crooks." (8)
7. An individual is responsible for the welfare of others. (9)
8. The Golden Rule is a practical solution for social problems. (7)
9. One individual's rights end where another's begin. (13)
10. The United States government is the best form of government. (6)
11. Radicalism is a sign of progress. (21)
12. The government is not just to the workingman. (22)
13. The white race is superior. (10)
14. Capital punishment. (14)
15. Party government is the best form of government. (11)
16. All men are free and equal. (12)
17. The present form of the United States government will never change. (15)
18. Socialism. (23)
19. An unjust law should be disobeyed. (18)
20. Freedom is the absence of restraint. (16)
21. Divorce is a means of solving social problems. (19)
22. Class distinction. (20)
23. Equal distribution of wealth. (25)
24. The Constitution of the United States is a perfect document. (17)
25. Companionate marriage. (24)

* The number which appears in parentheses at the right of each proposition indicates the rank given to that statement by Freshmen.

Note again propositions 5, 6, and 10: "The democratic form of government is superior to the monarchical," "Many government officials are 'crooks,'" and "The United States government is the best form of government." Thus we see that the Seniors examined

ment, but they do not trust implicitly many of our government officials. Their attitude is like that of many adults; Democracy is the lesser evil although it is far from perfect as our Constitution is also far from perfect (proposition 24).

Another interesting grouping is that found in propositions 7, 8, and 9, each of which deals with one's attitude toward others. An individual is responsible for the welfare of others, and hence his treatment of others must be such as he would desire in return. This leads to the recognition of the rights and privileges of others. What better attitude or more adequate social philosophy might we desire of youth? Sometimes we are told that youths are ruthless, egotistical, and unconcerned about the rights and welfare of others, but if they are they do not defend it in theory.

College Seniors do not believe in the superiority of the white race (proposition 13) or in class distinction (proposition 21), but of the two propositions fewer believe in class distinction. Since the difference between the belief in the two propositions is 23 per cent, 70 of the 305 Seniors believe in the superiority of the white race but not in class distinction. It would be interesting to know just what distinction these 70 students make between these two concepts.

Our subjects are practically evenly divided on the proposition "Radicalism is a sign of progress"; 40 per cent believe it to be true, and 39 per cent believe it to be false. Although our study does not indicate the connotation which the term "radicalism" has for college Seniors, we may assume, with an equal chance of being right, that the college training of at least 50 per cent of the Seniors has been sufficiently thorough to lead them to a true understanding of the term. Although for some, radicalism, no doubt, means bolshevism, for others it means that attitude of mind which penetrates to the root or source of things. Thus the difference in the belief in this particular proposition is probably due, in part at least, to the two distinct meanings which may be given to the term "radical."

If the reader will examine carefully Tables I and II, he will observe many other interesting items. Some of the propositions which may be of interest are: "Equal distribution of wealth,"

"Capital punishment," "An unjust law should be disobeyed," "Socialism," and "All men are created free and equal."

Now that we have examined the social beliefs of college Seniors, let us briefly compare the results of this study with those obtained in an earlier study with Freshmen which was mentioned above. Again glancing at Table I, the reader will observe the rank given to each proposition by the Freshmen indicated by the number in parentheses at the end of each proposition. Both Freshmen and Seniors ranked the propositions dealing with the home, marriage,

TABLE II

PER CENT OF 305 SENIORS WHO MARKED PROPOSITIONS A, B, C, D, OR E

Prop. No.	A	B	C	D	E	Prop. No.	A	B	C	D	E
1.....	90	05	03	01	01	14.....	23	12	16	13	36
2.....	83	08	05	01	03	15.....	11	16	28	19	26
3.....	78	11	07	03	01	16.....	20	12	10	11	45
4.....	80	03	07	00	10	17.....	04	15	20	16	45
5.....	63	13	11	05	08	18.....	08	15	30	13	34
6.....	49	20	12	08	11	19.....	15	11	20	11	43
7.....	41	26	14	08	11	20.....	19	08	14	08	51
8.....	39	22	12	12	15	21.....	11	11	12	15	51
9.....	34	16	23	07	20	22.....	09	11	13	16	51
10.....	20	29	19	15	17	23.....	07	07	13	18	55
11.....	19	21	21	13	26	24.....	03	12	15	16	54
12.....	15	19	27	16	23	25.....	03	11	19	11	56
13.....	22	21	08	08	41						

and the church as necessary social institutions first, second, and third in the order mentioned. Companionate marriage was ranked twenty-fourth by the Freshmen and twenty-fifth by the Seniors. Many other interesting relationships may be noted by a more detailed comparison of the results obtained for Freshmen with those obtained for Seniors.

From this study what may we conclude? Perhaps a word of caution is necessary. We must not speculate too freely in a statistical investigation of this type, but must hold rigidly to the specific items which the data include. We have noted that the Seniors of the particular colleges which participated in this study value the home, marriage, and the church as three fundamental and necessary social institutions. Also they recognize the rights, privileges, and integrity

of others and are rather greatly inclined to accept the responsibility for the welfare of others. They disbelieve in companionate marriage, that the Constitution of the United States is a perfect document, and in the equal distribution of wealth. To what extent these attitudes and beliefs govern the behavior of our subjects we cannot say; but if we are inclined toward behaviorism, we shall probably agree that attitude or mental set is a rather reliable indicator of the type of behavior which we may expect. This, however, is a problem for further investigation. What certainly is evident, from the results of this study, is that the social beliefs of the college Seniors who were questioned resemble rather closely those of the college Freshmen tested, and that this particular group of students have a social philosophy in harmony with the leaders among their elders.

NEWS AND NOTES

Personnel Exchange.—With this issue the *Journal* inaugurates a service for members of the Society who are available for appointment to positions in research, teaching, or administration. Members of the Society are invited to make use of this arrangement and to bring it to the attention of executive and administrative offices. The list will be limited to members of the American Sociological Society who request inclusion and send a description giving facts to be printed. Statements should be about sixty words or less. There are no fees or commissions.

The present financial situation warrants this effort to serve the interest of our members and of the institutions where their services may be needed. The plan is experimental but will be continued at least throughout the calendar year of 1932.

The editors of the *Journal* will not enter into correspondence regarding the persons listed. Correspondents who are interested in any of the members listed below should address them *by number* in care of the *American Journal of Sociology*, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, and the letters will be immediately forwarded.

M.1. Ph.D. Columbia; ten years university teaching in professorial rank; five years in foreign service of the state department; two years in social work; research in China, India, and Russia; author of nine books; seeks chair in university or college of first rank; prefers to teach courses in systematic sociology and cultural evolution.

M.2. Ph.D. under Cooley, 1925. Has one year college teaching appointment. One year of teaching in the Near East. Over two years foreign study and travel. Fields: "Family," "Introductory Course," "History of Social Thought," "Pathology."

M.3. A.B. in political science, University of Illinois in 1926, with minors in sociology, history, and economics; A.M. in sociology, Columbia University in 1927; now completing residence requirements for Ph.D. at Columbia; instructor one semester in college, three years in university.

M.4. Ph.D. in sociology, Ohio State, 1931. Education in Czechoslovakia, Ireland, Union Theological Seminary, Chicago Theological Seminary, University of Chicago. One semester's teaching experience in state university. Especially fitted to teach "Introduction to Sociology," "Immi-

"Social Problems." Available now.

M.5. Ph.D. Nine years' college teaching. Research U.S. and Europe. Author of 1931 book in labor field, besides articles and reviews. Prefers labor problems, immigration, population, family, general principles. Salary, 4,000-4,500. Available now.

W.6. Taught seven years in university, one in college. Now engaged in research for Ph.D. and in writing. Particular interest in criminology, immigration, social pathology, family, general principles. Salary, 3,000-3,500.

W.7. Ph.B. Chicago, 1922; M.A. Minnesota, 1925; Ph.D. Chicago, 1931. Eight years' experience as supervisor of recreation in the municipal playgrounds of Chicago; two years' high-school teaching; eighteen months as teaching assistant and instructor in sociology, University of Minnesota. Research interests: races and nationalities, preschool personality studies, social change. Available now teaching or research position.

M.8. Age 28; A.B. University of Illinois with high honors in history, 1925, Phi Beta Kappa; A.M. (history) Harvard, 1927. Edited revision of sociology text published 1930. Fellow in sociology, University of Chicago, 1929-32. Ph.D. thesis subject: "Nationalistic Movements."

M.9. A.M. University of Chicago. Three years of graduate study in sociology and political science. Twenty-two years of successful teaching and administrative experience in college work. Available September, 1932.

M.10. Age 28, Canadian; A.B. McGill, 1927; A.M. in Sociology, McGill, 1928; Fellow, University of Chicago, 1931-32; Ph.D. thesis: "Probation Prediction." Preaching, eastern and western Canada, summers, 1922-27; immigration survey for Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1928-30; teaching assistant in sociology at McGill and University of Chicago. Author of *The Ukrainian Canadians*, published 1931.

M.11. University of Montana, A.B. 1929, M.A. 1927; Ph.D. Chicago, 1932. Thesis published by University of Chicago Press. Teaching assistant, University of Chicago, 1931-32. Age 30, married, one six-year-old son.

M.12. Ph.D. 1924, University of Chicago. Five years teaching experience in municipal college, and four years as head of department in small college. Research and published articles in urban sociology and criminology.

The American Sociological Society.—The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Sociological Society was held in Washington, D.C., December 28-31, 1931. Approximately five hundred members, from all

sections of the country, were in attendance. Nearly one-fifth of this number were registered from New York State.

An important feature of the meetings was the number of joint sessions held with the following associations, which were also meeting in Washington at the time: the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Farm Economics Association, and the National Community Center Association. The presidential addresses of the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, and the American Sociological Society were given in a joint meeting. The respective topics were: "Pushing Back the Frontiers," by Ernest L. Bogart, University of Illinois; "Statistics and Art," by William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago; and "Social Process on the Pacific Coast," by Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California.

The general topic of the meetings this year was "Social Process." Various aspects of the problem were considered in the seven division meetings—on human ecology, social psychology, theory of sociology, social process, social research, social biology, and population. These sessions took the form of presentation and discussion of four or five twenty-minute papers, with the chairman of the division presiding.

Many of the section meetings, particularly those on the Family, on Educational Sociology, on Rural Sociology, on Social Statistics, and on Sociology and Social Work, were devoted to analysis and discussion of the processes involved in specific phases and instances of our social life, such as the schools, the church, the family, community chest, etc. The sections on the Community and on the Sociology of Religion each had special meetings for the reports of studies and projects in their respective fields. The Section on Rural Sociology had a session with the American Farm Economics Association on "The Human Factor in Agriculture." In two other meetings they discussed "Methods of Studying the Social Processes in Rural Life," and "The Comparative Influence of Culture Patterns on Rural Social Processes in the United States and in the Orient." A round-table discussion on "Regionalism" was held with the Section on the Community.

Outstanding in interest at the business meetings were the proposals for such reorganization of the Society as would make it more effective in carrying on its activities, particularly in the field of promoting sociological research. One group of proposals was presented for discussion by Stuart A. Rice, chairman of the Special Committee on the Scope of Research in Sociology, appointed by the Executive Committee at its last annual meeting. The other group of proposals was presented by an

unofficial committee of which Maurice Parmelee was the chairman. Action was taken on only two proposals of this latter group, namely, the appointment of a committee to consider a plebiscite for the nomination of officers of the Society (J. E. Cutler, George A. Lundberg, and E. B. Reuter), and the appointment of a committee to consider a plan for the control of the official journal and the other publications of the Society (F. E. Lumley, Stuart A. Rice, and U. G. Weatherly).

A change in the constitution recommended by a special committee (Ellsworth Faris, chairman) was voted giving the Section on Rural Sociology a representative on the Executive Committee. The Special Committee on the Scope of Research in Sociology which had prepared a tentative program for the reorganization of the Society was continued for another year.

The Society voted to petition the American Association for the Advancement of Science for the privilege of affiliation.

The plan proposed by the Social Science Research Council for holding a World Congress of Social Sciences at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago in June, 1933, was approved, and it was voted to hold a special meeting of the Society as a part of such a Congress should the plans mature.

Resolutions in Memory of Professor Franklin Henry Giddings, third president of the Society, and Professor Frank W. Blackmar, ninth president of the Society, were passed and will be published in the *Proceedings*.

Patrick Geddes, Montpelier, France, who has been president of the British Sociological Society, and S. R. Steinmetz of the University of Amsterdam were unanimously elected as honorary members of the Society.

The officers elected for the year 1932 are as follows: president, L. L. Bernard, Washington University; first vice-president, C. J. Galpin, United States Department of Agriculture; second vice-president, Neva R. Deardorff, Welfare Council of New York; secretary-treasurer and managing editor, Louis Wirth, University of Chicago. The newly elected members of the Executive Committee are: Stuart A. Rice, University of Pennsylvania; H. A. Miller, Oberlin, Ohio; and Edmund deS. Brunner, Institute of Social and Religious Research.

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the January issue and up to January 15 are as follows:

Armstrong, Hazel, Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Ind.
Ashton, Elma Hope, 306 W. Franklin St., Chapel Hill, N.C.

- Atkinson, Robert K., 420 Lexington Ave., New York
Baldyreff, John W., Perkins Hall, No. 80, Cambridge, Mass.
Barkley, James A., University of Delaware, Newark, Del.
Bellows, Elsie E., 926 South Crouse Ave., Syracuse, N.Y.
Berek, Samuel I., Y.M.C.A., Lincoln, Neb.
Boyd, Frances, 264 Summer St., Buffalo, N.Y.
Brown, Roy Melton, Box 709, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Bryson, Gladys, Dept. of Economics and Sociology, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
Burgin, Miron, 242 Jamaica Way, Boston, Mass.
Carter, Ruth Thornton, Dept. of Sociology, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.
Carter, Sam R., 1813 Indiana St., Lawrence, Kan.
Chandler, George, 803 State St., Madison, Wis.
Chesbro, George W., Phoenix, N.Y.
Cook, Lloyd Allen, % Dept. of Sociology, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Cross, Grace A., 1547 Kentucky Ave., Apt. 2, Lawrence, Kan.
Deadman, Homer R., 525 N. 15th St., Lincoln, Neb.
Dunlap, Sheldon, 967 Ackerman Ave., Syracuse, N.Y.
Earp, James P., Drew Forest, Madison, N.J.
Edouards, Sister, College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minn.
Field, Mr. and Mrs. F. V., 865 First Ave., New York
Gane, Marguerite, 70 W. Chippewa St., Buffalo, N.Y.
Haak, Leo A. T., 301 E. Holden Green, Cambridge, Mass.
Hale, Lloyd Harry, Room 162, Central Hotel, Lincoln, Neb.
Harman, Horace Cyril, 7 Pine Street, Homer, N.Y.
Komarovskiy, Mirra, 40 Mamaroneck, White Plains, N.Y.
Labarec, Robert M., Lincoln University, Pa.
Lippman, Blessing (Miss), 815 Virginia Ave., Columbia, Mo.
Magnusson, Leifur, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.
Meyer, Harold D., Dept. of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Miller, Samuel Howard, 179 Washington Ave., Clifton, N.J.
Mullins, Gifford L., Room 441, Y.M.C.A., Lincoln, Neb.
Myers, Earl D., School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
Nathan, Marvin, 3417 Ridge Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Newman, S. Clayton, 67 S. Cedar St., Oberlin, Ohio
Newmann, George Bradford, 107 Claremont Ave., Buffalo, N.Y.
Norman, Charles B., Greenville, Ind.
Parker, Harry B., Union Mills, Ind.
Petty, Howard K., State Hospital, Warren, Pa.
Pruitt, Anne Beckwith, Box 56, New Bern, N.C.
Shannon, Alexander H., Box 207, Arlington, Va.

Silverberg, William V., 1726 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Sipple, Chester E., Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Ill.
 Steeble, Edwin, Jr., Dept. of Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Stone, Sarah, 1229 Knox Ave., North Minneapolis, Minn.
 Swander, Thomas Lester, 213 Glenridge Ave., Montclair, N.J.
 Taylor, Horace, 294 Walnut St., Brookline, Mass.
 Toler, Lessie O., 308 Pittsboro St., Chapel Hill, N.C.
 Van Saun, Arthur C., 313 Twelfth St., Huntingdon, Pa.
 Wailes, Bertha, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
 Walton, G. M., State Normal College Library, Ypsilanti, Mich.
 Wisner, Elizabeth, School of Social Service, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
 Wright, M. L., Greenville, N.C.
 Young, Ina V., 1022 Monmouth Ave., Durham, N.C.

American Country Life Association.—The next annual American Country Life Conference will be held in the early fall of 1932 at Minneapolis, Minnesota, and the topic will be: "Rural Adult Education." The 1933 Conference will be held at Blacksburg, Virginia, in connection with the Virginia Polytechnic Institute's Annual Institute of Rural Affairs, and the topic will be: "A National Policy for Agriculture and Rural Life."

Institute for Social Research.—The Institute for Social Research of Frankfurt am Main announces the publication of the first number of the *Journal for Social Research* (*Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*) which succeeds the *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*. The journal will be devoted primarily to current investigations into the economic, psychological, and sociological factors in modern social life. The publisher is C. L. Hirschfeld, Verlag, Leipzig, and the price is six marks per number.

International Congress of Genetics.—Over five hundred members have already enrolled for the Sixth International Congress of Genetics. Many of these have done so recently. Because of the past uncertainty of holding the Congress, it seems probable that there are many other individuals who, now that it has been definitely decided to go ahead, will wish to join as soon as possible. For this reason the Council has decided to extend the date for ten-dollar memberships until May 1, 1932. After that date the membership will be at an increased fee, twelve dollars. Graduate students and assistants may join as six-dollar members until May 1, 1932. After that date their memberships will be at the rate of seven dol-

lars. Both of these revisions have been made because of the exceptional economic conditions and because the Council is anxious, in so far as it is possible, to avoid having financial considerations a deterrent to memberships. The number of people who have already joined insure a representative and highly successful Congress, and reveal as well the great amount of active interest in genetics at the present time. The guaranty that proceedings will be published, and that each member will receive a copy, has proved to be a strong attraction, not only to geneticists but to many biologists in other fields.

International Conference of Social Work.—The International Conference of Social Work is to be held at Frankfurt am Main in 1932. Plans are being made for American participation by social workers under a committee of the National Conference of Social Work, 277 East Long Street, Columbus, Ohio.

International Congress of Psychology.—The Tenth International Congress of Psychology will be held in Copenhagen, Denmark, August 22–27, 1932. For information, address the secretary of the Tenth International Congress of Psychology, 6 Studiestraede, Copenhagen K., Denmark.

International Recreation Congress.—The National Recreation Association of the United States announces that in 1932 the first International Recreation Congress will be held at Los Angeles, July 23–29. The objectives of the Congress will be (1) to provide an international exchange of information and experience on play, recreation, and the recreational use of leisure, (2) to build interest and support for the movements in all countries, (3) to provide means of developing international good will.

Seventh American Scientific Congress.—As the *Journal* goes to press, plans are being consummated for the Seventh Pan-American Scientific Congress to be held in Mexico City, February 5–19, 1932. Dr. Alfonso Pruneda is the president of the organizing committee. The Congress will give its attention to the following matters: physical and mathematical sciences; general and applied geology; engineering; industrial chemistry; biology; scientific agriculture; medicine; hygiene and public health; anthropological and historical sciences; juridical sciences; social and economic sciences, and education.

Social Science Research Council.—With the retirement of Dr. Robert S. Woodworth, Columbia University, as president of the Council, Dr. Robert T. Crane, formerly professor of political science, University of

Michigan, the permanent secretary of the Council, becomes its executive head. The other officers for the year 1931-32 are: chairman, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard University; vice-chairman, William F. Ogburn, University of Chicago; secretary, R. H. Coats, dominion statistician for Canada; and treasurer, Isaiah Bowman, American Geographical Society.

During the seventh year of the Council the chief activities which it has supported are: research fellowships, fellowships in agricultural economics and rural sociology, southern fellowships, summer conference, social science abstracts, and committee work.

The advisory committees of the Committee on Problems and Policy for 1931-32 are on the following: consumption and leisure, crime, the family, personality and culture, population review, pressure groups and propaganda, public administration, the seminar in culture and personality, social and economic research in agriculture, social statistics.

A copy of the seventh annual report may be secured by writing the secretary, Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York.

Social Work in Canada.—At present there are four centers for training social workers in Canada: McGill School for Social Workers, McGill University; the department of social service, University of Toronto; the Manitoba School of Social Science, Winnipeg; the department of economics and sociology, University of British Columbia, which gives a few technical courses. The training of social workers is in a state of flux in Canada although the agencies are asking for trained social workers in every city in Canada, and the demand greatly exceeds the supply. Owing to the limited English-speaking constituency in and about Montreal, McGill University has had difficulty in developing a strong school without heavy expenditure and has decided to close the McGill School for Social Workers. This will leave, after the close of the present college year, the University of Toronto as the only school in Canada granting a diploma in social work which has the recognition of professional social workers.

The University of British Columbia began its preliminary organization of social work training in connection with the department of economics and sociology in 1929. Professor C. W. Topping has charge of this phase of the work. The technical courses offered fall into four groups: (1) family welfare, (2) child welfare, (3) group work, and (4) medical background. Laboratory practice includes from eight to fifteen hours of field work, carried out in conjunction with the courses in family welfare and child welfare under supervision and with the assistance of local organizations, and two months of supervised unremunerated service during the summer in an agency accredited by the university.

The School of Social Science in Winnipeg was launched under the auspices of the department of education and the department of health and public welfare. The University of Manitoba gives lecture-room space and the use of such facilities as may be required in the classes. For the most part the students of this school are people actively engaged in social work in Winnipeg and throughout the province. The lectures are given for one hour each afternoon on such subjects as economics, sociology, principles of case work, history of social legislation, psychology, psychiatry, criminology, public health, industrial development and correlated problems. At the end of a two-year period in what is a form of extension education service, those who have passed their examinations successfully are granted a diploma by the authority of the department of health and public welfare.

During the past few years a Canadian conference organization has been set up and there is a Canadian conference on social work, attended by about a thousand persons every second year. During recent years a Canadian association of social workers, which has been organized with a membership that extends across Canada, is engaged in raising the standards of social work and is now taking up the whole training problem as it faces Canadian social workers. Another important group interested in all the problems of organizing social work and training for it is the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare, whose secretary is Miss Charlotte Whitton. Other national organizations which have a close relationship to social work activity are the Mental Hygiene Committee of Canada, the Social Service Council of Canada, and the Community Welfare Council of Ontario.

Sociological Monographs.—Beginning with the academic year 1932-33, the department of sociology at the University of Michigan will sponsor a monograph series in sociology. The joint editors will be Robert C. Angell and Lowell J. Carr. The material will be photo-lithoprinted by Edwards Brothers in Ann Arbor. It is planned to publish monographs which are too long for magazine articles but not long enough to appear as books—10,000 to 50,000 words. These will be sold separately at the rate of one cent a page. Yearly subscriptions for the whole series will be \$5.00 for slightly more than 500 pages.

The monographs are to be of a research character. It is hoped that the more mature research work of established scholars will be submitted as well as accepted Doctor's theses. The publication of the monographs will be financed by the authors themselves. When a manuscript has been accepted by the editors for publication, the author will be required to

deposit \$3.00 per page as lithoprinted. Since the page to be used contains more than 800 words, a monograph of 20,000 words will require a deposit of less than \$75.00. There will be 300 copies of each monograph produced (unless the author wishes to finance a larger number) and the author will receive all the proceeds from the sale. If all 300 copies are sold, the author will be completely reimbursed.

It is expected that the monographs will appear at least once a month during the academic year. The editors are now prepared to receive monographs for consideration.

Bryn Mawr College.—Henry Holt and Company announces the publication of *The Technique of Social Progress* by Hornell Hart, professor of sociology.

McGill University.—The department is engaged in co-operation with the other social science departments of the University in a research project on unemployment. A number of community studies are included, and three research assistants, aided by other sociological students from each of the departments of sociology, economics, and of psychology and education combined, are at work. The whole project is being carried on for the most part in the metropolitan area of Montreal and is under the general direction of Mr. L. C. Marsh, who was brought to McGill from the University of London to take charge of the research work of the social sciences in the University.

For a number of years Professor C. A. Dawson, chairman of the department, has been director of the sociological phases of the research into the social and economic structure of pioneer regions (the three western prairie provinces). Some of this material will soon be ready for publication.

The Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago has recently published Professor Hughes's monograph, *The Growth of an Institution: The Chicago Real Estate Board*.

University of Missouri.—In September Professor Walter Burr was appointed by the governor as executive secretary to a state unemployment commission. Arrangements have been made for his teaching and research work in order that he may give time to the work of the commission.

In 1929 a project was started providing for the selection of ten communities with a view to observing trends in their activity and development over a ten-year period. Co-operation was secured in three communities the first year. A bulletin entitled, "Community Trends," *Research Bulletin 161*, by Henry J. Burt, is ready for distribution.

A study in "Developments in Public Welfare in Missouri," made by Professor Walter Burr with the assistance of Mr. George Gemmell, has been completed and the report is now being published. It is the basis of a doctor's dissertation presented by Mr. Gemmell.

Ohio State University.—Professor C. E. Lively has returned from a year's leave at the University of Minnesota where he prepared a manuscript on "The Growth and Decline of Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1905-1930," to be published by the Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station. He has also recently published two papers: "The Appearance and Disappearance of Minor Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1905-1930," in *Social Forces* for October, 1931; and "Changes and Trends in Rural Neighborhood Life," in the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work for 1931*.

A mimeographed bulletin on "Some Trends in Rural Social Organization in Four Ohio Counties," by E. D. Tetreau, R. C. Smith, and J. P. Schmidt, is now ready for distribution. It gives a historical sketch of the organization developments, preparatory to more detailed study.

Mr. P. G. Beck has returned from a year's leave and graduate study at the University of Wisconsin. He is now engaged in a study of the new population data for Ohio made available by the 1930 Census.

A new bulletin of the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station entitled "Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio: II. The Individual Aspect," has just been distributed. The authors are P. G. Beck and C. E. Lively. This bulletin concludes the series of printed and mimeographed bulletins which has been issued from the Ohio Station on this subject.

Municipal University of Omaha.—The department announces the publication of the following research studies in Omaha: *Medical Social Service*, by Dr. T. Earl Sullenger and Miss Gertrude Carlson; and *The Negro in Omaha*, by Dr. Sullenger and Mr. J. Harvey Kerns.

On November 3-5, 1931, an exhibit of thirty-six maps of Omaha and seven charts portraying social conditions in the city was held by the department. A special feature was a series of eighteen maps portraying in detail the conditions in Ward Seven, which includes the packing-house area.

Smith College.—Professor Howard Becker has recently been elected a corresponding member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie. During the summer session, 1932, he will teach at Columbia University. One of his courses will be "Contemporary Sociological Theories." John Wiley

and Sons have just brought out his amplified adaptation of Wiese's *Allgemeine Soziologie* under the title of *Systematic Sociology*.

South Dakota State College of Agriculture.—Professor W. F. Kumlien, assisted by Paul H. Landis, is making in selected communities a study of "Town-Country Relationships in South Dakota." Professor Kumlien will study certain economic and social relationships existing between town and country areas in South Dakota from the standpoint of their effect on community organization.

University of Southern California.—Jesse Ray Miller, publisher, announces the publication of *Contemporary Sociology* by Emory S. Bogardus, professor of sociology.

The Training School for Jewish Social Work.—The Columbia University Press announces the publication in October, 1931, of *The Scientific Basis of Social Work* by Maurice J. Karpf, Director of The Training School for Jewish Social Work. The book is divided into seventeen chapters organized into four parts as follows: "What Knowledge Do Social Workers Need?" "What Knowledge Do Social Workers Use?" "What Knowledge Do Social Workers Receive?" "How May Social Work Acquire a Scientific Basis?"

Corrections.—Professor Evelyn Buchan's leave of absence, reported in the November *Journal*, is from Smith College and not from the University of Maine, as the notice stated.

For William S. Johnson read Charles S. Johnson in "Current Research Projects," January, 1932, *Journal*, item 26, page 622, items 79 and 80, page 627.

MASTERS' THESES AND DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

The editors of the *American Journal of Sociology* are sending to universities and colleges in the United States blanks requesting information on dissertations in progress by candidates for higher degrees in sociology. If any department of sociology does not receive a request, it is asked to send in immediately the name of the student, degrees now held with name of institution conferring, degree sought, title of dissertation, probable date of completion of work, and name of institution where the work is being carried on.

BOOK REVIEWS

The New Social Science. Edited by LEONARD D. WHITE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930. Pp. ix+132. \$1.50.

This brief but solid and important little volume contains a series of twelve addresses marking the inauguration, to quote President Hutchins, of "an experiment in co-operation, an experiment in research, an experiment in education, all resulting from an experiment in housing" (p. 3). The occasion was the dedication of the Social Science Research Building at the University of Chicago in December, 1929. In editing the collection, Professor White was faced with diversities which prevented any unification of subject matter other than that of felicitous expression suited to the occasion. The address by Professor Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy of the University of Hamburg is the extreme illustration. His discussion of "Bureaucracy in a Nation's Lean Years: The German Experience," while of great interest to students of social structure, public administration, and post-war history, bears no discernible relation to the rest of the papers. To a lesser extent a similar comment pertains to the historical and analytic statement by Professor Célestin Bouglé of the Sorbonne on "The Present Tendency of the Social Sciences in France." The remainder of the papers, however, constitute together a most valuable compendium of what may be termed the methodological philosophies of some of the outstanding leaders of American social science. In a number of instances, at least, the views set forth represent an epitome of the author's position which can nowhere else be found in so pithy and compact a form.

The major problem to which this majority of the speakers addressed themselves, whether by design or coincidence, may be stated as follows: What is the relationship of "social" to "natural" science and to philosophy particularly in those border regions where the viewpoints and techniques of more than a single discipline must be invoked? The significance of the border regions is explored with cogency and illumination in papers by Dean Milton C. Winternitz of the Yale School of Medicine, President John C. Merriam of the Carnegie Institution, and Professor C. Judson Herrick of the University of Chicago, each a "natural" scientist whose researches have necessitated attention to social data and social implications.

What is the relationship of reflection, of thought, of "philosophy," on the one hand, to the more technical, factual, and oftentimes more manually laborious aspects of research? It is unfortunate that anyone assumes that the latter may be divorced from the former, and yet precisely this assumption has recently been made in an appeal for greater support by research organizations to thought and philosophy per se, as contrasted with scientific observation and measurement. The unreality of the supposed antithesis crops out frequently in the papers before us, at least so far as it applies to the quantitative research worker. The latter, according to Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, "needs just as clear a mind, at least as much leisure, and as many books" as the political scientist concerned with the theory of the state or an economist dealing with theoretical problems of static equilibrium. He needs in addition

a great deal of help from statistical clerks and computers, and these assistants should be provided with machines. . . . Yet no one supposes that technical proficiency and a wide range of contacts suffice to make significant discoveries. There must be also the philosophic grasp and the ability to see with one's own eyes which distinguish men like the inspirers of research who shed luster upon Chicago

in Mitchell's student days (pp. 9, 15).

Similarly President Merriam: "New fields of thinking opened by the penetration of research into nature are sometimes visualized through the medium of a theory, and sometimes by use of an instrument" (p. 29). Sir William Beveridge, director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, asserts

that the social scientist, even less than other scientists, should not be content with mere accumulation of facts. Mere accumulation of facts is never science, but it is even further from being so in social science than in other studies, because facts uninterpreted so much more rapidly lose value and meaning. Their moral must be drawn and the generalizations made as the facts are collected, while they are fresh in the mind [p. 47].

And Professor Bouglé with approval attributes to Durkheim an expression of "the need for finding a happy medium between the recess of particular details and the excess of generalities a priori, between the verbalism common to too many philosophers and the micrology dear to too many historians" (p. 67). Is it possible that Professor Charles A. Ellwood ("Scientific Method in Sociology," *Social Forces*, October, 1931) is criticizing not the social scientists of what he regards as a "hard boiled" quantitative school but rather the "statistical clerks and computers" which they employ, or even the calculating machines with which these work?

And yet there is a point at which the "social philosopher"—a term which I employ with regret for lack of a better—does really arrive at a genuine issue with the social scientist. The former is often prone to confuse his wishes, his ideals, his ethical valuations, on the one side, with his scientific data, upon the other. And at this point there is no evidence of surrender or compromise within Professor White's scientific assemblage. Thus, Sir William Beveridge:

Heaven forbid that any scientist should ever consider seriously what use if any can or will be made of his work! In fact, he does not consider this. Driven on by curiosity and a cold fury of desire to bring order into his understanding of the world, he is the slave of appetites as imperious as those of hunger or sex, though not like sex or hunger satiable [p. 53].

The arm-chair method, even in its most factual form, is discredited by President Harold G. Moulton of the Brookings Institution when he states the conviction that the theorist who would arrive at new generalizations must do more than scan the work done by statisticians, fact-finders, and descriptive writers; he must himself be a worker in the vineyard; the surest interpretations are likely to be those growing out of the inductive investigations in which the theorist is himself engaged [p. 58].

Professor Bouglé quotes the warning of Coulanges: "Many years of analysis are necessary for one hour of synthesis" (p. 69).

Some of the addresses have particular value for methodological discussion within particular ranges of inquiry, or because of the particular point of view from which they are expressed. Among these are the papers of Professor Franz Boas, whose generalizations growing out of a lifetime of research in anthropology are perhaps the most brilliant in the volume; of Mr. Beardsley Rumml, late director of the Spelman Fund, now dean of the Division of Social Science at the University of Chicago; of Professor Herrick, already quoted; and of Professor Edwin B. Wilson, at that time president of the Social Science Research Council.

Boas reiterates the view, familiar to his students, that "attempts to reduce all social phenomena to a closed system of laws applicable to each society and explaining its structure and history do not seem a promising undertaking" (p. 96). Social science runs "the danger . . . that the widest generalizations that may be obtained by the study of cultural integration are commonplaces" (pp. 95-96). "An error of modern anthropology, as I see it, lies in the overemphasis on historical reconstruction, the importance of which should not be minimized, as against a penetrating study of the individual under the stress of the culture in which he lives" (p. 98).

Mr. Ruml speaks "as a layman, as an administrator who in the last few years has had much to do with social scientists, and very little indeed," so he modestly asserts, "with social science" (p. 99). He senses a tendency to regard: "as irrelevant and obsolete the question of whether the social sciences are really sciences" (p. 99); a reaction against "the extreme to which veneration for measurement had gone" (p. 101); and an increasing emphasis upon a view of "social phenomena as complex behavior of a naturalistic world" (p. 105). Furthermore, questions are listed concerning what may be called the administrative aspects of social science as, for example, "the function and usefulness of the professional societies: to what extent do they stimulate a trade union consciousness; to what extent are they utilized as a vehicle for sectarian politics; to what extent do they really do more harm than good scientifically?" (p. 104).

Professor Herrick concludes an illuminating plea for recognition of the humanities and the world of spiritual values with an even more vigorous plea for a monistic approach which will include these subjects within the general domain of science. This is a view which is undoubtedly shared in actuality, and implicitly so in his present paper, by Professor Wilson. His address delivered at the University Chapel, strictly speaking, did not belong in the present series, but it provides a fitting conclusion to the ensemble.

And what is science? A body of corroborated fact? Yes, truly. And scientific theory a body of co-ordinated facts. But, more essentially, science is a co-operative effort toward a united understanding; it is an eternal future, an everlasting hope. In none of these, its really fundamental characteristics, is there any difference between one science and another, between chemistry and sociology, between physics and ethnology [pp. 128-29].

STUART A. RICE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The Interpretation of Development and Heredity: A Study in Biological Method. By E. S. RUSSELL. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. Pp. 312.

One of the incidental consequences of the recent lively interest in the problem of methods of research in the social sciences has been to force students of sociology to face again the question as to the nature and specific characteristics of that unity and concert among individuals which makes it possible, and for certain purposes desirable, to regard them as a society rather than a mere collection of independent and unrelated individuals.

This is essentially the old question, in a new form, of "the one and the

many"—a question which every science that seeks to be systematic has had to answer at some period in its history, and has actually answered at different times in different ways.

It is this problem of the one and the many, or of the relations of the parts to the whole, as the biologists have conceived it, which is the central theme of this volume. *The Interpretation of Development and Heredity* is, as the author characterizes it, "a study in biological methods." More specifically it is a historical and critical account of the various ways in which, at different periods in its history, students of biology have sought to describe, conceptually, the biological organism.

On the whole there have been in biology and, perhaps, also in other sciences, two, and only two, fundamental schools of thought—"two fundamental conceptions which are ageless and persist, however much they may be altered, extended or transformed by the discovery of new facts." They are represented in biology by the preformists or preformationists and the epigenesists; by those students who put the emphasis upon structure and those who put the emphasis upon function.

In psychology the two fundamental points of view are probably best represented, on the one hand, by the behaviorists who have sought to explain behavior in terms of ultimate psycho-physiological units, namely, the reflexes, and, on the other, by the Gestalt school, representing the organic point of view—the view, namely, that in psychology, as elsewhere, the whole is not a sum of its parts, and that perceptual objects, for example, cannot be properly conceived as constituted by the perceptual elements or sensations into which analysis reduces them.

Even in physics, where the analytic method has been most successfully applied in the effort to reduce the universe to ultimate but substantial particles—i.e., elements, atoms, electrons, etc.—the material conception has been superseded by a mathematical one, in which the universe assumes the character of a "symbolic structure of which no mechanical model is possible." The recognition that time, as well as space, is an integral element in the constitution of things has led—in this field of investigation, also—to the notion that the nature of things "is not determined by the nature of their parts but by the nature or principle of their organization." (See address of J. C. Smuts, president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, London, September 23, 1931, *Science*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 1917 [September 25, 1931].)

It is considerations of this sort that have led Whitehead to the notion that the cosmos must be ultimately conceived as a series of "events" rather than as an aggregate of things.

In the field of the social sciences it is the statisticians, as one might expect from the nature of the statistical method and the preconceptions upon which that method is based, who have found the conception of society as a numerical aggregate, i.e., without essential unity, as best adapted to their purposes.

On the other hand, those writers who have conceived the fundamental character of society to be concerted action insist that the conception of society as a mere population aggregate is not adequate. The nature of society "lies in its constitution more than in its parts," and the principle which declares that "the part in the whole is no longer the same as the part in isolation" applies in the field of the social as well as the physical and biological sciences.

The fundamental notions of biological theory, as they have been worked out by different students at different times, exhibit the same architectonic types as those of other systematic sciences.

"There are—apparently—" says the author, "only one or two possible ways of interpreting development open to the human intelligence, and these few alternative methods tend to recur again and again throughout the whole history of biological science." This is due to the fact that biology, like other systematic sciences, "is by no means a transcript of fact, but in large measure a construction of mind, a conceptual edifice, the lines and plans of which may vary according to the type of mind of its architect."

This volume is concerned with this conceptual edifice only so far as it has served students of biology in their efforts to describe and explain development, heredity, and reproduction, "considered as essential and fundamental functions common to all living things."

Fundamental differences with respect to heredity, development, and reproduction go back to Aristotle and Hypocrates. The latter represented the preformationist's theories of that period; the former the epigenesist's.

Recent investigation has added enormously to our knowledge of the facts, and these new facts have given occasion to more elaborate theories and ingenious logical constructions; but the general architectural type of the new theories, whether epigenesist or preformist, have not altered.

As W. M. Wheeler puts it:

He who finds little difficulty in passing from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous will take an epigenic view of development. . . . On the other hand he who readily idealizes and schematizes, whose mind is endowed with a certain artistic keenness, has an appetite for form and structures, and a tendency to make these forms final patterns, eternal moulds,

more permanent than the substance that is poured into them—such a one will find more difficulties in understanding how the homogeneous can become the heterogeneous [p. 28].

We are concerned here, it seems, with ideas so fundamental that they seem to be “rooted in the very constitution of the human mind” and this suggests that whether a biologist is to be a preformist or an epigenist is a matter biologically foreordained by the character and condition of his glands, or whatever determines temperament in the individual organism.

It is with this distinction between the two fundamental types of biological theory in mind that the author reviews the development of preformationist theories, of which the germ-plasm of Weissmann is typical. Thus the theory of the gene, which may be regarded as an elaboration of Weissmann’s conception of the germ-plasm, is based on “the same deep-rooted conviction that heredity must be explained as due to the transmission of an unchanging substance, the germ-plasm, in accordance with the materialistic principles which are accepted as the only basis for a scientific biology” (p. 75).

When scientific theories, which were invented in the first instance in the interest of knowledge, turn out to be based upon convictions and temperament rather than upon facts, they inevitably assume the character and the authority of doctrines. Their function in that case ceases to be theoretic and descriptive merely, since doctrines are fundamentally normative in character. They tell us what to do but not how to do it.

As an illustration of this deep-rooted conviction of the preformists and of the analytic method generally, the author quotes H. J. Müller: “The biological investigator, in wielding his formulae, should not remain content until the abstract ‘tendencies’ or ‘concepts’ he arrives at can be translated analytically into terms of the arrangements and methods of movements of concrete particles.”

To translate everything analytically into terms of the arrangements and movements of concrete particles is the very essence of scientific methods as it has been applied in the physical sciences. It is this fundamental point of view, and the conception of the universe that rests upon it, which has been undermined and shaken by the theory of relativity. What philosophers, like Whitehead, physiologists like C. M. Child, and biologists like the author of this volume would substitute is an organic conception of the universe, one which recognizes that new aspects of the cosmos are in process of emergence.

As it is, biology, “impressed by the success of physical concepts in their

own spheres," has taken over and sought to make its own concepts and methods which are both inappropriate to its subject matter and inadequate to the purposes and knowledge in this field. Particularly are the mechanistic concepts of classic mechanics inapplicable to the problems of general biology—of adaptation, behavior, and evolution. "From a strictly mechanistic point of view there *is* no adaptation, there *is* no behavior—there is only a series of material configurations in course of transformation."

The vitalistic solution of the problem sponsored by Driesch is not satisfactory, because it offers no new method for attacking the problem.

The alternative to the mechanistic point of view in biology is to accept facts "without abstraction" as they present themselves to common sense. "Common observations show us that vital activities are manifested by *individuals* whether unicellular or multicellular. Even from the point of view of structure, life is not a property of any substance, however complex, but of an organization. The idea of 'living substance' is a pure abstraction to which nothing corresponds" (p. 165).

If life is a property, not of any substance, but only of an organism, the organism must be conceived not merely as a structural but a functional unit. This teleological conception can be applied to a machine but "the organism is *not*, like a machine, a static construction, but a constantly changing organization of functional activities, which tends toward some end and in such tendency is influenced by its past. Its activities are related to its past and to its future."

Time is thus, it appears, an essential element in the conception of the organism. The organism at any one moment of its existence is merely a phase of a life-cycle. It is this life-cycle, rather than any phase which it exhibits at any time, which constitutes the biological individual. This is what is meant by the statement that time is an essential element of the organism.

It follows that the true germ-plasm is the cell organism. The germ-plasm, regarded as a material substance, is "a conceptual fiction imposed upon the facts by the exigencies of the mechanistic method" (p. 193). As the germ-plasm passes so will all the other "representative particles, determinants and genes"—concepts which were originally invented to explain what can be equally well accounted for by the "conditioning action of intracellular units, such as the chromosomes."

One may, perhaps, sum up the difference of view of the "organismal" as distinguished from the "mechanistic" biology in the statement that it is the organism that makes the cell, not the cell the organism.

This is the author's answer, so far as biology is concerned, to the question as to the relation of the "one and the many," the relation of the parts to the whole.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROBERT E. PARK

Social Behavior in Insects. By A. D. IMMS. New York: Dial Press, 1931. Pp. ix+117. \$1.50.

It is unusual to find a summary of a difficult field as brief as the present and in as simple language, so nearly 100 per cent reliable both in fact and theory. The first eight chapters summarize the facts known about each group of social insects with brief hints of the mechanisms of behavior in each case; and in the final chapter the author summarizes the essentials. Only in one or two places does the author seem to nod. On page 8 we are told "there are no grounds for concluding that these impressions of insects bear any real resemblance to those which we ourselves perceive." We may say the very opposite, on the basis of present-day knowledge of physiology. We are told in the Preface that the "habits and economics of social life of insects exemplify the heights to which mutualism and co-operation can attain, even when determined by causes other than intelligence." This statement does not appear well founded for, as a matter of fact, the author says that in some of the social insect groups learning by experience—that is, the rudiments of intelligence—occurs, and I see no reason for denying or forgetting the probability that the behavior patterns, now designated instincts in insects, were not originally laid down by individual experience, involving elementary intelligence, before they became finally fixed in strictly hereditary mechanisms. This is obviously an extremely slow process, and insect communities are immeasurably older than any human society. The little volume is readable, reliable, and unusually free from the vagaries of pure speculation.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A. J. CARLSON

Social Laws: A Study of the Validity of Sociological Generalizations.

By KYUNG DURK HAR. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. xii+256.

Are there social laws? Are the social sciences entitled to be called sciences at all? These are the questions to which Mr. Har addresses himself. The former he answers in the negative. There are no social laws of mathe-

mathematical precision or of universal validity. To the second his answer is less clear. He tells us that the difference between history and sociology is that history is not a science and sociology is not yet a science. But later on he suggests that social studies belong properly, like medical studies, to the arts rather than to the sciences.

Mr. Har deals faithfully with a great variety of so-called laws propounded by sociologists and has no difficulty in showing that they fail to meet the demands of scientific methodology. His analysis is clear and cogent and is written with a fine grasp of the logical implications of the scientific method. It is not, like some other essays in this direction, merely destructive, but, though ruthlessly critical of the worst offenders, is sympathetic as well as keen. The discarded "laws" are not denied usefulness. Some are merely apriorisms, some are statements of probability, some are no better than definitions of the concepts contained in the "law," some are valid within limits but are reduced in status to "tendencies." The exposition of these various defects in presumptive laws is well worthy of the attention of every sociologist.

But the ambiguous answer to our second question reveals a problem which Mr. Har has not fully faced. He defines a law as follows: "a valid scientific law may be defined as a description of an invariant pattern of phenomena, explicable by a generally accepted theory, in turn explicable by a plausible hypothesis, thus making the conceptual unification of phenomena complete" (p. 239). Science deals with generalizations of greater or less universality. The lowest level of generality is the fact or phenomenon, and above that, next in order, comes the law. A subject becomes a science when it can pass from facts to laws as thus defined. Like so many other writers on the social sciences, Mr. Har turns to mathematics and physics for his standards and ideals. But the question may still be raised whether these standards are wholly—and solely—relevant. It may be questioned whether facts and laws in this sense are the total subject matter of science. It becomes increasingly difficult to maintain this position as we pass beyond the realm of mathematics. Even in physics some recent developments disturb it. When we turn to such non-social sciences as geology or biology the universal validity of generalizations seems to have little place. Wherever the evolutionary principle enters, timeless generalizations disappear. If we do not usually dispute the claims of these subjects to be sciences, it is because they possess other principles of order and coherence than the laws for which alone Mr. Har reserves the title of "scientific." These subjects are concerned, for example, with type-situations, with systems of related facts in which certain phenomena ac-

company or follow one another in a time-process. And it is the discovery of similar systems which is one of the grounds for hope in the future of the social sciences.

The need for this broader viewpoint is suggested by various aspects of Mr. Har's treatment of the social sciences. For example, he states that "economics is an *hypothetical* science as distinguished from the *actual* sciences like physics" (italics the author's). "Its point of view is narrow and its procedure is arbitrary" (p. 45). These statements are related to the author's idea of scientific explanation. Explanation is the deduction of lesser generalizations from greater (p. 16). But a claim can be made for explanation of another kind, apart altogether from deduction or induction, as when we show the coherence of aspects within a system. This economics at least endeavors to accomplish, nor can such a procedure be fairly called arbitrary. Again, because in the social sciences we cannot provide laws such as Boyle's law of gas, Mr. Har proposes that social studies are more properly named arts than sciences. But surely this is to miss the point. An art presupposes a science or it is mere empiricism, and what we want to assess is precisely the nature of the body of coherent knowledge which validates the art.

A serious omission in the book is the lack of any reference to the analysis of the social sciences made by recent German writers, such as Max Weber. The subject has been attacked in Germany more seriously than elsewhere, yet there is scarcely a reference to this work in the Bibliography. This Bibliography is, by the way, very carelessly edited. On one page, with respect to six successive entries, I noted four errors (p. 250). But in spite of these blemishes Mr. Har deserves commendation for a work which shows very clearly and simply the pitfalls into which sociologists in particular have so often fallen.

R. M. MACIVER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Technique of Social Progress. By HORNELL HART. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931. Pp. xvi+708. \$3.60.

Professor Hart's *The Technique of Social Progress* is designed to serve as a supplement and sequel to his earlier textbook, *The Science of Social Relations*; the two taken together are offered as a set which covers the science of sociology in a fairly adequate way. The argument of the previous volume was based to a considerable extent upon the thesis that "the motive of life is to function"; from this, Hart derives the definition of progress which serves as the point of departure for the present work—

"Progress consists in those biological and cultural changes which on the whole and in the long run release, stimulate, facilitate, and integrate the purposes of men." In developing his subject the author has made the customary survey of the biological evolution and cultural history of mankind, with which readers of books of similar character are familiar. It is, however, by its provocative evaluation and discussion of recent social changes and contemporary tendencies and prospects that this book will chiefly win the approval of students and teachers.

The Technique of Social Progress is a book eminently well adapted to the needs of the classroom, particularly where classes are not too large to permit free use of the discussion method. It is equipped with the same varieties of questions for discussion and exercises for students to work out in writing that have become familiar to those who have used the author's *Science of Social Relations*. To question the positions taken by the author in a book so obviously intended to provoke thought and discussion rather than to solve fundamental problems would be gratuitous. The book maps out a course dealing with matters in which college students are, for the most part, keenly interested, and one can predict with some confidence that it will be favorably received by them and by their instructors. It is so definitely adapted for use as a textbook in college classes that it will have little or no interest for the general reader.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Society: Its Structure and Changes. By R. M. MACIVER. New York: Ray Long & Richard Smith, 1931. Pp. xvi + 569. \$5.00.

New general textbooks of sociology appear from the presses with such frequency in these days, and the dissatisfaction with all of them as regards their usefulness as tools for the college teacher is so generally expressed that one's first reaction to the latest one of which one learns is to ask one's self, What is there distinctive about this book that justifies publishing it at all? It is rather easy, however, to characterize Professor MacIver's new textbook in such a way as to show that it has qualities which make it quite different from most of those that have appeared in the past decade. Quite clearly, the author's primary purpose in this volume has been to define the fundamental concepts and ideas of theoretic sociology for the student with such precision and thoroughness that he will be able to use them with confidence. In other words, this is in no sense a textbook in "social problems"; nor does it place in exhibition a body of concrete materials illustrative of types of social structures and processes. The man-

ner of presentation is rather abstract throughout—so much so that MacIver will probably be accused of offering “arm-chair sociology” to his students and readers. He has, however, performed his self-assigned task of defining and explaining sociological concepts and ideas with considerable skill and intelligence, and it will scarcely be fair to assert that his rather abstract and philosophical propositions have not been designed to illuminate the actual world of social experience.

The treatment of social structure is on the whole better and fuller than the discussion of social change and process. The author is strongly inclined to emphasize the historical or evolutionary aspect of social process at the expense of possible non-historical generalizations concerning the mechanism of social interaction. Similarly, this book is more satisfying in its treatment of the more formal and external features of social organization and social interaction than in its treatment of the subtler, more intimate, and more psychological aspects. Professor MacIver is to be complimented on the excellence of literary workmanship which characterizes this text, in which respect it is in pleasing contrast with some of those which have been inflicted upon us.

It seems probable that this text will be quite successfully used in moderately advanced courses, where the students have already had some introduction to sociology.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Society at War. By CAROLINE E. PLAYNE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. Pp. 380. \$3.50.

The social history of the World War has not yet been written. The book under review is an important contribution to this history on the side of psychological facts, that is, the state of men's minds under the influence of the stress and excitement of the war. It is a factual history rather than a psychological interpretation. It shows, not only the contribution which the professors, politicians, and parsons made to the hysteria of the war period, but also the contribution of practically all other classes, including women, the business men, and ordinary citizens. For one who lived through this period and witnessed the hysteria both in Great Britain and in the United States, as did the writer of this notice, the book is very interesting. For factual sociologists searching for data rather than interpretations, the book is also valuable. Fortunately, the writer, an English lady, seems to be a disinterested but critical pacifist. She presents, therefore, a

detached view of the psychological movements and events which she describes. This makes the book valuable as a relatively unprejudiced source of information.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Les illusions évolutionnistes. By ANDRÉ LALANDE. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1930. Pp. xi+464.

The closed Spencerian system of evolution still dominates the thought of some. This French book, published in 1930, illustrates this fact. To be sure, it was originally published in 1899, under another title; but seemingly it has been issued again without very radical revision. If one were to judge French philosophy by this book (the author is a member of the Institute and a professor in the Sorbonne), one would have to say that it was a generation behind the philosophical thought of the English-speaking world. The English-speaking reader is astonished to find in this book the word "evolution" opposed to "dissolution." Spencer's physical definition of evolution is quoted and then refuted at length. Evolution is also opposed, according to the author, to "involution," which is the true method in the spiritual world. The author only mentions the use of the word "evolution" to mean orderly change of any sort. He seems to know nothing of emergent evolution and scarcely mentions Bergson's creative evolution. Practically all of the authors cited are from the nineteenth century. One would be inclined to say that such a book was hopelessly out of date at the present time, if one did not remember that the closed Spencerian system of evolution is still a conception which seems to be held by some sociologists.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

DUKE UNIVERSITY

The Development of Extraterritoriality in China. 2 vols. By G. W. KEETON. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. Pp. xvi+405. \$15.00.

The occasion of these two imposing volumes is the long legal and diplomatic controversy between China and the Western Powers over the question of extraterritoriality. Their purpose, as the author explained, is "to demonstrate why it was impossible to admit the Chinese claims to jurisdiction over foreigners," and incidentally to show why the system which grew up to regulate the relations between the representatives of "two civilizations, fundamentally different—even directly opposed—in every

important characteristic" must remain "until a single government with authority to recognize every Chinese province is established."

Extraterritoriality is, however, merely the legal definition of a situation which existed before Europeans had any legal status in China and one which will probably continue to exist after the peculiar position of the foreign population in China ceases to have any special definition at all.

It is because this is true that a description of the conditions under which this interesting institution grew up is not likely to lose, for a long time, its interest for students, either of legal institutions or of human relations generally.

It is inevitable that a lawyer should seek to do in this case what it seems to be the special function of lawyers to do everywhere, namely, look for some consistent rule or principle by which to interpret and justify an existing institution or to exhibit its deficiencies. The author in this case, however, seeks to go farther. He is convinced that the situation which, when it is recognized in international law, is described as extraterritoriality is a familiar phenomenon arising in the intercourse of nations and peoples and one which may and frequently does arise whether it is recognized in international law or not. In fact, similar institutions have grown up in every part of the world where men representing divergent culture and different racial stocks have come together periodically, or for any extended period, for the purpose of the exchange of goods and services.

There has always been, apparently, one law of the family and of the tribe, and another law of the market-place. Thus the Romans appointed in 200 B.C. a *praetor peregrinus* whose business was to dispense justice in suits where foreigners were involved. Thus the *Jus Gentium*, called by Gaius and Justinian "the law in use among all nations," was the law built by the Roman jurists, though called into existence through the necessities of intercourse with and among non-Romans.

In the Middle Ages in Europe it was assumed that every man, according to his calling, should be tried by laws and in a forum which was appropriate to his status. In accordance with this principle there was a court for clerics and a court for merchants. There was one law for the Gentile and another for the Jew. In fact, until very recently, law was conceived in Europe as in China to be based on personality and personal relations rather than upon nationality and territorial relations. As Keeton points out, "The conception of sovereignty as absolute over all persons within a defined territory, upon which the science of international law is based, is essentially a modern one."

Once society is organized upon a territorial and a national rather than a personal, familial, or feudal basis, the existence of a community exercising governmental functions in relative independence of the state of which it is a part is regarded as an infringement of sovereignty. On the other hand, the existence of a national state presumes the existence of an international society which is capable of guaranteeing to aliens, living within the territorial limits of any one nationality, all or most of the rights of citizens in every other. It is under these circumstances that extraterritoriality becomes an anomaly. The efforts which China is now making to terminate extraterritorial jurisdiction is directly related to a growing sentiment of Chinese nationalism.

Conceiving the question of extraterritoriality in this more general way, the history of the conditions under which the system grew up in China and the difficulties of disposing of it, in view of changed conditions, appear in the light of an individual instance of a more general phenomenon. Extraterritoriality turns out to have not merely a history but a natural history, and China's case serves therefore to illustrate the nature and character of extraterritoriality in general, the conditions under which it ordinarily grows up, and the circumstances under which it may be expected to disappear.

Mr. Keeton's two volumes are therefore something more than an attempt to adjudicate an international controversy. They are a contribution not merely to the history but to the sociology of law.

Volume I is "an account of the development of foreign jurisdiction from the beginning of European intercourse down to the recent Reports of the Extraterritorial Commission." Volume II, on the other hand, consists mainly of documents, including British state papers, the records of the East India Company, and reports from contemporary Chinese sources.

In 1832 there was established in Canton a journal entitled the *Chinese Repository*. In the files of this journal there accumulated a good deal of material of a sort that would not ordinarily find a place in more formal and official reports. Among others, there were printed detailed accounts of actual cases in Chinese courts, giving a contemporary picture of Chinese law in daily operation; articles contributed by merchants and missionaries criticizing the operations of these laws as they affected foreigners; occasional translations of Chinese official documents in which one found the law stated in the forms and in the idiom of the Chinese themselves. Among them there is the Chinese account of the trial of Keshen, viceroy of Chili. Keshen, after the first Anglo-Chinese war, was appointed, as the report of the Supreme Tribunal at Peking puts it, "to examine into the affairs of

the barbarian. Actually he was sent to come to some sort of terms with the English, but was not able to achieve the settlement desired and expected. At his trial it appeared that he had been "guilty of the greatest political errors," and it was recommended in accordance with the law in such cases, that he be "imprisoned until after autumn" and eventually beheaded.

In reading this and other Chinese documents reproduced in Mr. Keeton's second volume, one is impressed with the fact that the calm, lucid, and decorous statements of these official documents but thinly conceal the personal passions, ambitions, and intrigues of the individuals involved.

This case is cited by the author, however, to illustrate the extent to which the Chinese authorities are disposed to carry the principle of personal responsibility, in accordance with which it is demanded of servants of the government not merely that they obey the commands of their superiors but that they be successful in carrying these commands into effect. It is only in respect to the principle of personal responsibility that the difference between Chinese and European legal conceptions finds its most obvious expression.

What this document, and others like it, suggests is a government which, though acting through the forms of law, was originally and fundamentally conceived and maintained as a government of persons; a government, therefore, in which the preservation of the prestige of its rulers was always an ultimate necessity; a government also that was never at a loss to find some rule to justify any action necessary to save its face.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Les Étrangers en Suisse: Étude géographique, démographique et sociologique. By CLAIRE RAYMOND-DUCHOSAL. Preface by G. L. DUPRAT. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan. Pp. xvii+345. Fr. 35.

This volume, if we may interpret the prefatory comments of Professor Duprat, seems to have been suggested, partially at least, by American immigration studies. By her geographical position, Switzerland, a country which admirably illustrates the conciliation of cultural pluralism with political unity, receives a considerable number of immigrants from her powerful neighbors and so presents problems of assimilation not unlike those of the United States. Assimilation in Switzerland, however, is less rapid: the distance traversed by the migrant is much shorter, and con-

tacts with relatives and friends more numerous and persistent; the relatively greater reserve of the Swiss people does not encourage so great a participation in Swiss life; economic opportunities are fewer; and the fact that Switzerland is composed of three distinct national cultures, are some of the reasons given for this slower assimilation.

The author approaches the subject from the geographical; the demographical, and the sociological points of view. The accessible frontier cantons and the industrial centers have the largest percentages of foreigners. Short distance migration ("osmosis") along the frontier characterizes the agricultural populations; long distance movements to urban centers are found among those seeking industrial pursuits. French, German, and Italian immigrants tend to settle in the corresponding nationality areas of Switzerland, the Italians being the most widely dispersed.

The demographical study comprises statistics of foreign population movement in general; nationality proportions; age and sex composition; statistics of the single, married, widowed, and divorced; occupations; marriage-, birth-, and death-rates.

Dr. Raymond-Duchosal follows Gaston Richard and other European sociologists in their conception of a general sociology as distinct from the more specialized divisions like "political sociology," "juridical sociology," etc. General sociology is synthetic, studying the collective mind, that is, the sentiments, ideas, customs, and conceptions common to subsidiary social groups. In the concrete, this amounts to a study of folk ways or collective behavior—*comportements collectifs*. Under "Social Morphology" she makes a classification of immigrant social types into urban and rural, each of these having its subtypes: industrial laborers (subdivided into three types), artisans, technical experts, merchants, intellectuals, artists, capitalists, etc. Under the heading "Social Physiology," the family, morality, the unorganized aspects of public life, intellectual and artistic activities, and religion are discussed.

The author emphasizes the mental instability of the immigrant which she ascribes to the breakdown of customs and beliefs resulting from mobility. There is a greater spirit of independence, a desire for liberation from all social constraints, and a tendency for activities to be directed toward utilitarian objects which are sometimes in conflict with the demands of social solidarity. Those immigrants who segregate themselves show a conservative character; those more dispersed and isolated exhibit traits of individualism and disorganization, and, in general, have the character of the *déraciné*.

Despite the care and excellence of this work the reviewer does not al-

ways have a clear picture of the author's conclusions. For instance, statistics are cited to show that foreigners have a larger proportion of criminals, but in the end the author recognizes that differences in age, sex, and occupational composition, as well as in law enforcement, might indicate an actually lower rate of crime. The nature of assimilation as a social-psychological process is clearly indicated, but the reader unfamiliar with Swiss people would like a more detailed discussion of their attitudes and behavior toward foreigners. Documents of the Thomas and Znaniecki type would have added to the value and interest of this praiseworthy study.

EVERETT V. STONEQUIST

SKIDMORE COLLEGE

The Struggle for South America. Economy and Ideology. By J. F. NORMANO. With an Introduction by CLARENCE H. HARING. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. Pp. 294. \$4.00.

Nearly fifteen years ago the writer of this review began an intensive study of the contemporary attitude of Latin America toward the United States. He was surprised at the extent of their apprehensiveness with reference to their northern neighbor, an apprehensiveness so deep and intense that in a long article which he published in 1921 he felt justified in describing it under the term "Yankeeophobia." Later he sought the causes of this attitude and found them, not only in the history of the policy of the United States with reference to Latin America, but also in the interpretations of that policy by Spanish, French, German, and other propagandists. As his researches proceeded, the scope of his investigations widened until he felt justified in publishing a volume (1928) entitled *Latin America in World Politics* (rev. ed., 1931).

The tentative and incomplete nature of this work was indicated by the subtitle, *An Outline Survey*, and the Preface contained the following sentence: "I venture to hope that the work as now presented will not only throw some light upon current inter-American perplexities, but will also point the way and stimulate further investigation in this virgin field." That hope is already beginning to be realized with a rapidity hardly dreamed of at the time.

The volume now under review is an excellent study of the struggle of the leading powers over South America, a study written by a Brazilian familiar with that portion of Latin America as well as with the United States and the leading nations of Europe, a man who is at once an econo-

mist and a historian. Moreover, the work is not written in a language unfamiliar to the people of the United States, but in excellent English.

Nórmano's book consists of five major divisions: "The Economy": the share of the leading nations in the trade and investment opportunities of Latin America and the competition between them; "The Seducers [non-American and the United States] and the Courted [namely, the South Americans]"; "The 'Peligro Yanqui' ['Yankee Peril']"; "An Experiment [in inter-American co-operation: Cuba]"; and "The Future," which gives promise of growing industrialization in South America as well as a growing *rapprochement* between the United States and Brazil and a tendency for the Spanish states to form a sort of anti-Yankee bloc under the leadership of Argentina.

In general, it may be said that Normano does not set forth any considerable volume of new facts. Much of the data presented will be found in *Latin America in World Politics* (rev. ed.). The author of *The Struggle for South America* does, however, make important additions to certain phases of the subject, and, what is more significant, reveals a stimulating brilliance in interpretation and a firm grasp of economic theory and practice.

Mr. Normano appears quite orthodox in his economic views. He is not an opponent of capitalism or industrialism. On the contrary, he urges South America to accept both. He has no fear of the "Yankee Peril" and by implication advises and even insists that his compatriots welcome Yankee capital and mass production.

The work contains elaborate notes but no Bibliography or Index. There are also quite a number of errors in spelling. Presumably these are the result of inadequate assistance in proofreading and composition in a foreign language.

J. FRED RIPPY

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Caliban in Africa: An Impression of Colour-Madness. By LEONARD BARNES. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1931. Pp. 245.

Negro: National Asset or Liability? By JOHN LOUIS HILL. New York: Literary Associates Incorporated, 1930. Pp. xxv + 233.

Here are two books on the Negro and the race problem that are interesting, for one reason among others, because of the contrast they represent not only in their contents but in their points of view. One of them, *Caliban in Africa*, is written by a sophisticated Englishman resident in Johannesburg, South Africa. The other is by a southern preacher, who has recently emerged from the sticks of Tennessee.

John Louis Hill, born in the South and sharing its prejudices, has arrived by slow and painful stages at a point in his personal evolution where he can look upon the Negro, not as an inferior creature to be employed as a tool by his white neighbor, not even as a pathetic object to be patronized and pitied, but simply as a man like other men to be regarded as a Christian and a brother.

The author is justly proud of his personal achievement. He is eager to proclaim his emancipation to the world. This is the purpose of the book he has written, which is a rambling account of his observations and convictions about men and things, and particularly about the Negro.

He is impressed with the idea that "his expressed convictions and conclusions"—none of which are likely to be as startling to the reader as they are to the author himself—"are of vast importance, heavy with meaning to all people of our country, regardless of racial or national origin." So important does he regard this achievement that he proposes to make this volume the first of a series, which shall include "every principal national and racial strain represented in the American population."

In contrast with the provincialism of the volume mentioned Leonard Barnes's brilliant, rhetorical, and devastating exposé of the Africander mind and of the present native policy in South Africa presents the matter in the wider horizon of a philosopher, a man of the world, and a convinced internationalist.

Color-phobia, as the author of *Caliban in Africa* conceives it, is a kind of insidious political disease, which inevitably destroys in the long run the people or the nation which is afflicted by it.

To one whose political philosophy has convinced him that he knows and is able to interpret "the far designs of Providence," the Africander spirit appears as "the curse of the continent," and the Africander, "through whom it moves its wonders to perform, as a traitor to his own true self and the shame of all white blood for his folly and his crime."

These two volumes, one written in Tennessee and the other in Johannesburg, if read in conjunction, mutually illuminate and interpret one another.

ROBERT E. PARK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Brown America. By EDWIN R. EMBREE. New York: Viking Press, 1931. Pp. vi+311. \$2.50.

It is quite impossible to read or discuss a Negro topic dispassionately. There is nothing unique in that. Any problem not yet finally settled must arouse fervor, and fervor is emotion. The thing called heredity, which on

analysis is found to be largely early training, biases our attitude. No matter how judicious we may attempt to be, we cannot altogether shake off the shackles of our past. The notebook of that most scientific observer, Sir Charles Lyell, on his second visit to America in 1845, demonstrates that, try as he would, he could not detach his prejudices and preformed judgments on this subject.

It would be idle therefore to pretend that one who, like Mr. Embree, has lived and worked through the most earnest period of constructive thought upon and efforts for solution of the Negro problem should present a book in which emotion fails to play a dominant rôle. Nor indeed can it be expected that the reviewer should be in any way less responsive. Without emotion there would be insufficient driving force to compel progress. The amazing thing to this reviewer is that Mr. Embree should so ably arouse and control the emotions of his reader. The book is not merely a clear and convincing exposition of almost all sides of the Negro problem. It is a document of power, shirking nothing, compelling the attention and invoking in the most subtle manner the sympathetic co-operation of the reader in the great work with which the author is identified.

Mr. Embree knows how to write of tragedy without gloom, of aspiration without fantasy, of progress without qualification. He has but sketched the history, for that can be obtained elsewhere. He has touched lightly on physical characters and inferences drawn from these because science is still confused and embarrassed by assumptions and preconceptions. He has given no record of the Negro church, for that aspect, being subjective, lends only meager assistance toward solution of the problem in which the author so clearly sees his direction. But educational, industrial, political, and social tangles are discussed wisely, considerately, and deftly. The reader cannot miss the points. He will be roused but not inflamed. His attention will be arrested so that, the book having been put away, his memory will not fail. The author is never dogmatic: he carries his reader with him through sheer objectivity of address.

To the reviewer's mind this is a striking example of the constructive strength of tolerance and moderation by which real leaders of thought are identified. The reviewer is not concerned, nor will the unprejudiced reader be concerned, over detailed facts of which space permits only rapid presentation. The exposition is an expression of the spirit of truth written racy by one who knows his subject thoroughly, who is not swayed by academic pedantry, whose mastery bespeaks his leadership. It is a book begun in faith and finished in determination.

T. WINGATE TODD

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Illiteracy in the United States. By SANFORD WINSTON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. 163. \$3.50.

This book illustrates a type of research which is likely to become more and more important in sociology. Correlation studies of this kind are particularly inviting, because quantitative data are awaiting treatment and the problem often can be clearly and simply stated. Yet the channel is treacherous and narrow between the Scylla of spurious results and the Charybdis of needless elaboration of the obvious. Dr. Winston usually steers watchfully.

Part I summarizes the census returns from 1870 to 1920, showing in useful tables the steady decline in illiteracy, when classified according to age, sex, rural or urban environment, race, nationality, and geographical divisions.

Part II is more ambitious. It is a detailed record of correlations between illiteracy in 1920 and other social factors. Using entire states as units, Dr. Winston finds correlations, positive or negative, ranging from about .40 to .80, between illiteracy and a variety of factors taken individually, such as birth-rate, infant mortality, early marriage, size of family, suicide, and mortality. More important still, he finds that a substantial correlation between illiteracy and any one of these factors usually remains after per capita income and percentage of urbanization are held constant by partial correlation. "It is believed," he concludes, "on the basis of the results obtained that no comprehensive analysis of any one of these subjects [birth rate, early marriage, etc.] can omit the important, measurable factor of illiteracy or some socio-educational equivalent."

Since many of his assumptions and problems of method will recur in other correlational studies of this type, it may be worth while to consider them in some detail.

In the first place, some who have had a little experience as census enumerators may wonder at Dr. Winston's boldness in attempting to use partial correlation with illiteracy figures as one of four variables. Of course, he is under no illusion that the illiteracy returns are accurate. Since he is interested mainly in comparative rather than absolute figures, it matters little whether there is an error in the returns, so long as the proportion of error is constant from state to state. However, it probably is not constant from state to state. If there is no correlation between the proportion of discrepancy and the proportion of actual illiteracy, by states, an observed relationship between the inaccurate illiteracy figures and some other variable such as birth-rate probably will underestimate the true relationship. Even when this underestimate is not serious in sim-

ple correlations, it may affect partial correlations appreciably, especially if there are discrepancies in some of the other variables also. But, in fact, the Census Bureau suspects that relatively too few illiterates are reported in states with low illiteracy, while too many may be reported in states with very high illiteracy, especially in regions where the illiteracy of Negroes is sometimes taken for granted. If true, this bias usually would tend to exaggerate somewhat the apparent relationship between illiteracy and another variable. Dr. Winston might have considered these problems more explicitly.

Second, the distribution of percentages of illiteracy is skew. Half of the states have less than 1 per cent illiteracy, while nine states, all from the old South except New Mexico, range from 5 per cent to 12 per cent. A distribution like this is anything but promising for use in the rectilinear framework of partial correlation. Many of the regressions are not rectilinear, as Dr. Winston shows when fitting parabolic or logarithmic curves. This calls for extraordinary caution in interpreting his partial correlations, which are based on straight lines.

Third, with states as units the number of "cases" is small, ranging from twenty-one to forty-eight according to the number of states used. The fact that these twenty-one or forty-eight "cases" may represent millions of people is irrelevant to the mathematics of the correlation analysis. Partial correlation based on such a small number of cases is none too satisfactory, even if the data are accurate and the regressions rectilinear.

Fourth, most of the high correlations apparently are made possible by a small group of southern states which have high illiteracy and also high birth-rates, high infant mortality, early marriage, etc. Since a considerable correlation might be obtained also by using one of many other indexes differentiating North and South, e.g., percentage of Republicans, the question as to whether the index "illiteracy" is merely differentiating cultural conditions in North and South needs more searching analysis than Dr. Winston provides, even in his partial correlations. If illiteracy figures for smaller areas could be depended on, as is somewhat doubtful, it might also pay to try using as units these areas instead of states, choosing a region not cut by the Mason and Dixon line.

Fifth, one correlation based on areas within a region may be expected to differ from another correlation based on different groupings of areas within the same region, due to the homogeneity or heterogeneity of illiteracy distribution within a given unit area.

Sixth, the calculation of probable errors, always dangerous unless the "universe" is roughly "normal" and the number of cases large, is par-

ticularly open to misinterpretation when, as in Dr. Winston's work, the data are not a random sample from a "universe" but actually comprise a "universe." Some statisticians justify the use of probable errors by conceiving of such data as comprising a sample from a fictitious "universe." In any case, the limitation of the meaning of probable errors should be more clearly stated than Dr. Winston has done, and the conventional table of errors of the coefficient of correlation given on page 154 is inapplicable to the present problem. Dr. Winston's use of prediction equations, it should be added, is not correct. To estimate what the birth-rate, for example, would be if illiteracy were zero, he extends his line or plane beyond the data and measures his error by using the standard error of estimate. If any error should be used at all, it should be the standard error of the function. However, one must recognize that a deficiency in census returns which is in constant proportion from state to state will throw the regression equation off, even when it does not affect the correlation coefficient.

SAMUEL A. STOFFER

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

The Growth of an Institution: The Chicago Real Estate Board. By EVERETT C. HUGHES. Chicago: Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago, Series II, Monograph No. 1, 1931. Pp. 120. \$1.50.

The trade association movement supplies a unique laboratory for the social scientist. In the functional group, common attitudes and standards have been crystallizing and reforming. This development has been contemporary, thus lending itself to an inductive study of social processes. The sample selected by the author, the Chicago Real Estate Board, has had a continuous existence since 1883. In tracing the history of the organization and its policies, minutes of meetings and official publications were supplemented by personal interviews. The author's chief interest lies in the growth of a typical institution, with a tradition, a code, and a fairly well-developed social control. From this standpoint, the work is admirably done. "Realtors," carrying out to a large extent an agency function, are somewhat akin to the established professions. Similar intensive study should be given to trade associations in the narrower sense. An organization in a middle-sized city would be more typical in many ways than one in Chicago. More use might be made of what Lindeman calls the "parti-

pant observer"; the social group, bound together by common interests and reacting to common problems, needs to be studied from within rather than with critical objectivity.

EDGAR L. HEERMANCE

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

The Education of Adult Prisoners: A Survey and a Program Prepared for the National Society of Penal Information. By AUSTIN H. MACCORMICK. New York: National Society for Penal Information, 1931. Pp. xxi+456. \$2.50.

This book is by the assistant director, United States Bureau of Prisons. That he is a follower of Thomas Mott Osborne is evidenced by the dedication of the book. One opens it with some hesitation—so many promises have been made in the name of education, and so little fulfilment. The first chapter on the "Aim and Philosophy of Education for Prisoners" dispels all doubt. Such a sane and rational presentation of the subject must meet with the approval of all.

Mr. MacCormick does not speak alone of formal education in the ordinary sense. The conclusion of the first chapter gives the following answers to the question—"What specifically shall we try to teach the prisoner?"

1. Fundamental academic education, designed to provide the intellectual tools needed in study and training in his everyday life.
2. Vocational education, designed to give training for an occupation.
3. Health education, designed to teach the fundamentals of personal and community health.
4. Cultural education, embracing the non-utilitarian fields one enters for intellectual or aesthetic satisfaction alone.
5. Social education, to which all other types of education and all the activities of the institution should contribute.

Then follows a discussion of the criminal himself, under the heading, "The Student Body." Here again we are impressed with the maturity of judgment and restraint of the author. He shows familiarity with the best work that has been done in this field and yet he does not expect us to believe exaggerated claims. He ends with one terse sentence—"The typical prisoner is a young man or woman who needs education."

The chapter on the "Individualization of Education" adds to our confidence in Mr. MacCormick's capacity to see the point. He says:

A fundamental principle of penology is that the whole program of penal institutions should be based on a process of individual diagnosis, prescription and

treatment. The comparative failure of our American prisons and reformatories to fulfill their function of rehabilitation is very largely due to the fact that they operate on the principle of mass treatment.

The question, "How do we proceed to make a skilled diagnosis?" is answered as follows:

It should be initiated as soon as the prisoner is received at the institution. The basis of such a diagnosis is the complete social history of the prisoner, which should be compiled as rapidly as possible by reference to criminal records, by personal interviews with the prisoner, and by correspondence with former employers, citizens of the communities in which he has lived, members of his family, school authorities, probation officers, social agencies, and others who have knowledge of the essential facts of his past or of his environmental background. To this history, the warden, deputy warden, social worker and chaplain will contribute facts and conclusions derived from interviews, tests and observation.

Authorities seem to agree that whatever direction future criminological research development may take, an adequate case history is basic. The presentation of the present situation seems to the reviewer to be fair, critical yet not vituperative. It may be taken as an excellent statement of the whole problem of prisons. It shows a familiarity with all that is best and new in the educational field which may in any way be applied to prisoners. There are chapters on fundamental academic education, the teaching of illiterates, English and arithmetic, history, government, civics, and geography, which would especially appeal to those having charge of instruction in prisons, more than to the general reader.

Under "Social Education" various plans are discussed ending with a section on "Inmate Community Organization." This ends with a perhaps excusable glorification of the attainments of Mr. Osborne. "His contribution of this idea to prison practice is probably the most significant contribution of this generation." The conservative must wisely beware of panaceas regardless of the motives of their advocates. Community organization of prisons has become a sectarian matter. Most practical prison people abhor the idea. A few zealous devotees exaggerate its importance tremendously. Considering the meager use of such systems and the relatively few supporters, it seems to the reviewer that the claims made in its behalf in this book are exaggerated and unwarranted.

Later chapters reviewing the educational facilities of American institutions state present practice fairly and adequately. There is an extensive bibliography.

On the whole, the book is excellent and very much worth while. Taking

it up, something of a doubter, I have laid it down resolved to follow its admonitions as vigorously as possible in the conduct of my office.

A. WARREN STEARNS, M.D.

COMMISSIONER OF CORRECTION FOR MASSACHUSETTS

The Balance of Births and Deaths. By ROBERT R. KUCZYNSKI. Washington: Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution, 1931. Pp. xii+170. \$2.00.

This is the second volume of this series and attempts for Eastern and Southern Europe what the first volume did for Northern and Western Europe, namely, to go behind the crude birth- and death-rates and show what will be the balance of births and deaths when present tendencies have had time to work themselves out in a stationary or stable population. It goes without saying that the results are less satisfactory than those in Volume I because there is no country in this part of Europe for which the basic data are wholly reliable over any considerable period of time. The general conclusion, namely, that except in Russia there will be little excess of births over deaths in most of these countries a generation hence, is no doubt substantially correct. In other words, these countries, or parts of them, are following more or less closely the demographic path marked out by the countries of Northern and Western Europe. This is what would be expected as these countries become industrialized and adopt the manner of life of the more industrialized peoples.

All students of population will welcome this work, even though some may feel that the nature of the basic data scarcely justifies the vast amount of labor involved in securing results of such exactness. This leads to a word of caution to the effect that though more refined statistical methods often enable us to see behind the crude data, yet the inadequacies and inaccuracies of these crude data carry over into the results of refinement. One should not use the refined results of this study without also reading carefully the entire text, appendixes and all.

W. S. THOMPSON

MIAMI UNIVERSITY

The Case Against Birth Control. By E. ROBERTS MOORE. New York: Century Co., 1931. Pp. x+311. \$2.50.

Dr. Moore was two years ago made chairman of a committee on population decline and related problems of the National Conference of Catho-

lic Charities. Since the book has an introduction by Cardinal Hayes, one may reasonably conclude that Dr. Moore's commission was to make out the best possible case against the use of contraceptives. He has done an excellent job, and yet he succeeds only in making a specious plea. His argument is least effective when it is most Catholic. The Catholic case in its essence is that contraception is sinful because it interferes with nature. It is, of course, not vouchsafed to the ordinary mind to penetrate the mysteries of Catholic theological morality, but one has difficulty in understanding why this particular interference with nature takes on such a dreadful hue—unless it be that institutional interests are involved. Even the "self-control" within the marriage which Dr. Moore advocates is an interference with nature; celibacy is even more so. Then there are the usual Catholic perversions of history as to the church's attitude toward women; the quoting of part of the evidence, as in the effort to make birth control universally harmful physically; the nonsense to the effect that birth control is a hypocritical effort on the part of the rich to ward off a more equitable distribution of wealth; the argument that there is still plenty of room in the world, when this is the case only because birth control has made it so; and the extensive discussion of abortion and sterilization which will tend to merge them with contraception in the minds of average readers.

When, however, Dr. Moore forgets that he is a churchman and has a cause to plead he becomes interesting and worth while. His utilization of Kuczynski's material and his chapters on population in relation to food and material resources and on the idea of an optimum number are clear and effective in both fact and exposition. What he utterly fails to see is that the movement for birth restriction which is equally pronounced in Catholic and non-Catholic countries and communities, though perhaps with a certain lag in the former, has profound social causes and is likely to continue so long as these causes remain. His position does not permit him to see that the changing life of Western nations cannot be kept within the limits of an inflexible set of ancient mores. Birth control is a phenomenon of the age and his indictment of it is in fact an indictment of Western civilization itself. It should be apparent to the merest tyro in population studies that civilization and unrestricted fertility are incompatible. At the same time civilized peoples may destroy themselves through an undue expansion of egoism and personality development. Nevertheless, the fact remains that family limitation has been essential to the elevation of woman, the acquisition of leisure, the cultivation of aesthetic interests, and the improvement of material welfare. Its spread downward, which Dr.

Moore fears so much, will enable the working classes to share more fully in the advantages of civilized living and eliminate the dysgenic effects of differential rates of reproduction. The problem that confronts Western nations is not another useless effort at prohibition—this time of contraceptive devices—but of some reordering of social life which will place the good life more easily within the reach of parents of a moderate-sized family.

F. H. HANKINS

SMITH COLLEGE

Social Politics and Modern Democracies, 2 vols. By CHARLES W. PIPKIN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xxxiv+376; vii+417. \$7.50.

This book has a title rather too large for its contents, as it surveys only certain phases of social legislation in England and France during the present century. These are the phases that bear particularly on the wage-earner's standard of living, and that the labor movement has been influential in promoting. They include recognition of unions, regulation of working conditions, establishment of minimum wage standards, development of social insurance, and promotion of better housing and town planning. An outline of the labor movement and of social legislation in the two countries during the nineteenth century lends historical perspective. Of the period intensively studied, the pre-war, war, and post-war years are compared. The differences in the labor movements and political systems of England and France are shown to have an important bearing on the unequal rates of progress in the social legislation of the two countries. Particularly striking is the author's exposition of labor's increasing influence in public affairs and its contributions to the growth of representative government.

The study is heavily documented, the primary sources being parliamentary debates, official reports, and proceedings of trade union congresses and labor party conferences. While the discussion is somewhat labored and stodgy, it should be valuable to those interested in the topics of which it treats.

SEBA ELDRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

An Introduction to Human Problems. By HAROLD BENJAMIN. Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930. Pp. xiii+472.

This volume was prepared as a textbook for an orientation course for college Freshmen which the author was required to teach. In it he has

sought not so much to teach information as "to arouse an understanding sympathy for the method and motives of scholars, scientists, research specialists . . . and skilled solvers of problems of all times and of all nations." This theme of problem-solving is the framework of the volume. It enables the author to discuss, intensively, magic, science, and different forms of reasoning, the development of man and society, and the efforts to satisfy the needs involved, ranging over into the quest for beauty and the control of supernatural forces. This volume is unique as far as orientation tests go. It is well balanced, written simply, and does not sacrifice too much scholarly erudition.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Creative Mind. By CARL SPEARMAN. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1931. Pp. xv+162. \$2.00.

This book is one of the first in the new English "Contemporary Library of Psychology." The editor, Francis Aveling, states in the general introduction to the series that its plan is to present in a popular way "a comprehensive and accurate perspective of contemporary psychology in so far as the science is definitely and systematically established." The aim of *Creative Mind*, as stated in the Epilogue, is that of "explaining one of the three supposed inexplicables—goodness, truth, and beauty." In this book beauty is explained. One secondary aim of the book is to suggest, largely through references to experimental work, how the power to create can be measured; and another is to present in popular form the general principles of psychology. It is an original system that the author presents.

Before presenting the outlines of this system, a grasp of which he believes essential to understanding the psychology of beauty, Professor Spearman gives a brief criticism of other current doctrines to show how inadequate they are. Traditional doctrines such as that of imagery are skilfully disposed of. It takes a half page to show that the school of Gestalt offers no assistance. Behaviorism is still more easily dismissed, in two sentences! Professor Spearman seems, like most foreign and some American psychologists, to have fallen into the popular error of taking Watson at his word as the one behaviorist.

Having knocked down these and other men of straw, Professor Spearman sets forth his own psychology of "noegenesis," with its eight laws and six processes which, he says, constitute a complete scientific system. Since 1922, when the system was first offered to the psychological world,

no one has met the author's challenge by showing that any further ultimate laws or processes can be found. Of the qualitative laws, the first, that "a person tends to know his own sensations, feelings, and strivings," and the second, that "when two or more items . . . are given, a person may perceive them to be related," are considered less significant in explaining creativity than the third: "When any item and a relation to it are present to mind, then the mind can generate in itself another item so related." This law is thought of as genuinely creative; though limited in various ways, "this degree of creativeness is the utmost to which the human mind can under any conditions possibly attain."

The first quantitative law, that "every mind can be regarded as keeping its total output constant in quantity, however varying in quality," is regarded by the author as very important in aesthetic appreciation. The other quantitative laws, of retentivity, fatigue, and control by the will, are all important in explaining why a picture is judged beautiful, but not so illuminating as this doctrine of unified energy, for which, by the way, Spearman sees support in Lashley's experiments.

In succeeding chapters abundant and very interesting applications of the foregoing laws are made, not only to pictorial art, but to architecture, music, and literature, to scientific invention and discovery, to behavior (!), to abnormal phenomena, and finally to what is regarded as "the greatest creation of all"—man's conception of the universe.

Does this brilliant and original little book, which one reads with such pleasant ease, afford a comprehensive and accurate perspective of the psychology of aesthetic creation, in so far as that branch of the science is definitely and systematically established? The reviewer must answer in the negative. A great body of well-known work in the field, some of it important, is neglected entirely. Other points of view in psychology which many have found very illuminating are dismissed without any serious consideration. Moreover, Professor Spearman's system of explanation is too well rounded, too systematic, too clear, adequately to explain even the chief of the perplexing problems in this very complex and confused field of psychology. Everything that the author says is true—it is logical, clear-cut, and so general and elastic that it is indeed easily applicable to almost any set of facts.

But just what do these generalizations mean? What, for instance, does it mean to say that "the mind keeps its output constant in quantity"? Just what is the "energy" that is talked about? How can the mind generate other items? All these and many other things are talked about as if so obvious as to need no explanation. Yet, in the reviewer's opinion, there

are some, even among the general readers for whom the book is written, who will be vaguely dissatisfied on some of these points.

The social-minded reader may feel in the author's treatment a lack of appreciation of social and economic factors in aesthetics, a too classical attitude; the person interested in more modern trends in art may deprecate his conservatism; and the experimental psychologist may wish momentarily that the author would not wander so far from the realm of statistical theory in which he is master. But they will all be grateful for this delightfully written, stimulating, and highly original book by a great English psychologist.

MARGARET WOOSTER CURTI

SMITH COLLEGE

A History of Psychology in Autobiography. Edited by CARL MURCHISON. Worcester, Massachusetts: Clark University Press, 1930. Pp. xvii + 516.

This volume is the first of a series containing the autobiographies of students who have contributed significantly to the development of psychology. In this volume are accounts of their scientific lives from J. M. Baldwin, Mary Calkins, Claparede, Dodge, Janet, Jastrow, Kiesow, McDougall, Seashore, Spearman, Stern, Stumpf, Warren, Ziehen, and Swaardemaker. As one anticipates, the sketches are of varying merit and interest, although they all show detached judgment and rather effective self-analysis. The accounts given by Pierre Janet and William McDougall are perhaps the most penetrating and certainly the most charming. They yield one a more intimate appreciation of the works of these outstanding individuals. The editorial committee responsible for the series deserves appreciation and support.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Systematic Psychology: Prolegomena. By EDWARD BRADFORD TITCHENER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. Pp. xi + 278.

For several years Professor Titchener was working meticulously on the development and completion of his views on systematic psychology. An untimely death interfered, but we are left some prolegomena which have been brought together in this volume. The discussion, while short, is sufficiently complete for an understanding of the framework of thought of his larger work. It is devoted to a consideration of scientific method and attitude, and to the point of view and subject matter of psychology. It

is rare to encounter a discussion of this kind which shows as much of a scholarly background, sober reasoning, and mature thought. Titchener's treatment of science is precious. He has studied scientific procedure intimately and exhaustively, and shows, clearly, evidence of much pondering and brooding over it. Although one may dissent from some of the inferences in his discussion, his penetrating analysis deserves wide acquaintance in this time of glibly voiced stereotypes of scientific procedure. The volume will rank as a genuine addition to our literature on scientific method. Titchener's application of his thoughts on science, to the point of view and subject matter of psychology, is, in my judgment, less convincing, although not less thorough. Through a painstaking analysis of the dominant approaches in psychology he reaches the conviction that psychology must seek systematic knowledge of sensory experience. The neat conformity of his conclusion—arrived at after critical consideration and careful logic—with his known starting point makes one suspicious; but it at least forces one to conjure further with a point of view which we think of in this country as dying a natural death.

H. BLUMER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Law of Retail Gravitation. By WILLIAM J. REILLY. New York: Published by the Author, 1931. Pp. vi+75.

The author claims that as a result of a three-year nation-wide study of retail trade he has discovered that "retail business gravitates from smaller cities and towns to larger cities in accordance with a definite law . . . that outside trade increases at about the same rate as the population of a city increases . . . and that a city's outside business decreases faster than distance from the city increases."

He states his "law of retail gravitation" as follows: Two cities attract retail trade from any intermediate city or town in the vicinity of the breaking point, approximately in direct proportion to the populations of the two cities and in inverse proportion to the square of the distances from these two cities to the intermediate town.

The operation of the law involves "all different-sized cities and towns and to some extent all kinds of merchandise," but the basis of attraction for the larger city "is primarily the retail service offered in connection with style and specialty goods."

A set of tables is provided for the use of the merchant in locating the "breaking points" between his city and that of a rival trade center. Evi-

dence of actual breaking points between trade centers, as determined by field studies, is set alongside theoretically determined breaking points in verification of the uniform operation of the law under a variety of conditions.

The author suggests some possible uses to which the "law" may be put by retailers, publishers, and manufacturers. He concludes with an Appendix in which the method of determining his formula is further explained.

As an attempt to reach some generalization "about the underlying rules that govern the flow of retail trade for different products," the book is wholly commendable. Much of the waste in distribution must be attributed to the lack of this type of thinking about the problem. It would have been better at this stage of the investigation, however, if the author had been content to use the term "hypothesis" rather than "law" to describe his discovery. The author's method of determining where the trade influence of one city ceased to be preponderant in relation to the trade influence of a rival city is open to question. The data upon which he bases his conclusions are credit inquiries in the intermediate cities or towns in the vicinity of the breaking point. In using such data the following assumptions are implicit: (1) that credit inquiries resolve themselves into charge accounts; (2) "that the amount of business represented by the average charge account held by stores of one large city is approximately equal to the amount of business represented by the average charge account held by stores of another large city; (3) that the value of charge-account business may be used as a barometer of the relative proportion of all outside business enjoyed by two or more cities in a smaller town" (p. 66).

In defense of these assumptions the author alleges that the errors involved in differences in amount of the charge account in different stores, etc., are biased errors and thus cancel out. But nowhere is there any proof that such an assumption is warranted by the facts, and under the circumstances, as the author points out, no complete record of retail transactions is available on which such verification could be based.

Another assumption which is not clearly stated but which is, nevertheless, present is that while the "use of the charge-account measure is to compare the retail strengths of two cities only in towns that are in the vicinity of the breaking point," the conclusion is arrived at that all retail trade in the areas either side of the breaking point goes automatically to the cities to which it lies adjacent. This seems to exclude the interpenetration of the area of one city by another for the same classes of goods. Are there no exceptions to the rule? That is, Reilly has examined the

actual trade conditions at or near the breaking points and then has jumped to a conclusion as to what was taking place in other parts of the trade area.

Finally (p. 73), the author lists a number of significant factors other than population and distance which may operate to deflect trade from one center to another, but he apparently has not tested the capacity of any of them to upset the operation of the "law." Under these circumstances it would seem rather hazardous to talk of a "law of retail gravitation" with all the implications that the word "law" conveys. Hypothesis demanding further proof would be a more accurate description of the contents of the book.

It is confusing to the reader to be told (p. 32) that the law gives "a summary of facts concerning the actual flow of retail trade; it is simply a statement of *existing* conditions"; and later (pp. 39, 44, and Appendix) to find that the law measures the potential trade area.

There is an implication of fixity in the operation of the "law" and necessarily so, but the author confesses to an open mind (p. 33) when he asserts that the changes which have brought about this trade deflection from smaller to larger cities is of recent origin. He ventures the opinion that these conditions have now "become relatively stable," but on what ground, it does not appear.

While there are obvious defects in the method used and much loose statement, the author is to be commended for breaking ground on a difficult problem. His method should be further tested on the basis of more complete factual information.

E. A. DUDDY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Principles of City Planning. By KARL B. LOHMANN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931. Pp. x+395.

This volume is intended by the writer "to be of service to those studying and teaching city planning and to city officials, particularly to members of zoning or planning commissions." While admirably suited as a text for formal courses in city planning, its value for teachers of urban sociology consists chiefly as a reference work for students in the recency of its material over a wide range of topics. The chapter on "An Historical Glance at Development of Cities" and the inclusion of excellent illustrative figures deserve mention.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Making of Adult Minds in a Metropolitan Area. By FRANK LORIMER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xiv+245. \$2.00.

This is a significant study of the educational needs and demands of adults in the city of Brooklyn. The study was sponsored by the American Association for Adult Education, subsidized by the Carnegie Foundation, and carried out by the Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education. The co-operative nature of the study is of particular interest. Dr. Lorimer, the director of research, had behind him and assisting him the thirty-six institutions represented on the Brooklyn Conference. The findings are of greatest value to all concerned with the future of the adult in America. Composite portraits are drawn of the mental life of various types of adults, showing the direction of their intellectual interests and the relation of the communal resources to the fulfilling of those interests. A careful evaluation is made of the various types of education undertaken by the community. Inasmuch as adult education is, in all likelihood, to be the major movement of democracy during the coming decades, this book is invaluable as a pioneering effort to discover what it is that adult minds want, what it is that they essentially lack, and what it is that an enlightened society must set about to supply.

H. A. OVERSTREET

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Health on the Farm and in the Village. By C.-E. A. WINSLOW. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931.

"Demonstrations" have been fashionable of late years, particularly since foundations have been ready to invest considerable funds in such social experiments. While agriculture, education, recreation, and some economic issues have been the centers of some demonstrations, health has been the favorite area of activity. It has been too little recognized that an attempt to lower the death-rate of a community or to improve child health, reduce tuberculosis, advance school standards, or even to increase the efficiency of cultivating certain crops cannot rightly be mere technical enterprises. They are all sociological enterprises because even the more technical and most specialized of these functions is carried out in and through human beings and depends, if not for its effectiveness, at least for its permanence and support, upon their understanding and co-operation.

Public health officials and the planners of health demonstrations have run the common risk of all technicians of leading into these human problems from too special an approach. Professor Winslow's book, written as

"A Review and Evaluation of the Cattaraugus County Health Demonstration, with Special Reference to Its Lessons for Other Rural Areas" is notable because it recognizes in certain measure the breadth of base upon which the pyramid of health service should stand.

The Milbank Memorial Fund set out in 1922

to demonstrate, by co-operation with three typical communities embracing a population of half a million people, whether by intensive application of known health measures the extent of sickness in the United States can be further and materially diminished and mortality rates further and substantially reduced, and whether or not such practical results can be achieved in a relatively short period of time and at a per capita cost which communities will willingly bear.

Cattaraugus County applied for aid under this program and was selected.

Under the auspices of a county board of health and a full-time health commissioner, there were developed the accepted public health activities in sanitation, the control of tuberculosis, the provision of laboratory service, the hygiene of infancy, pre-school, and school children. These technical undertakings were subjected to critical study and appraisal according to methods that have been devised by the American Public Health Association. Such criteria as have been utilized are at best but rough indices of the extent to which these environmental and personal health services really contribute to the lengthening and deepening of human life. Yet it is of great value that we have any criteria at all and machinery with which to apply them.

Effects upon mortality have the advantage of availability and definiteness which have, therefore, been much used. One conclusion reached, for example, is that the demonstration resulted in the decrease in infant mortality to a degree responsible for saving about twenty babies' lives a year. Reductions in the death-rate for tuberculosis, diphtheria, and other diseases are also shown. According to the financial habits of our time, it is estimated on the basis of the value of human life as computed by the statistician of our largest insurance company, the saving of five lives a year from diphtheria, fourteen from tuberculosis, and twenty from diseases of infancy has brought about "a saving of life capital worth to the community \$300,000 a year or double the cost of the entire health program of the county" (p. 226).

The sources of financial support have been primarily the tax funds of the county and the health and school authorities of the constituent towns. A very practical index of the effect of demonstrations in health work is the increase of county appropriations from less than \$8,000 in 1923 to \$33,000 in 1929-30. Under the New York law, the county appropriations are

matched dollar for dollar by the state. The local school authorities and local boards of health originally contributed more than the county but now put in together about an equal sum.

The Milbank Memorial Fund contributions rose at their peak in 1925 to \$81,000 or nearly 60 per cent of the total expenditure for the program in that year, but came down to \$31,000 in 1930, or only about one-fifth of the total budget. The expenditure per capita of population runs to about \$2.00, an amount enormously exceeding the usual expenditure for health work in the counties of the United States and larger than the amount expended in most of the cities. Yet it is the conclusion of the writer of this book that about \$2.40 is actually needed for a sound rural health program. "The money may not be available here and now, but we gain nothing by pretending that the inadequate is adequate. The protection of health is not a fad or luxury" (p. 231).

Health authorities, public health officials, have been timid and hesitating in asking for what they need in behalf of the community. Much is lost sometimes by being satisfied with a little gain when far more would be achieved by coming out boldly for a reasonable standard, telling what it costs, and keeping persistently in the fight until something approximating the real need has been met.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

L'hygiène sociale de l'enfance. By G. BANU. Paris: Masson et Cie, 1930. Pp. xx+717.

This is an encyclopedic review of the physiology and pathology of maternity and infancy and of the medical, social, and educational procedures adopted in various countries for the promotion of the health of mothers and infants. The work has four parts, dealing respectively with "Eugenics and Heredity," "Hygiene of Maternity," "Hygiene of Infancy," and "Statistics of Infancy." It is comprehensive rather than critical; but it contains a large amount of material in the form of statistics, digests of legislation, record forms, infant feeding formulas, and the like. It is perhaps somewhat stronger on the medical than on the social side and perhaps weakest where it deals with community health organization (as would be expected from a French author). The pediatrician, the health officer, and the child welfare worker will all find helpful data in these seven hundred odd pages.

C.-E. A. WINSLOW

YALE UNIVERSITY

Revolution und Konterrevolution in China. By MANABENDA NATH ROY. Berlin: Soziologische Verlagsanstalt, 1930. Pp. 480.

This book is a translation from an English manuscript. The author lays claim to personal revolutionary activities in his native land, India, as well as in the Philippine Islands, the Dutch East Indies, Mexico, and China. At the beginning of the Chinese revolution of 1927 he was present as a delegate of the Communist Internationale. He has since been expelled from the Internationale and now belongs to the "Communist Opposition." He says that he is personally acquainted with most of the leaders of contemporary China.

The opening chapters give a brief sketch of the origins and peculiarities of Chinese society and industry. Then follows an account of the coming of the occidental powers to the Orient. The main body of the work is a review of the constant series of revolutions and counter-revolutions from the Taiping revolt to the present day. Most attention is given to the more recent upheavals that have occurred since the appearance of Bolshevism in China. A series of interpretations of the causes which have contributed to the success or failure of the various revolutions runs along with the main story. The bourgeoisie, the feudal military lords (generals), the Western powers, and the Sun Yat Sen movement are responsible for the failure of the revolutionary movement to date and they will continue to thwart it until the masses of peasants and the urban proletariat are more actively courted and cared for by the revolutionary leaders. Here the author is at his best. Be the reader's attitude toward "social revolution" what it may, he is convinced by this story that the present situation in China is almost hopeless and that Western methods of democratic or bourgeois revolution can never succeed in China. Wanton military carnage, purposeful anarchy, and foreign dictation render any attempt to organize a strong central government futile. Some change, far more fundamental and catastrophic than the fly-by-night revolutions of recent years, must take place before China finds herself.

The style is popular and the book is easily intelligible to the general reader, but there is an excessive amount of repetition, each chapter containing a recapitulation of the preceding one. The Appendix consists of a crude but sufficient map, a useful chronological table, and an index of names.

LYFORD P. EDWARDS

ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

A New Theory of Heredity. By C. A. GASKELL. London: C. W. Daniel Co., 1931. Pp. 93.

This work should be entitled, *Elementary Principles of Spiritualism*. Its views are not new but very old. The author must be in his dotage; he reproduces some correspondence he had with Darwin in 1878. He talks much of "bioplasts," "psycho-plasm," "ectoplasm," "etheric force," "the astro-mental region" with its fourth and fifth dimensions which encompasses the earth and is the dwelling-place of the "life-processes," and similar obscurities. Denying the gene theory, he substitutes the view that passive matter is animated and molded by self-directing "life-processes." For proof: "Mme. Bisson describes how on May 25, 1921, at 4:30 P.M., a beautiful little naked female, only eight inches high, fashioned itself gradually from a mass of ectoplasm on the medium's hand in full view." One can only exclaim, "How marvelous!"

F. H. HANKINS

SMITH COLLEGE

The Teachings of Jesus. By B. HARVIE BRANSCOMB. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press, 1931. Pp. 384. \$2.50.

The Christian Ideal for Human Society. By ALFRED E. GARVIE. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930. Pp. 477. \$4.00.

It is difficult to get sociologists interested in ethics, especially in ancient ethics based upon religious philosophy rather than upon scientific data. However, one of these ancient ethical systems, the ethics of the New Testament, is still a big factor in present-day society. It is as much a social fact as any other fact which we can point to, and is therefore worthy of study by scientific students of our civilization. Among the flood of books dealing with Christian ethics which have been recently published, probably the two above are as worthy as any of the attention of sociologists.

Professor Branscomb's book is a scholarly work upon the subject covered by its title. It is conceived and written in the best historical and critical spirit, which is surely not far from the scientific spirit. The spirit of the book is indicated by its opening sentence: "Jesus was a historical person, not the personification of our highest ideals and moral judgments." In other words, Professor Branscomb approaches the teachings of Jesus from the critical and historical point of view. He asks, What records of Jesus' life and teachings have been preserved; what dependability can be placed upon these records; and how should the information which they

supply be interpreted? The light of all the historical records of the time is brought to bear upon the understanding of Jesus' ethical and religious system. The book can be commended as a textbook, for college and individual use—the purpose stated in its subtitle.

Dr. Garvie's book is very different: It does not inquire what Jesus taught, but rather inquires how Jesus' teachings might be applied under modern social conditions. Its author calls it a text in Christian ethics. It is, however, much more comprehensive than books of its class, having a long historical introduction, as well as a survey of present social conditions, before it takes up directly the problem of applying Christian ethics in all phases of present social life. The book opens with theology, but this should not prejudice the sociological student, because the author turns almost at once from theology to psychology and sociology. His psychology is chiefly that of William McDougall, with McDougall's doctrine of instincts modified by J. A. Thomson and Shand. One expects, or rather hopes, that Dr. Garvie will base his social ethics upon the sociology of L. T. Hobhouse. But there is only one mention of Hobhouse in the book, and that is a reference to Hobhouse's *Metaphysical Theory of the State*. There is no mention of Hobhouse's other notable works which laid such a splendid foundation for humanitarian ethics. Instead, Dr. Garvie finds the basis for his social ethics mainly in the sociology of Professor R. M. MacIver. MacIver's doctrine of "the community," he finds, with some modification, to be a suitable foundation for a doctrine of Christian ethics.

Both books show that the work of sociologists is attracting the attention of specialists in other fields and is being utilized by them.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

DUKE UNIVERSITY

The Textbook in American Education. (30th Yearbook, Part II, of the National Society for the Study of Education). Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Co., 1931. Pp. viii+364.

The Changing Educational World. Edited by ALVIN C. EURICH. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931. Pp. xii+311. \$3.00.

The twentieth century has witnessed an amazing change in educational philosophy, in curricula, in methods in elementary and secondary schools and, to a less extent, in colleges and universities. This change has been forced upon the schools and educators by our changing civilization, which

has placed upon the schools the problem of educating a vastly increased number of pupils with a wide variety of abilities and interests.

A new educational world and a new profession of education have come into being in this period, mainly because of the pressure of social changes from forces outside of the schools themselves. Unfortunately, the newly developing science of sociology has had little influence upon educational policies or procedures, mainly because sociologists themselves have been little concerned with the educational functions in our social life. To be sure a few sociologists in recent years, without intending it, have made significant contributions which are beginning to influence educators in their study of educational problems. It is not, however, the purpose of this review to indicate the failure of sociologists to participate adequately in the reconstruction of education, but rather to indicate the character and extent of changes as indicated by the books under review and the manner in which they present those changes.

The first of these books presents a study of the textbooks in American education. In America the text, at least in the elementary and secondary schools, is the course of study—and therefore a change in the textbooks indicates a change in curriculum. While the book under review does not indicate the change in character of textbooks in the twentieth century, the discussion of such topics as "The Textbook and Methods of Teaching," "The Techniques of Textbook Authors," "The Selection of Manuscripts," "Current Practices in Selecting Textbooks for the Elementary Schools," and so forth, indicate a marked change in educational procedure. The volume gives a clear picture of the textbook in American schools today, and is therefore a valuable contribution to education.

The second book is devoted specifically to the changing educational world during the last twenty-five years, and includes, among others, the discussion of such topics as "Men and Machines," "The Revival of Personality," "New Problems in Education," and "Forces Behind Education in Europe"—topics in which the sociologist is particularly interested but which are not, in this volume, discussed by sociologists. The publication of this volume includes the addresses presented in the program arranged on the occasion of the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the College of Education of the University of Minnesota. The general topics discussed are "Education and the New World," "The University School of Education," "Educational Trends," "Educational Pioneering in Minnesota," and the "College of Education at the University of Minnesota, altogether twenty-five chapters by twenty-three contributors.

Naturally the book lacks in unity and involves overlapping in content

as well as difference of merit in the presentations themselves, but it does present forcefully the subject matter indicated in the title and demonstrates that we are in an educational world totally different from that of a quarter of a century ago.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Syllabus in an Introduction to a Philosophy of Education. By ISAAC DOUGHTON. Mansfield, Pa.: Published by the author, 1931. Pp. 108.

"This course is an attempt to integrate the more or less isolated studies which students will have made in biology, sociology, psychology and certain specialized fields of education, as comprised in the various teacher training curricula," says the Foreword. As a guide to reading and thinking, this syllabus seems especially strong and effective in its "questions and problems," only fair in its reference readings, and a poor help in its digests. The ideal of the course and the syllabus—integration—is splendid; but the reviewer suspects that most students, usually some twenty years of age, will emerge from these studies with their minds less, rather than more, "integrated"—so vast and confused are the issues assembled!

DAVID SNEDDEN

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain. By MARY BARNETT GILSON. New York: Industrial Relations Counsellors, 1931. Pp. xiii + 560.

Miss Gilson has produced what, in the reviewer's mind, is the outstanding and definitive work on unemployment insurance in Great Britain. She has shown a remarkable capacity to combine a minute description of the facts with a sure-footed analysis and an objective judgment in the midst of a bewildering maze. Each chapter contains a valuable summary, which the reviewer would not recommend as a short cut to knowledge for the superficial reader, but as an aid to the attentive and careful one in restoring in his own mind the general thread of the discussion.

The reviewer is exceedingly impressed by the author's treatment of the most important subject in the book, namely, the effect of unemployment insurance on the mobility of labor. The book combines a highly accurate and comprehensive historical treatment with a convincing analysis of the actual problem today. It is a very creditable performance not only to the

author but to the Industrial Relations Counsellors, who made it possible for her to gather her material on the spot. It may be that America is definitely reduced to a vicarious participation in the world-wide movement for social insurance through the work of her scholarship. Many of us would prefer a more direct participation.

S. PERLMAN

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Rationalization of German Industry. Prepared by VASO TRIVANOVITCH. New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1931. Pp. xv+182. \$3.00.

In the course of the past ten years a large volume of literature has appeared on the subject of "rationalization of industry" as developed in western European countries, particularly in Germany. The literature reveals a wide divergence of judgment with respect to the precise nature of rationalization, and the significance of the changes it represents in either theory or practice.

To some students it is only a slogan or shibboleth representing everything that is good and nothing that is bad for management, labor, and the general public; comparable to the question-begging phrase "planned economy" employed by current propagandists in the United States. To other students it appertains to technological matters and is consequently held to be primarily a program of scientific management. Still others in a position to speak authoritatively think of it as a program to control the output of an entire industry with a view to securing a certain price, instead of allowing the individual producer to regulate his own production, and to co-ordinate the different industries within a country and the competing industries within two or more countries. As developed to date in Germany the movement represents something of all these conceptions. It is at once a program for improving technology and a system of control by economic groups of producers, consumers, distributors, and workers operating under governmental sanction. For the most part these groups are voluntary associations, but in some cases were established by governmental edict.

The present volume discusses only the industrial-organization aspect of rationalization—the movement to limit competition by controlling production and distribution through cartels or trade associations, informal agreements, mergers, and combines. Perhaps this is the most important element in the rationalization movement, but it is only one of many aspects. Since all but 12 pages are devoted to depicting the nature, extent,

methods of operation, and legal status of cartels and combines, the title of the book is somewhat misleading.

Students interested in the field covered will find herein well-arranged and quite comprehensive data depicting the growth and present status of the more important cartels and combines, together with a fairly adequate discussion of recent developments in public regulation.

Although the book does not formally present a critical evaluation of these types of economic organization, and this appears to avoid taking a definite position, the general impression given is distinctly favorable to this form of "planned" as contrasted with our own "planless" economy. Competent German students frankly admit that cartels have failed to achieve the results expected, and many are convinced that they are responsible for increased irregularity and less economical methods of doing business. Students interested in a critical evaluation of cartels and combines will not find the subject adequately developed in this book.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Concentration in American Industry. By HARRY W. LAIDLER. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1931. Pp. xvi+501. \$3.75.

Laidler's book goes far beyond the usual categories established for books on the trust problem. The data on the traditional chapters (oil, steel, tobacco) are brought down to date and are freshly interpreted, but in addition a valuable and successful effort is made to analyze the combination problem as it presents itself in the coal, transportation, communication (telegraph, telephone, radio), power, automobile, moving-picture, clothing, food, and publishing industries. While the new data which Laidler presents tend to give his concluding chapter the tone of a program rather than of a generalization arrived at by induction, it should be added that the new material is presented with great objectivity and remarkable completeness for the available space.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Racial Factors in American Industry. By HERMAN FELDMAN. New York: Harper and Bros., 1931. Pp. xiv+318. \$4.00.

This is a valuable compendium of fact and opinion on the industrial aspects of race prejudice. Its two parts deal respectively with the facts and with suggested remedies. In the first part special chapters are de-

voted to the Negro, Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos, Mexicans and Indians, and the foreign whites. The second part sets forth community, industrial, and managerial programs for dealing with the problems discovered.

Though Part I contains little factual material that is new, it is interestingly and suggestively written and brings together in very cogent form a sufficient array of facts to give neat pictures of the industrial problems of the various racial elements. These pictures are well balanced, the author being at great pains to avoid exaggeration and to present contrary opinions. Slightly more than one-fourth of the book is devoted to the Negro, a distribution of space that seems warranted by the recent industrial push of the Negro, his numbers, and his geographical distribution. The author very safely concludes that no present policy can be based on any theory of the Negro's ultimate absorption or disappearance. Nor need the question of his innate equality with the white man be allowed to impede his employment so long as he proves his fitness for industrial pursuits even in the face of serious handicaps. Race prejudice tends strongly to accentuate the evils which give it plausibility.

Repeatedly the author emphasizes the overwhelming importance of community sentiment for the policies of employers, but he also calls attention to the reaction of the latter on the former. The later chapters canvas the resources of communities in reducing the evils of race friction, but without leading one to suppose that much can be done by conscious effort. Time, with the steady assimilation of racial elements and the softening of current asperities, may, when industry is again prosperous, accomplish much.

F. H. HANKINS

SMITH COLLEGE

A Personnel Program for the Federal Civil Service. By HERMAN FELDMAN. (*House Document No. 773, 71st Congress, 3d Session.*) Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931. Pp. ix+289.

This very competent report on the federal civil service, packed with critical considerations of the major phases of personnel management, constitutes a first-rate contribution to the literature of public administration. While the principal emphasis is on the elements of a sound wage policy, the report wisely recognizes that every phase of personnel management may affect the morale of the force and must consequently be weighed and developed.

As a result of this broad point of view, we have an informed analysis of the whole range of present personnel practices with many constructive suggestions for their improvement. An early practical result was the establishment of the Council of Personnel Administration by President Hoover in 1931.

Students of the federal government who are familiar with the *Report of the Joint Congressional Committee on Reclassification* (1920) will find occasion both for satisfaction and regret in this survey of conditions in 1930. Some notable progress is recorded: the Pension Act, the Classification Act, the strengthening of the Personnel Classification Board and its excellent work with the field service. On the other hand the reader of this report will take away a lively sense of things yet undone and problems still unsolved. Obviously Dr. Feldman is on the right track in recommending a stronger consolidated personnel agency.

LEONARD D. WHITE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Facts and Fetishes in Advertising. By E. T. GUNDLACH. Chicago: Consolidated Book Publishers, 1931. Pp. xvi+672.

This is a book about waste in advertising, not the "social waste" of orthodox economics, but the waste due to ineffective advertising methods.

In his advertising practices and beliefs Mr. Gundlach is a nominalist. He not only thinks that all advertising works solely by influencing individual minds, but claims he can prove it. Unfortunately, he fails to do the latter. Instead, he devotes nearly 700 pages to diatribes against "the fetishes," as he calls the concepts of the mass psychologist in advertising. The result is a very tiring book, containing much heat but little light.

This is all the more regrettable because in one-third the space Mr. Gundlach might have given—what he undoubtedly possesses—a series of case records which would have been a real contribution to the scientific method for which he pleads.

JAMES W. YOUNG

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Readings in Industrial Psychology. By BRUCE V. MOORE and GEORGE W. HARTMANN. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1931. Pp. xxxix+560. \$5.00.

Industrial psychology has sprung into considerable prominence since the war, especially in England and Germany. A large number of books

have appeared both abroad and in this country, as well as a continuous stream of journal articles and research reports. The book of readings by Moore and Hartmann contains a sample of the more valuable part of this literature. It gives a first-rate sketchy view of present-day "scientific" industrial psychology. One series of chapters deals with tests, rating scales, interest blanks, and other methods of appraising men for employment; another section is concerned with problems of efficiency, fatigue, accidents, and training; later chapters take up monotony, morale, unrest, and leadership. The material is orthodox and is chosen with special attention to statistical and experimental approaches to problems.

The book contains little that bears upon the important everyday human problems of industry, either from the viewpoint of manager or worker. The readings make one recognize the wide gap which separates the restricted technical advances in this field from the large and complex problems which are met through the exercise of art—when they are met at all. In this respect, perhaps, industrial psychology is no different from all other applied social science.

ARTHUR W. KORNHAUSER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Folkways in Thomas Hardy. By RUTH A. FIROR. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. 357. \$3.00.

There are few novelists and poets whose works are so completely built around folk lore and folk customs as are those of Thomas Hardy's. He had steeped himself in this material, and every one of his writings makes use of his accurate, vivid, and unadulterated knowledge of Wessex folk ways; he had, indeed, "worked with a collaborator—the folk."

Miss Firor has accomplished the task of isolating this folk material from the mass of Hardy's writing, and of bringing it together in compact form; this she has done with care and intelligence. She has a wide knowledge of folk lore, and makes illuminating comments on the various practices of Hardy's peasants, without ever obtruding upon them a sophisticated point of view. There are chapters on omens, divination, ghost lore, magic, medicine, weather, festivals and sports, law, legends.

It would be captious to criticize adversely so splendid a performance. It is possible that there is too much of an attempt to show parallel beliefs in other parts of the world, too much attention given to folk beliefs and not enough to actual folk ways, too much repetition of the same material (one case, for example, is discussed under three headings, and the whole of the connective story is repeated in each case); but one feels as if a sym-

pathetic and keen-minded critic had been among the Wessex folk, and that the picture of their many-sided life here given is accurate. What other authors have done with Homer and the Norse sagas, Miss Firor has accomplished admirably with Hardy.

JAMES G. LEYBURN

YALE UNIVERSITY

American Tramp and Underworld Slang. By GODFREY IRWIN. New York: Sears Publishing Co., 1931. Pp. 263. \$2.50.

On the jacket of this book the publishers inform us that "tramps need some language that would carry a meaning to their own fraternity without meaning anything to the police or to anyone set against the tramp's prosecution of his business." It is unfortunate that publishers cannot be satisfied with putting out a perfectly good book without encasing it in a vale of mystery. Tramp language does not grow by design any more than any other language. It is the accumulation of the tramp's peculiar experience. Irwin says that much in his Introduction, and it is reiterated in an essay by Eric Partridge printed later in the volume. The value of the glossary of a thousand or more terms as well as the collection of tramp songs (unfortunately without music) need not be argued to students of society. There is only the question of whether the author has done a good job.

The reviewer is of the opinion that nothing better has been done. There is one thing to be regretted; the author has not indicated whether he got any of his terms from other sources. He might have drawn with profit from such books as *The Hobo's Hornbook* by George Milburn and *The Milk and Honey Route* by Dean Stiff. It may be that Irwin went to press too soon to see these books but both authors covered the same field in a less adequate way. The *Hornbook* is a collection of songs and *The Milk and Honey Route* has a glossary including many terms not found in the present volume.

Another merit of the book is that the author has not subscribed to the fiction that American tramps have a sign language, as so many professors are wont to believe.

NELS ANDERSON

SETH LOW JUNIOR COLLEGE

Dancing Gods. By ERNA FERGUSON. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1931. Pp. xxvi+276+x. \$3.00.

Dancing Gods is primarily, a collection of descriptions of dances of the Indians of the Southwest. But the author has supplied much ethnological

and historical information that is necessary for an understanding of these dances and ceremonies; one cannot only "see" them in this book, but understand them as well. All of the pueblos are visited, from Taos to Isleta, Acoma, Zuñi, and the Hopi. Some ceremonies of the Navajos and Apaches, too, are included.

Miss Fergusson writes from the point of view of an artist rather than an ethnologist, but she is well informed and treats her subject intelligently and with sympathy. However, she is glad that the native religion has made possible the preservation of these beautiful ceremonies in spite of the fact that unhygienic and filthy habits (which she deploras) are due to the same supernatural outlook. She hopes that the dances and ceremonies can be preserved *as art forms* after the religious spirit which now motivates them has died (pp. xvii, xxv). But, she notes in another connection, "Pueblo life is *so unified* that, as outside influence breaks down old ways of living and of worshipping, old moralities are forgotten, reverence for old people and the ancient religion is lost, even self-respect declines" (p. 25). That the form will be preserved after the spirit has died seems doubtful, to say the least. Some ceremonies may be preserved for a time by groups who become professional (vaudeville) artists. This has, indeed, occurred in some instances. But among the folk they are almost surely doomed to extinction, in the reviewer's opinion.

LESLIE A. WHITE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Spencer's Last Journey. Edited by R. R. MARETT and T. K. PENNIMAN. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Pp. xi+153.

This little book is to be regarded as a memorial to a great ethnologist. Sir Baldwin Spencer is better known for his studies of the Australian aborigines than for the work he accomplished in his own field of biology. At the end of a long life (he was sixty-nine years of age) Spencer decided to undertake an expedition to Tierra del Fuego to make a study of the natives of the region. He had hardly begun his work when he was taken ill and died on July 14, 1929. His brief journal is here printed (pp. 49-108) and is supplemented by a narrative by Miss Hamilton, who accompanied him. The journal is of personal interest as revealing the man himself but contains little or nothing to add to our scanty knowledge of the ethnology of this region. Mr. Henry Balfour adds a brief description of the small archaeological and ethnological collection made by Spencer in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego (pp. 124-42). Sir James Frazer contributes as an Introduction an appreciation of Spencer's work as an anthropolo-

gist. Mr. Marett, who is one of the editors of the volume, provides a memoir which gives an interesting brief account of Spencer's life and work.

Spencer and Gillen will for long be remembered as having given us the first systematic, scientific account of a native tribe of Australia. It is difficult to estimate the share of each in this combined work. Gillen provided the intimate acquaintance with the natives acquired by his years of residence among them. Spencer's contribution was that of a mind trained in science. It is probable that neither of them could have accomplished alone what they were able to do by their joint effort.

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Tests and Challenges in Sociology. By EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS. New York: Century Co., 1931. Pp. vi+102.

This book is designed as a class manual to be used by students in conjunction with the author's *Principles of Sociology* (revised edition). For each chapter of the textbook a number of pertinent "test" questions have been prepared. In addition there are numerous propositions about which the student is supposed to think, and which it is intended he should be prepared to discuss when he comes to class. The author contributes also a brief Preface in which are included suggestions for the use of the tests and the challenges. With a critical instructor, who prevents vague generalizing on the points that are raised, the manual should be useful and also add interest to the classroom work.

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

A History of London. By GORDON HOME. New York: Cape and Smith, 1931. Pp. 127. \$0.60.

If the history of London has been the history of England, as no doubt it was until the reign of Henry VIII, Mr. Home's little volume is an interesting thumb-nail sketch of both. The book traces the history of the city from pre-Roman days to the end of Victoria's brilliant reign in 1901. Considerable attention is given to wars and sieges, political murders, pestilence, and conflagrations. The student of the city may, however, find in it some interesting references to the rôle of the Thames in the selection of London's site, the early decrease of the "night population" at its center, and the growth of its trade and commerce. A bibliography of both old and more recent works and a list of its historical monuments is appended.

EARL S. JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Has Science Discovered God? A Symposium of Modern Scientific Opinion. Edited by EDWARD H. COTTON. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1931. Pp. lviii+308. \$3.50.

The answer to the question in the title of this book is that it has not, but that it is discovering that there is less objection to the theistic hypothesis than nineteenth-century science supposed. Here is a symposium which embodies the opinions of some of the leading scientific men of our time, from Albert Einstein to Robert A. Millikan. Strangely enough, apparently no leading social scientist was asked to contribute to this symposium, unless we except Professor William McDougall, whose interests are quite as much in the social sciences as in psychology. Practically all of the other great names are those of physical scientists. It is needless to say that their opinions are interesting, and often very valuable, though the writer of this review has difficulty in understanding why the opinions of a physical scientist upon this problem are considered more valuable than those of a student of human history and human society.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

DUKE UNIVERSITY

Social Work Ethics. By LULA JEAN ELLIOTT. New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1931. Pp. 48. \$0.50.

Social work is emerging as a profession. This pamphlet, the third in a series of studies on technique, brings down to date the movement for developing a code of professional ethics. A tentative code issued by the Family Welfare Association in 1923 covers situations in some detail, as does the report of the Committee on Standards of the American Association of Social Workers, given in the Appendix. The codes drafted by various chapters are merely brief statements of general principles. The author sent a questionnaire to the members of the Chicago Chapter to test their attitudes on certain ethical problems. The replies indicate substantial unanimity on some points, and marked divergence on others. Some education in professional ethics is now given in many of the training schools, usually through the discussion of cases in class or conference rather than through formal courses. A full bibliography adds to the value of the study.

EDGAR L. HEERMANCE

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio. By P. G. BECK and C. E. LIVELY. Wooster: Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, (*Bulletin 489*), September, 1931. Pp. 46.

Such studies as this, and a number of them have appeared in different parts of the United States in recent years, are serving to give a much clearer picture of the phenomena of rural migration. Increasingly, it is becoming apparent that many factors, varying widely in the several regions of the nation, and even from community to community in the same region, determine the nature and extent of these migratory movements.

Of 1,589 boys and girls who were reared in the open country in three different parts of Ohio and had "started for themselves," 36 per cent of the male migrants entered farming, and 35 per cent of the female migrants were married to husbands who were farmers. Among the factors found to be clearly related to the proportion of the male migrants becoming farmers were the occupation and tenure of the parents, the size of the parental farm business, the extent of participation of the parents in organizational activities, the stability of occupation and location of the parents, the age of the migrants, their schooling, and the economic condition of agriculture at the time of beginning their independent careers. Marriage was a large determining factor in the retention of women on the farms, but the percentage of the female migrants marrying farmers was discovered to have been declining since 1900 and before. The majority of the males who became farmers were from the families of the most stable and successful farmers. A marked tendency was noted among the successful farm families of German extraction to subdivide their lands in order to aid their sons in entering farming; and, in general, the tendency that the migrant who stayed in agriculture was the one who received aid from the parental household was a pronounced one.

This study of Messrs. Lively and Beck represents another valuable contribution of the Ohio Experiment Station to the literature on the subject of rural migrations and bears the earmarks of a carefully and thoroughly done piece of work.

WILSON GEE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Selective Migration from Three Rural Vermont Towns and Its Significance. (Fifth Annual Report of the Eugenics Survey of Vermont.) Burlington: University of Vermont, 1931. Pp. vii+82.

This report is a timely investigation of rural-urban mobility in Vermont. Census figures indicate that 40 per cent of the natives of Vermont

live in other towns. Three rural towns were studied, each as being typical of a class, and none now having a population over 725. In the past twenty years, these towns have suffered losses in population ranging from 58 to 64 per cent. The emigrants are of the old native stock, two-thirds of them are between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, the majority are unmarried, 7 per cent have attended college, and 10 per cent had had some vocational training.

Such selective emigration, and an immigration which is not compensatory, brings about population and social changes which threaten the "fine quality of stock."

From the sociological standpoint the survey is well done and sound. The editor says that the pamphlet ventures to straddle the chasm between popular treatment of a theme and accurate scientific analysis. It also bridges the gulf between a eugenics that is ignorant of its sociology and a sociology that is unaware of genetics. As a matter of fact, it is primarily a study of the social factors in rural-urban mobility.

BESSIE BLOOM WESSEL

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE

Social Relations of Slaterville Springs—Brooktondale Area, Tompkins County, New York. By GLENN A. BAKKUM and BRUCE L. MELVIN. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station (*Bulletin* 501), March, 1930. Pp. 55.

Village Service Agencies, New York, 1925. By BRUCE L. MELVIN. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station (*Bulletin* 493), August, 1929. Pp. 117.

Rural Population, Tompkins and Schuyler Counties, New York, 1925. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station (*Bulletin* 487), June, 1929. Pp. 58.

Rural Population of New York, 1855 to 1925. By BRUCE L. MELVIN. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station (*Memoir* 116), June, 1928. Pp. 121.

In the first-named bulletin, the local status of economic and social organization is given, chiefly by quantitative enumeration. "Neighborhoods" are classified into the hamlet neighborhood, the activity neighborhood, the institutional neighborhood, and the village neighborhood. Chief conclusions are: "The process of urbanization is rapidly changing the area studied." There has been a breaking down both of communities and of neighborhoods, and a growing economic and social dependence upon the

city. "The population appears to be in process of stratification," according to residence on hard-surfaced or dirt roads. "A study of this kind reveals a condition that challenges the present form of local government." Unfortunately, the reader is not given the past data with which present data are compared, with the result that he cannot judge the validity of the trends observed by the authors.

Village Service Agencies is a statistical analysis of secondary census and commercial data. Significant correlations appear between size of villages and the number and kind of economic and social agencies in them. Also, "Villages are much nearer to one another in the environment of the city."

The two bulletins dealing with rural population give the usual composition data, taken mainly from the federal census. In the case of the two counties, six demographic types are found: the tourist town, villages in agricultural areas, villages in areas of farm abandonment, industrial villages, satellite villages, and the open country. Of the open-country population, 31 per cent is a non-farming group. "Cities, towns, and villages influence the density of the *open-country* population more than does the type of farming." The state-wide study shows population trends for large and small towns, rural and farm population, unincorporated and incorporated villages. "From 1855 to 1920, the rural population declined in all sections of the state, but the decline was greatest in the farming and least in the suburban counties." "The marked phenomenon between 1920 and 1925 was suburbanization. . . . The farm population increased in the suburban counties but declined in all the others, the greatest decline being in the farming counties."

T. C. McCORMICK

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

A Bibliography of the History of Agriculture in the United States. By EVERETT E. EDWARDS. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture (*Miscellaneous Publication No. 84*), 1930. Pp. iv+307.

Mr. Edwards has produced a most useful bibliography. It is in the process of growth and makes no pretense of being exhaustive. Revisions should include more source material of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including travels and a list of agricultural and other useful periodicals. This bibliography should be in the hands of social and economic historians as well as sociologists.

RUSSELL H. ANDERSON

MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY, CHICAGO

Cope: Master Naturalist. The Life and Letters of Edward Drinker Cope. A Study of the Pioneer Foundations of Paleontology in America. By HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN [and others in co-operation]. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pp. 740. \$5.00.

Among the significant larger biographies recently published is this elaborate yet simply and attractively written life-story of a great man of science—not a mere thinker, laboratory worker, or teacher, brilliantly as he shone in all these capacities; but a traveler and pioneer field explorer who did more than any other one man to discover, exhume, identify, or describe for the first time and name numerous extinct higher animals.

An original geologist, and an evolutionary philosopher of commanding power and influence, he was in his later years a professor at the University of Pennsylvania. He was an ardent evolutionist, a Lamarckian, a theist, an innovator in science, a “come-outer” in religion and morals, and a most pronounced, dynamic, and engaging personality. His early Quakerism colored the thought and manners of this strikingly American savant of cosmopolitan contacts and reputation. Not that they were either continuously quiet or prevailing drab!

Professor Cope's letters vivify the volume, and reflect social and political conditions, as they express social views. He delivered himself volubly on a variety of topics, including many in education, ethics, and sociology. He wrote on feminism, opposed women's suffrage on biological grounds, from the standpoint of the better class of women, and of social and political welfare. He was a radical regarding marriage, proposing, in great detail, a short-term, renewable-contract marriage. The classified bibliography of 1,395 titles lists several in sociology; many others, of biological and anthropological nature, bear upon this science, in its descriptive, natural history, and genetic aspects. A man of “fine personal qualities,” yet a fighter, often antagonizing his fellows, Cope was, both seriously and satirically, something of a prophet, interested in many practical reforms; as he was about the leading naturalist of his age and country.

WILLIAM HARPER DAVIS

NEW YORK

Economic Equity. By THOS. J. HUGHES. Dayton: John J. Scruby, 1931. Pp. 262. \$1.00.

A Utopian mixture of “religion” and “economics” with a contribution to neither.

EARL S. JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Germany and the Germans. By EUGEN DIESEL, translated by W. D. ROBSON-SCOTT. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931.

Germany and the Germans is a book for both Germans and foreigners. The author seems to have no prejudices or very set formula for the regeneration of Germany. He recognizes that his country is "a land without design" and without "clear, will or ordered measure."

As a survey of a complex set of geographic, historic, economic, political, and philosophic facts it might well serve as a model of clarity and sincerity. There is an aloofness about this work that inspires not alone confidence but a type of sympathy with the German people that a less sincere and less critical work could never achieve.

One of the main theses of the book that seems to be permeating the whole work like a musical theme is the fact that Germany and the Germans are still in process of development, and thus still somewhat of an uncertain entity. In harmony with this theme the author comes to the conclusion that Germany is yet to achieve a spiritual harmony and unity before she can participate in what Nietzsche calls "a synthesis of Europe."

Although the book at no time pretends to defend Germany and the Germans there is throughout a note of hopefulness which is based upon the fact that a new German spirit is being awakened which is bound to become emancipated from the "narrowly intellectual and mechanistic spirit of the age."

CAROL ARONOVICI

PACIFIC PALISADES, CAL.

The Little Green Shutter. By BRAND WHITLOCK. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1931. Pp. 157. \$1.50.

Under this innocent title the author describes Prohibition as an "attempt to hustle humanity [in America] into instant perfection." His argument affords the opportunity to point out the relation between custom and law, a relation which in this instance he holds is wanting. He reminds us that before Prohibition there was the problem of the saloon and intemperance while in these latter days these problems still abide *plus* the device that was to dispel them. Mr. Whitlock offers, however, no alternative short of nullification through repeal of existing statutes or failure to provide enforcement funds. The Eighteenth amendment he opines will remain in the Constitution "as a proof of our moral aspiration" but will offer no more effective barrier to our drinking than the little green shutter in the saloons of other days did to the bibulous habits of the "pious citizen."

The book is, in short, a critique of freedom in post-Volsteadian America. The account of the history of Prohibition from its agrarian beginnings in the "Woman's Crusade" of the late seventies to its urban senility as marked by the Wickersham Report is well told.

EARL S. JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Communication. By DAVID O. WOODBURY. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1931. Pp. 280. \$2.50.

Here, interestingly and accurately told, is the story of man's achievements in communication. The author pays due respect to the aid which science, from da Vinci to Marconi, has rendered. The cumulative and social nature of invention is implicit in the account.

EARL S. JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The New Road to Civilization. By H. G. BAKER. Seattle: Economy Publishers, 1931. 2 vols., pp. 149 and 169. \$3.20.

Eugenics marks the way!

EARL S. JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Love Letters and Letters about Love. By WILLIAM J. ROBINSON. New York: Eugenics Publishing Co., 1931. Pp. 87.

The author of this slender but important volume is to sex literature in America what Havelock Ellis is in England and Magnus Hirschfeld is in Germany.

He is the author of more than twenty books on sex and edits the *Critic and Guide*. Like Haldemann Julius and Upton Sinclair, he has his own publishing house and his own unique methods of distributing his books, and is apparently much more successful than most authors who depend upon reputable publishers.

The opening chapter asks "What Is Love?" and answers "I stand baffled and perplexed, awed and overwhelmed." To the question, "Is love just sex?" he explains, "No, love and sex are not synonymous; for love is more than sex, and much less. And as there can be sex without love, so there can be love without sex relations."

He quotes "He who has one love has one sorrow." "He who has one hundred loves has one hundred sorrows." And comments, "Shall we add: he who has no love has no sorrow? Alas, it is not so. He who has no love sometimes tastes the bitterest of sorrows."

The book contains many beautiful love letters, some of which appear to be autobiographical.

Dr. Robinson is a Reformer and writes a number of letters giving mature advice to the lovelorn.

Love Letters is a soothing rather than a stimulating book. And it is always interesting to know how the other fellow makes love.

BEN L. REITMAN

CHICAGO

Doctor's Etiquette. By JEAN C. ISNER. Boston: Published by the author, 1931. Pp. 128.

This book is dedicated "to the good of Humanity." The title was chosen because the author was "buffeted from one doctor to another and told by each that one doctor must stand with the other" (p. 7). It is the story of alleged professional non-, mis-, and malfesance. The psychiatrist may find in it materials of interest. It is poorly written and obviously a missionary effort.

EARL S. JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Lincoln and His Cabinet. By CLARENCE EDWARD MACARTNEY. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1931. Pp. xviii+366. \$3.50.

This competent historical monograph uses no analytical conceptions of a technical nature which would interest a sociologist or psychologist.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Education as a Social Force. By M. V. MARSHALL. ("Harvard Bulletins in Education," No. 18.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. xi+160.

This monograph presents a study of the teacher-training program in Nova Scotia in its historical development and present status. The author attempts a complete study of all the factors involved in the training of teachers in the area studied and to determine, from the factors considered, a plan or program of teacher training which meets the social needs of the province. The summary, in concluding the study of the provincial college, represents adequately the situation:

The curriculum confines itself almost wholly to review of the work of the elementary grades and specific techniques of teaching. It is overcrowded with brief courses in the attempt to perform the impossible task of laying a foundation of scholarship and develop professional skill in a very short training period. There is little evidence in the curriculum to show that the teachers in training are ever presented with the conception of the teacher as a community leader and an active agent in the preservation and development of human resources. Their conception of education, the curriculum implies, must be the administering of prescribed doses of subject matter.

This conclusion unfortunately represents rather faithfully the situation in teacher-training institutions in the States as well.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Jacob Fugger the Rich. By JACOB STRIEDER. Edited by N. S. B. GRAS. New York: The Adelphi Company, 1931. Pp. xxvi+227.

Jacob Fugger, surnamed the Rich, was the most powerful of the Renaissance captains of industry. In Augsburg, during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, he laid the foundation for the family fortune by his wholesale dealings in cloth. Extending his activities to the exploitation of the silver and copper resources of the Tyrol, he soon became the greatest entrepreneur of his day. His most spectacular coup was the financing of the election of Charles V as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; the Fugger guldens enabled Charles to outbid Francis I of France for the coveted honor. The subsequent influence of Jacob the Rich in European politics and finance is comparable to that of the Rothschilds, three hundred years later. Non-specialized in activity, combining the functions of wholesaler, retailer, manufacturer, common carrier, and international banker, he was the J. P. Morgan of his day. The present volume is not an exhaustive biography of Jacob Fugger, but is rather an essay in the economic and commercial history of the Renaissance.

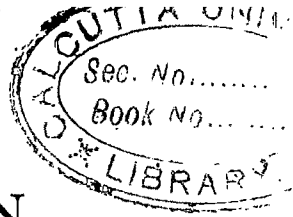
FRANCIS E. MERRILL

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

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POPULATION

TRENDS IN AGE COMPOSITION AND IN SPECIFIC BIRTH-RATES, 1920-30

P. K. WHELPTON

Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems
Miami University

ABSTRACT

From 1920 to 1930 the proportion of the population in the older age groups increased considerably, particularly among the foreign-born. Specific birth-rates declined in most cases. The declines usually were greater in those areas having the highest rates; and within each area they varied directly with age.

The changes that occurred in the age distribution of the population between 1920 and 1930 are of great significance. Figure 1 shows in pyramid form the size of each age period on the two census dates, and the gains or losses during the decade. The 1920 pyramid, outlined in white, has a broad base and tapers rapidly to the peak. The 1930 pyramid, outlined in black, is narrower at the base than higher up and comes to a peak by more gradual steps. It is considerably more like the beehive shape that described a stationary population and has the drawing in at the base, which represents a marked step toward the Egyptian mummy-case shape of a declining population.

The 1930 census was the first in the United States to show fewer children 0-4 than 5-9, 10-14 or 15-19, or than 0-4 in the preceding census; but the 1940 census will show additional signs of an approaching era of a decreasing population. There were about 10 per

cent fewer births in 1930 and 1931 than in 1925 and 1926, which makes it practically certain that in 1940 there will be fewer children 5-9 than 10-14. And unless the decline in births which has been going on almost without a break since 1921 is soon checked, the 1940 census will show fewer children 0-4 than 5-9. The 10-14 age period is sure to be smaller than the period 15-19 in 1940, since in 1930 there were fewer children 0-4 than 5-9, hence each five-year age period would be smaller than the one above it up to 15-19.

While the population under 5 declined from 1920 to 1930, that of older age periods became larger. In general, the older the age period, the greater was the rate of increase, the number of persons 5-9 being 10.6 per cent larger in 1930 than 1920, but the number 75 and over going up 30.2 per cent. This is a situation which has held true for several decades, and is likely to be intensified in the next few decades. A discussion of the chief causal factors—declines in birth-rates, death-rates, and immigration—has been presented elsewhere.¹

While Figure 1 and the accompanying discussion deal with the situation of the total population, they also apply fairly well to the native-white and Negro groups. Among the foreign-born, however, the situation is quite different, as may be seen from Figure 2. Here there is no pyramid, but something like a spinning top. Whereas Figure 1 for the total population shows a decrease in only the 0-4 age period from 1920 to 1930, Figure 2 shows a decrease in each five-year period up to and including 30-34. The main cause here, of course, is the smaller immigration since 1914 than for preceding years, the decrease at first being due to the World War, and later to the quota basis of restriction. A figure of age distribution for 1940 will probably be as much more top-heavy than that of 1930 in Figure 2 as 1930 is more top-heavy than 1920.

Comparing the urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm portions of the population, the shifts to the older age periods were greatest in the rural farm and least in the rural nonfarm. Movement off the farm was large during the decade, the farm population declining from 31,400,000 to 30,100,000 in spite of a large rural excess of births over deaths; and among those leaving the farm were relatively more

¹ P. K. Whelpton, "Increase and Distribution of Elders in Our Population" (read at the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, Washington, D.C., December 29, 1931).

young adults than elders. Furthermore, the decline in specific birth-rates was greater in agricultural than in industrial regions, as will be shown later, which cut more heavily into the proportion of farm children under 10.

The changes in age composition should have important economic and social effects from a long-time standpoint. Considering consumers' goods, for example, the size of the market has been expanding most rapidly for things used primarily by elders and will continue to do so for some decades. At the other extreme there has been an actual contraction in size of market for things used by infants and young children, with indications of further contractions or a sta-

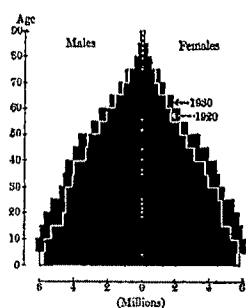


FIG. 1.—Total population, 1920 and 1930, by five-year age periods.

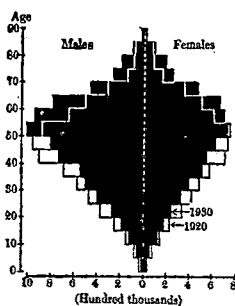


FIG. 2.—Foreign-born whites, 1920 and 1930, by five-year age periods.

tionary condition in the future. This does not mean that the effective demand may not increase due to a rise in per capita income and in standards of living, but it should emphasize the entire dependency on this factor in the infant-young children's market when this group of the population fails to gain in numbers.

School facilities and teaching staffs will be affected by this age shift. In some parts of the country the number of children under school age was much higher in 1930 than in 1920—in Detroit, Los Angeles, Hammond, White Plains, Newton, and part of rural Massachusetts, for example. Here, the problem of how to build schools and hire teachers fast enough may continue for some time, since there will be more children entering school from 1931 to 1936 than there were from 1921 to 1926. A more common situation, however, will be that of Boston, Chicago, Bay City, and most of the farming areas of the United States where the number of children below school

age is declining. These places should soon be able to abandon certain obsolete buildings or ease crowded conditions, and to weed out some of the less able teachers. A complicating factor in some cities, however, is that while there may be fewer children to enter school now than ten years ago, they are quite differently distributed within the city boundaries. New York furnishes a striking example, children under 5 in Manhattan decreasing 45.8 per cent from 1920 to 1930, while in the Bronx they increased 35.2 per cent.

Space does not permit further discussion of the effects of changes in age composition that have been going on and are likely to continue. The soundness of pension systems, the attitude of industry toward employing older workers, and many other questions merit careful study in connection with age trends.²

BIRTHS AND BIRTH-RATES

The number of births reached the high mark of 2,950,000 in 1921, after which there was an almost unbroken decline to 2,506,000 in 1929.³ Since there was an increase to 2,564,000 births in 1930, it has been argued that the decline may have ended, and that births may remain at about the 2,500,000 mark. Preliminary figures for 1931 indicate only 2,450,000 births, however, a smaller number than in 1929, in spite of the increase of over 2,400,000 in the population during the two years. Whether this last falling-off of births is due to the beginning of the depression remains to be seen, though such an assumption appears reasonable judging from the work of Hexter and others.⁴ According to this hypothesis, births in 1932 should show considerable reduction from 1931, and the first portion of 1933 should be on this lower level.

Although the number of births fell considerably during the decade, the birth-rate dropped still more because of the increase in popula-

² Cf. Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, "A Nation of Elders in the Making," *American Mercury*, XIX, No. 76 (April, 1930), 385-97.

³ P. K. Whelpton, "Trends in Population Increase and Distribution during 1920 to 1930," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI, No. 6 (May, 1931), 867, Table I. This table has been revised somewhat, as a study of age data from the 1930 census has indicated that the improvement in completeness of birth registration within the Birth Registration Area was not as rapid as had been assumed by the writer.

⁴ Maurice Beck Hexter, *Social Consequences of Business Cycles*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1925. Pp. 206. Contains references to several studies on the effect of economic conditions on the birth-rate.

tion. Thus, births in 1931 were nearly 17 per cent fewer than in 1921, but the crude birth-rate was 19.8 per thousand instead of 27.2, a drop of over 27 per cent. Changes in rates can be analyzed more accurately, however, if specific rates are used. These can be computed for the registration area for years near the date of census-taking. Births by age of mother from the 1928 and 1929 *Birth Statistics*⁵ may be divided by the number of women in that age group on January 1, 1929, estimated by interpolation between the 1920 and 1930 censuses. Since the 1920 census was taken as of January 1, births by age of mother in 1918-21, inclusive, may well be used. In this period, 1919, a year of low birth-rates due to mobilization during 1918 tends to offset 1921, a year of high birth-rates due to demobilization, so the average would seem to be fair. In order to compare identical areas, the 1919 registration states need to be used. They are a good sample of the United States with respect to foreign whites, but the high birth-rate areas of the South are not sufficiently represented in the native-white group, although having too much weight in the Negro group.

Specific birth-rates for 1928-29 and for 1918-21, together with the percentage increase or decrease, are shown in Table I. For the 1919 registration area as a whole, the birth-rate declined in every case, except Negro women 15-19, where it rose slightly. Among native whites, the rate for women 15-19 was practically unchanged, but decreases occurred at older ages, varying from 11 per cent at 20-24 to 20.9 per cent at 35-44. Birth-rates of foreign white women fell considerably more, over one-fourth at ages 15-19 and about one-third at older ages. Negroes came nearest, on the whole, to maintaining the 1918-21 level; but here, as with native whites, the declines increased decidedly with age, and at ages over 25 they were greater than those of native whites. It is safe to say that the immediate cause of these declines is the increased practice of birth control, and these rates indicate that this has taken place on a rising scale as women pass through the childbearing period. For native whites and Negroes, at least, the inference might be that the increasing decline

⁵ Births by age of mother for 1930 have not been tabulated by the Division of Vital Statistics at date of writing (February 15, 1932), perhaps because the Bureau of the Census has concentrated its efforts on the 1930 census. If 1928-31 could be used instead of 1928-29, the rates would be lower, since there were fewer births in 1930 and 1931 than in 1928 and 1929.

in rates at older ages reflects a tendency to prevent additional births in the four- to six-child family to a greater extent than in the one-

TABLE I
BIRTH-RATES, 1918-21 AND 1928-29

1919 BIRTH REGIS- TRATION AREA*	PERIOD†	BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN AGED					STAND- ARDIZED BIRTH- RATE‡	
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44		
Native-born white women	{ 1918-21 1928-29	42 42	137 122	138 119	105 89	50 40	89 77	
Pct. change		-.2	-11.0	-13.7	-15.4	-20.9	-13.1	
Foreign-born white women	{ 1918-21 1928-29	68 50	224 149	217 146	165 112	79 51	141 95	
Pct. change		-26.0	-33.4	-32.4	-31.8	-35.5	-32.5	
Negro women	{ 1918-21 1928-29	86 93	152 140	128 108	101 83	55 42	99 88	
Pct. change		+8.3	-8.3	-15.6	-17.5	-24.6	-11.1	
SELECTED STATES*	PERIOD†	STANDARDIZED BIRTH-RATE‡						
		N.H. and Vt.	Mass., Conn., and N.Y.	Pa.	6 North Central States§	5 South- ern States||	Utah	Wash., Ore., and Calif.
Native-born white women	{ 1918-21 1928-29	88 84	70 64	92 83	90 81	122 98	139 112	71 59
Pct. change		-4.7	-9.3	-9.6	-10.3	-19.5	-19.3	-17.4
Foreign-born white women	{ 1918-21 1928-29	136 112	131 90	181 120	146 104	133 88	168 130	119 70
Pct. change		-17.8	-31.7	-33.4	-28.6	-33.5	-22.7	-40.7
Negro women	{ 1918-21 1928-29	.....	73 71	76 84	70 73	113 99	.....	.....
Pct. change . . . . .		.....	-3.6	+10.1	+3.5	-12.2	.....	.....

* Excluding Maine because age of mother not given; and excluding New Hampshire, Vermont, Utah, Washington, Oregon, and California from Negro groups because of small Negro population.

† Rates for 1918-21 are obtained by dividing the births registered in these years by women in the 1920 census. For Oregon, California, and South Carolina, which were added to the Birth Registration Area in 1919, the ratio of 1919-21 to 1918-21 for the balance of their group was used to estimate 1918 births. Rates for 1928-29 are obtained by dividing by the number of women on January 1, 1929—estimated by interpolation between the 1920 and 1930 censuses.

‡ Standardized to the age distribution of the total female population 15-44 in the 1930 census.

§ Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Kansas.

|| Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Kentucky.

or two-child family. But additional data are necessary to establish this tendency and to measure it accurately.⁶

From a geographic standpoint, the declines in native-white rates were least in the northern states and greatest in the southern and

⁶ Cf. Frank W. Notestein, "The Decrease in Size of Families from 1890 to 1910," *Quarterly Bulletin of the Milbank Memorial Fund*, IX, No. 4 (October, 1931), 181-88.

western states. In general, the lower the 1918-21 rates, the smaller the decline between 1918-21 and 1928-29. Thus, Utah and the southern states, which had the highest rate in 1918-21, showed declines of over 19 per cent; while the northern areas, which stood well below them, declined 12.1 per cent or less. The Pacific states were the exception, having rates about half those of Utah, yet declining relatively as much.

Among foreign whites it is difficult to see any relation between size of birth-rate in 1918-21 and extent of the decrease during the decade. The largest percentage decline occurred in the Pacific states, which had the lowest rates in 1918-21, but nearly as large a decline occurred in Pennsylvania where the rates were highest.

The 1918-21 rates for Negroes were much higher in the southern states than elsewhere, and the declines to 1928-29 were considerably larger. It is probable that the composition and living conditions of an important portion of the northern Negro population was still quite abnormal in 1918-21, owing to the recentness of the large northward migration which had occurred. The stability of this group has no doubt increased with its stay in the North and has had an upward influence on birth-rates, which has partially offset the causes making for the greater general practice of birth control.

Do the data on births and birth-rates indicate that rates are about at the bottom and that a period of stabilization is near? It is evident that the decline which may continue in the birth-rate of foreign white women will not pull down the birth-rate of the total population as has occurred in the past, since foreign-born women in the child-bearing ages are decreasing in actual numbers, and their specific birth-rates are much nearer the lower level of native-white rates than was formerly the case. But the future course of native-white and Negro rates is not so clear. It is true that, on the whole, the states with lower birth-rates in 1918-21 showed lower relative declines during the decade, and that specific rates in the first half of the childbearing period decreased relatively less than those in the last half. But the declines in the specific birth-rates of native whites in the Pacific states and of Negroes in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, in the face of the low rates of these groups in 1918-21, seem to the writer to indicate that the bottom is considerably below present levels, and that stabilization is still several years in the future.

NATURAL RESOURCES

GEORGE OTIS SMITH

Chairman of the Federal Power Commission

ABSTRACT

Balancing supply and demand.—Contrast between plenty and poverty. Adjustment slow. *Wealth in natural resources.*—Basic values remain unaffected by the ticker tape. *Electric power industry stable.*—Not overbuilt. Capacity relatively well adjusted to demand. *Curtailment of mining.*—Metals and coal suffer from overdevelopment. *Petroleum industry successful in self-control.*—New view of leaders. *More attention to distribution.*—Need of co-ordinating demand and supply; an engineering task.

In the industries directly related to natural resources the year 1931 recorded further progress in balancing supply with demand. The process of adjustment is necessarily slow and painful, and in a world of unsatisfied wants some doubt must arise whether “underconsumption” does not describe the economic condition better than “overproduction.” A traveler in Australia writes, “Here is the great tragedy of the world. There are millions of naked bodies in a world which can not sell its wool, and stomachs are feeling the pressure of hunger in a world which can not market its wheat.”

In the United States, while fortunately the contrast between plenty and poverty is less striking, the same breakdown in the smooth operation of the law of demand and supply has affected far too many items of our natural resources by reason of impotent demand. It has become almost a commonplace to contrast the oversupplies of foodstuffs with the inadequately fed millions of our people; the warehouses are crowded with stocks of cotton and wool while children go poorly clad; the inventories of metals and timber are far too large for their owners to contemplate with profit; and the home-construction program lags far behind the actual needs of the people. It is this phase of the national economic problem that calls for solution rather than any immediate resumption of the development program.

Severe as have been the business changes incident to this readjustment, the result has been in the line of restoration to industrial health. Indeed, in some respects the adjustment has been less radical than it seemed. In most items other than automobiles and

building materials, consumer trade, as measured by quantity rather than by dollars, was barely 5 per cent below the peak volume of 1929. Moreover, there is nothing in this aspect of the situation of the United States, with respect to material resources, to change the fundamental fact of the country's natural wealth or to discount the ultimate benefits flowing from the possession of adequate stores of the raw materials that are absolutely essential to modern progress. The quotations on a ticker tape are not indicative of variation in the country's basic values. A striking illustration is found in the Department of Agriculture's report on the decline in inventory value of live stock, amounting to a billion and a quarter dollars in 1931 alone, while the total flocks and herds increased 2 per cent in the same year. This type of national inventory of natural resources is not truly measured by the fluctuations of the marketplace.

The broadest classification of natural resources is that of energy resources and industry's raw materials, and it is by reason of its wealth in energy resources that the United States stands out among the nations—here we truly appear self-sufficient for a long future. Both in the quantity of power now used and in the energy stored up for future use the United States is pre-eminent. This abundance of mechanical energy, with which to lengthen and strengthen the arm of human labor, both increases the demand for industrial raw materials and increases our supply of metals, for instance, through reducing the mining and metallurgical costs. Herein lies the greatest stimulus to inventive genius, and the result is to make us not only greater producers but greater consumers. These advantages continue, whatever the stock market quotations may be.

Probably the brightest spot in the economic picture of 1931 was the electric light and power business, for no other great industry has exhibited a like resistance to the general economic influence of this period. As described in the report of the Federal Power Commission¹ the characteristics of the power industry are its remarkable growth, its noteworthy stability, and its happy adjustment of capacity to demand.

¹ *Eleventh Annual Report of the Federal Power Commission* (1931), pp. 5-7.

The stability of this industry in these times of widespread and severe testing has been demonstrated by the maintenance of earnings for the industry as a whole. And this exceptional record, among the major industries, is clearly to be credited to the favorable relation of demand and supply. What other productive industries are now seeking, this electric utility already possesses.

Generating capacity has been kept fairly well adjusted to market demand. As a modern power plant can not be planned and built in a year, new construction continues even in a period like the present, and thousands of kilowatts are added each month to the generating capacity of the country. Indeed, the records of output in these two years of general industrial depression plainly indicate an expanding market for electricity. The temporary falling off of wholesale demand by the industrial users has been offset by an increase in retail sales to domestic and other small users, so that the revenues at present are essentially the same as two years ago. New customers are being found, while old ones have simply reduced their demand.

That the electric business of the country is neither overbuilt nor overproducing is a benefit that must, in large part, be attributed to the fact that the industry is treated as a regulated public service monopoly. This highly favorable advantage of being a balanced industry, able to adjust capacity to demand, is due in part to the fact that the indispensable nature of the service rendered, together with the new uses constantly added, tends to augment that demand, but it should also be observed that the monopoly of market allowed to the electric utilities creates a high degree of stabilization that is beneficial to both the public and the industry.

To these economic advantages, not shared by most other productive businesses, should be added the geographic expansion of the larger units in the power industry, a type of growth that differs in some respects from that of other basic industries.

The interstate commerce in electricity has become national rather than regional in scope. Indeed, under similar geographic conditions in continental Europe, an international network of transmission lines is already coming into being over there. Coal power and water power are being exchanged across national boundaries in the interest of efficiency and economy.

It is this interconnection, both physical and financial, of power systems that has given to some water powers practical value that they would not have if operated alone. This economic relationship is promoting the development of a great natural resource even while the competition of steam has greatly increased.

Some years ago the statistics of output of electricity by the public utility plants seemed to promise to become one of the most sensitive of business indicators. Unlike many other "barometers" of business highs and lows, the production of power is simultaneous with its con-

sumption, so that the production curve is actually a consumption curve. However, the lesson of 1931 is that the notable increase in domestic use of electricity largely veiled the serious drop in industrial demand. Yet, the addition of many new customers of the residential type and the general increase in consumption per customer together indicate the larger contribution that is being made to comfort in the home, even in a year of lower incomes.

The continued lack of demand for the products of the mines of the country made curtailment of operations even more widespread. Statistics for some of the metals show outputs lower than for any previous year in a decade or even two decades. In the case of coal, there was a decrease in demand due not only to the conditions of other industry and transportation but also to the continued serious competition by the two other mineral fuels—oil and gas. A further loss in employment in this industry is chargeable to mechanization. The coal industry's struggle with the perennial condition of overdevelopment is probably its most serious trouble. Self-regulation, interstate compacts, co-operative state and federal price-fixing boards are plans proposed at the international conference on bituminous coal at Pittsburgh—all in the effort to stop the sale of coal below cost, a trade habit that results from overproduction.

For the first time in recent years the petroleum industry effectively checked its spendthrift career. Many items can be cited to the credit of this industry. In spite of the opening up in Oklahoma, Texas, and California of three of the largest producing fields the country has known, there was actual curtailment in number of wells drilled and in the output of the wells in these fields and of other highly productive wells. The number of wells completed was smaller than for any other year in this century, and the production of 850 million barrels, as reported by the Bureau of Mines, was the lowest since 1926. Stocks of crude oil were also reduced nearly 48 million barrels. This measure of economic control is a significant contribution to the larger subject of conservation.

In Texas and New Mexico there were increases in output of 41 and 5 million barrels, respectively, thus adding to the difficulty of curtailment elsewhere. Though martial law was necessary in Oklahoma and Texas, self-restraint accomplished the same result in

California. Even greater progress toward balancing of supply with demand seems promised in the general acceptance by the leaders of the oil industry not only of the principle of proration but also of the plan of unit or common development of flush pools. This adoption of the idea of an equitable participation in the output of a pool, based primarily upon each owner's acreage holding, should lead to legislation and field practice quite in contrast with the old rule of ownership based only on reducing to possession. It was the premium upon haste, entailed by this old rule, that was most productive of waste, both physical and economic. Under such long-established precedents conservation of oil and gas was well-nigh impossible. Now, however, the United States Supreme Court, passing on the California conservation law, has established the constitutional right of the legislature to legislate against waste and unreasonable production of oil and gas to the extent that they may infringe the correlative rights of owners. A later decision in a federal court has upheld the Texas oil law.

Another great natural resource in which the United States has been rich since the beginning of things also presents the picture of oversupply: a crop of overripe timber awaits a delayed harvest time, and lumber yards are piled high with stocks awaiting a more active market. As those best qualified to speak are pointing out, the once feared shortage of timber has retreated into a more distant tomorrow, in that today a fifty-year reserve is in sight with no allowance for the annual increment through growth. As was suggested last year in this review, the corner seems to have been turned in forest conservation. The unpredictable item of waste by forest fires, however, remains to give us pause.

Fifteen years ago, a group of economists—Professors Ely, Hess, Leith, and Carver—published studies in the conservation of national resources under the title: *The Foundations of National Prosperity*. The purpose of these students was to bring together human resources and natural resources in the necessary reactions that will contribute to nation-building. Since the publication of these studies, much has been accomplished in bringing about a larger appreciation of the public interest in utilizing the nation's resources. Even the

recent adversity has contributed to this end—another illustration that red ink is an effective catalyzer of ideas.

It is in the field of the industries that utilize natural resources that the need of making common endeavor to balance supply with demand gives best promise of bringing about a rational program of production. The attention paid by the responsible executives in the petroleum industry to the forecasts of demand issued under the auspices of the Federal Oil Conservation Board has been, perhaps, a major factor in the exceptional restraint now exercised in the production of crude oil. If the refiners would exhibit similar self-control in avoiding excess accumulation of gasoline, the petroleum industry might claim leadership in a new business era, wherein the common good is placed ahead of individual benefit; indeed, the two may be found not antagonistic.

One of the lessons of the past two years is plainly suggested in the opening paragraphs of this chapter—the need of more attention to the processes of distribution. That need has long existed, and the following appeal for the application of engineering methods to this problem was written just before the world was rudely awakened from its dreams of wealth.

The hour has struck, therefore, for the engineer to turn his hand to the betterment of distribution of the products of his machines. There is a call for him to explore the other hemisphere of economics—to study demand as well as supply. High-powered salesmanship seeks to create demand rather than to discover it; but isn't it true that this world is all too full of unsatisfied needs, of actual hunger, for us to waste time or energy in inventing new appetites? The fact that modern distribution of the products of the factory as well as of the fruits of the land costs so much more than their production is a plain indication that engineering is needed to co-ordinate demand and supply.²

² George Otis Smith, "International Engineering"; address at banquet given by American committee to Japanese and other delegates at World Engineering Congress, Tokyo, 1929.

INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES

S. C. GILFILLAN

Research Committee on Social Trends, Chicago

ABSTRACT

Our chief aim is to foresee the social effects of the new inventions. Though we hesitate to name these, they can really be more easily predicted than the success of particular inventions already realized. The success of an invention depends on its superiority to all and any rival means for accomplishing the same ends. The final effects have a wider, less chancy basis, more predictable by trend. The most socially significant advances of the past year are briefly discussed.

In reporting each year the most significant discoveries and inventions of the previous twelvemonth, our chief interest is to foresee their social effects. Yet to propound these we are little inclined, for fear of mistakes. It is much safer to quote precise and already accomplished facts, or allegations of fact, from responsible and named sources. It is much harder to say what inventions will succeed. A little study the writer made for Professor Ogburn, of the success of past prophets in the field of marine invention, indicated that even an admiral can predict ships wrongly, absurdly and persistently. But it appeared that if one knows ships and their history thoroughly, and if one uses caution and the extrapolative method, projecting forward the observed trends of the past, and predicting results rather than the means of reaching them, one can land in the bull's eye with satisfying frequency.¹ The Panama Canal is a brilliant, though not unusual, example of this kind of prophecy, having been planned in 1906 for such ships and traffic as did not then exist, with many millions staked on predictions since well justified.

If we carry the reasoning a step farther, to predict, not method nor even direct accomplishment, but social effects, our argument may not be weakened by its increasing steps, but strengthened by reaching a broader base of causation, more varied and suitable for statistical projection. Thus, if we foretell that aircraft will land on roofs through using de la Cierva's autogiro, we are predicting that this particular engineering principle (and we are not engineers) will always be found better than any rival device now or hereafter in-

¹ Cf. the author's "The Size of Future Liners," *The Independent*, March 6, 1913.

vented. If we predict that airplanes will land somehow on roofs, we shall be on safer ground. And if we say that some way or other there will be very rapid transit between centers of cities, with social effects of more international finance, language, government, etc., we shall be safest of all. Will the reader, therefore, please take the following list of inventions and discoveries, not as predictions that these particular processes will be used, or are necessarily even good, but rather as suggestions of what human values the general trend of civilization—technologic, economic, and broadly social—is marching to bring about, and which last year (if not well before) were rather proved possible, through the discovery of an apparently feasible means.

PHYSICS

X-ray machines are making rapid progress toward higher voltages and hence shorter, more penetrating rays, verging upon those of radium. One machine of 900,000 volts has been built on the cascade system (which is capable of much greater use), and one to withstand 2,600,000 volts by Drs. F. Lange and A. Brasch, of the University of Berlin (S).² At the same time a thermionic valve of 2,000,000-volt capacity has been produced by the Carnegie Institute (A, June), and a frictional electric machine, by Dr. R. J. Van de Graaff, of Princeton, yielding 1,500,000 volts, and it is hoped soon a 20,000,000-volt machine (S, G). An X-ray tube which shows no sign of wearing out after 11,000 hours is presented by Dr. W. R. Ham, of Pennsylvania State College; and at the same time M. G. Reboul, of Montpellier, has produced X-rays without tubes (G). Dr. A. H. Compton, of the University of Chicago, successfully developed a technique for measuring the length of waves down to one five-hundredth of the diameter of an atom (G). Dr. G. W. Hull, of the General Electric Company, measured a current of about .000,000,000,000,000,3 watt, or only 30 electrons per second (G). Models of molecular vibrations, constructed by Dr. C. F. Kettering and his associates in the General Electric Company typify the constant advances in making easily

² Letters in parentheses refer to the principal sources used, as follows: A—*Scientific American* for the month stated; G—compilation of "Scientific Progress in 1931" by the National Geographic Society, published in the *World Almanac*, 1932, pp. 141-51; P—*Popular Science Monthly*; S—compilation of *Science News Letter*, in its issue of December 26, 1931.

comprehensible the successive discoveries of science, however recondite. (G).

The most powerful microscope is now that of R. R. Rife, of San Diego, magnifying 17,000 diameters (G, P, June, and February, 1932).

The neon light has been adapted to domestic illumination, offering a large, soft light of white or certain colors, encouraging designs of broad lines rather than spots of light (G).

COMMUNICATION

Short radio waves have been developed for great possibilities of small apparatus, secrecy, beam wireless, and great multiplication of the number of communications which may be on the air at once. Senator Marconi in particular used a beam system of 45 centimeters wave-length, for distances of about 50 kilometers (G).

The new Newfoundland-Azores cable can transmit 1,200 letters per minute in one direction, or 1,400 in both (G).

Phonograph records of paper have been invented, costing a cent or two, and of double playing time, using a photo-electric cell (P, February).

Microscopic print, with a machine for the reading of it which may be held in the hand, so that a book could be of leaflet size, sold for 15 cents and published at little cost beyond that of neatly type-writing it, is offered by the distinguished American inventor, Admiral Bradley A. Fiske, author of *Invention, the Master-key to Progress*.

The blind man's reading machine of R. E. Naumburg scans along the lines by six photo-electric cells, and transliterates the dark and light not into musical tones, as before, but into raised marks along an aluminum tape, which a blind man can read (P, July).

Composite photography impossible to detect, by which moving actors may be superimposed upon a still or moving background taken at a different time and place, have been given us by a seventeen-year old boy, Dodge Dunning, with his father's help. It is especially useful in talkies, wherever sound, as well as actors, need to be inserted later.

The future "home theater of 1930" which I described in 1912,³ has

³ *The Independent*, October 17, 1912.

now arrived in its electric, as well as its record, form through numerous inventions, especially in television, which has now attained large enough screens for public-hall, as well as home, performance. But too sanguine and ill informed were my dates of 1917 for the electric theater in halls, and 1932 for the majority of homes; and I totally overlooked radio.

AËRONAUTICS

This field naturally continues a rapid progress, especially in the most needed direction—safety. A 68-minute service between New York and Washington has been established (A, December); 207 people were carried on one 500-mile flight by the airship "Akron" (P, January, 1932); a 16-kilometer height was reached by Professors Piccard and Kipfer by balloon with closed car (P, August); airplanes on the same principle, with cabins and air pumps able to maintain normal pressure in the near vacuum of the stratosphere, are being built in Germany and France, to obtain the great speed, clear sky, smoothness and constant, strong west winds which can be had at high altitudes (P, January and March, 1932); in the mundane sphere 415 miles per hour has been reached by airplane, and 84½ hours without refueling (S). The queer tailless type of airplane, safer from stalling and safer in a crash, attracts several inventors.

To achieve safety, two problems have been particularly attacked, viz., that of landing in a small or rough field (a solution useful also for reaching city centers), and that of flying and landing in fog. The developing autogiro may satisfy the first need, especially if an invention succeeds of having the rotating wing two-bladed and able to be fixed while in steady flight, improving the speed. The helicopter, able to rise and descend quite vertically, has at the hands of d'Ascanio risen 19 meters and flown for 8 minutes, while being safe from falls by adoption of the autogiro principle. The demon of fog has been attacked notably last year by an automatic route guide and stabilizer (G); by a sonic altimeter from the General Electric Company which measures 50–1,000 feet distance from the ground by echo (A, April, November); by a chain of flashing beacons, whose light might be invisible to the human eye, yet picked up and distinguished by a photo-electric cell sensitive to long, infra-red rays,

with a tuned selector, ascribed to the great Langmuir, of the General Electric Company (S); and by a landing system using three radio beams, which move visual indicators, enabling a pilot to land correctly on an airdrome in thickest fog, developed by the Aëronautic Research Division of the Department of Commerce (A, July). But if all should fail, the United States Air Corps is making the first experiments with a big parachute to yank the cabin right out of a plane, giving the passengers time to don their personal parachutes.

OTHER TRANSPORTATION

Aviation is influencing the railways, encouraging stream-lining of cars, and the air-propeller drive. Such a train made 106 miles an hour between Berlin and Hamburg (G, P, July).

Similarly, automobile influence upon the street car has cut the noise in half on new cars for Detroit's municipal system—through reducing the unsprung weight, and using worm-gear drive, rubber, and other automobile features (A, August).

Navigation by the sun, despite cloudy skies, is claimed for the sextant of P. H. MacNeil, which locates the hidden orb by an element sensitive to the infra-red rays (G).

The longest pipe line has been opened from Texas to Chicago, nearly 1,000 miles (S).

The first double-deck elevator has been built by Otis engineers for the Cities Service Building of New York. It will enable eight shafts to do the work of fourteen, and suits the numerous class of tall buildings having two ground floors (P, January, 1932).

POWER

A wind-power plant invented by Julius D. Madaras, of Detroit, is actively proposed, to consist of Flettner rotors, cylinders 70 feet high rotated in the wind, pushing themselves around a circular track 1 kilometer in diameter (P, January, 32).

Electric power in small amounts is being got directly from radiation—by photo-electric cell from the sun and by thermocouple and kerosene lamp cheaply enough to run a radio set.

A tidal power plant on the Bristol channel contains the novel feature of power storage between tides through heat put into water by churning it (S).

CHEMISTRY

Synthetic albumen was produced from coal by Professor William Gluud, of Bochum (G).

Silk from strictly synthetic material was announced by the du Pont company (G).

Rubber has been produced commercially from the guayule desert plant in the United States. The du Pont Company is building a plant to make synthetic rubber (G).

The Eastman Kodak Company demonstrated a new method of photographing in darkness (G).

Aluminum plating on iron has been developed by Harry Johansson, of Stockholm; and tungsten plating by Colin G. Fink, of Columbia, producing a beautiful luster and very hard surface (A, August, October).

MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

What is called the best advance in bacteriology since Pasteur is the discovery by Dr. Arthur I. Kendall, of Northwestern University, of a method of feeding bacteria human proteins, so as to make grow large enough to be observable, especially with the new Rife microscope, certain species, previously ultramicroscopic, of influenza, typhoid, poliomyelitis, streptococcus, and staphylococcus (S).

Other progress has been made with poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis), breeding six generations of the organism outside the human body, learning that it attacks through the nose, developing a preventive inoculation in monkeys (S), and measuring the amount of immunity substance in the blood stream (G).

Tularemia has been found to affect a number of mammals, and to be carried by the same fever tick responsible for the deadly Rocky Mountain spotted fever (now found in the East and being spread by fleas too) (S, G).

Athlete's foot, or ringworm of the feet, has been spreading alarmingly, and is now suspected of creating hypersensitiveness to this and that. However, a remedy is found in sodium thiosulphate, by Dr. W. L. Gould, and a preventive in sodium hypochlorite by Dr. E. D. Osborne and Miss B. S. Hitchcock (A, November).

Diphtheria and asthma have been combated through high-frequency electric waves.

Tooth decay has been prevented most positively by Dr. E. V. McCollum, of Hopkins, and University of Wisconsin investigators. It appears to depend mainly on a diet in youth having proper quantities of absorbed calcium, with vitamin D or sunshine, and phosphorus (A, March; S, January, 1932).

Pernocton in childbirth is reported safe, almost painless, and without possible ill effects on the baby (G).

Significant progress has been made in the cure or understanding of, among others, bowlegs, cancer (three discoveries), deafness, distress after operations, coastal erysipelas, hookworm, insanity, leprosy, leucemia, multiple sclerosis or creeping paralysis, pellagra, radium poisoning, ill effects from serums, scurvy, silicosis, smallpox, tuberculosis, and typhus (G, S).

A carbon-monoxide combustion indicator for automobiles, invented by Dr. Miller Reese Hutchison, of New York, enables elimination of this prevalent urban poison, and increases the automobile's power by proper adjustment of the feed (P, February).

VITAMINS, ULTRA-VIOLET-RAYS AND BIOLOGY

Rickets is prevented by feeding cows irradiated yeast, increasing the vitamin D content of their milk 20-30 fold (A).

A concentrated form of vitamin C has been prepared from lemon juice at the University of Pittsburgh (G).

Ultra-violet lamps suitable for rather ordinary illumination appear on the market.

Protein crystals of great digestive power were isolated from trypsin by Drs. J. H. Northrop and M. Kunitz, of the Rockefeller Institute (S, G).

Joint sterility when neither human mate was normally sterile was discovered in some cases by Dr. R. Kurzrok and Professor C. C. Lieb, of Columbia.

AGRICULTURE

A tobacco plant containing no nicotine has been bred at a research institute of the Ministry for National Economics, Germany. Its leaves may be used for salad; but in smoking, their flavor is normal (P, February, 1932). Nicotine has also been reduced by sun curing, by K. R. Natarajan, of Madras (A, October).

Eggs oiled under a vacuum keep in storage ten months as if but a day or two old, through a process by T. L. Swenson and associates at the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils (A, July).

MISCELLANEOUS

An oil well 10,030 feet deep has been drilled in California. In 1915 the record was 2,000 feet. Progress has come largely through metallurgy and is greatly increasing the accessible oil resources of the world (P, December).

An automatic grocery has been opened in New York with twenty-four-hour service, unattended at night (A, April).

A mechanical bookkeeper, a card reading and sorting machine on the photo-electric principle, was devised by D. A. Young, of Westinghouse, on request of a company which received so many stubs from customers that sorters could hardly be found to stick at such a monotonous task (A, November). Such jobs are the easiest field for invention; but this practical reading machine is peculiarly portentous.

The sphygmomanometer, or lie-detector, based on recording both pulse and breathing, has been used thousands of times without an error. Also, sodium amytal brings the most reserved person readily to discuss his or her private affairs (G). This sort of thing is socially the most revolutionary of inventions, tending that all men be used according to their deserts, not according to their lies or others' guesswork.

PRODUCTION

DOROTHY WESCOTT
Harvard Economic Society

ABSTRACT

The record for 1931 is one of sharp decline in industrial production and in construction activity, but crop output was greater than in 1930. *Manufacturing*.—The early months of 1931 witnessed substantial improvement in manufacturing output; but by the middle of the year, decline had again set in, and in the closing months activity was at the lowest levels since the business depression of 1920-21. *Mining*.—Mining activity decreased almost continuously throughout the year, and production of the major industries was curtailed sharply. *Construction*.—Activity in general fell to extremely low levels although governmental efforts to stimulate construction, and thus furnish employment, increased certain classes of public works. *Agriculture and animal husbandry*.—Last year's increase in crop production, following the poor yields of 1930, occurred despite a reduction in acreage harvested. Production of live stock and live-stock products showed comparatively little change from the preceding year.

During the early months of 1931 industrial activity showed improvement from the low levels reached toward the close of 1930, manufacturing output in particular making substantial gains. While this improvement was under way in the United States, however, a monetary crisis developed in Europe during the second quarter of the year; and mainly because of this crisis, the revival of business in the United States was cut short. The announcement of the moratorium on intergovernmental debts in June was followed by some temporary improvement; but by late July, the financial situation abroad had become more acute and business activity continued downward.

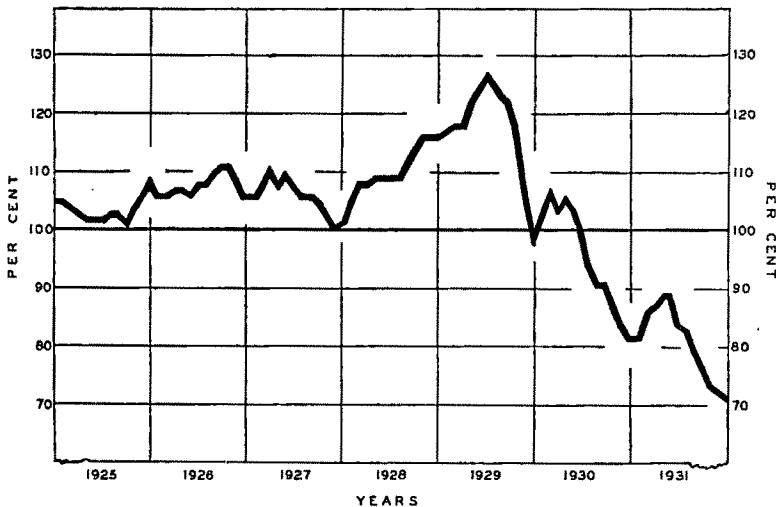
The temporary improvement in industrial production during the opening months of 1931, and the subsequent decline, are clearly shown by the Federal Reserve Board index on Chart I. This index, based upon output in important manufacturing and mining industries, has been corrected for seasonal variations, but the long-time growth element has not been eliminated. Mainly because of increases in general manufacturing output, the index rose from the low figure of 82 (1923-25 average = 100) in December, 1930 to 89 in April of the following year. The decline that followed, however, carried the index to 71 in December, the lowest level reached since 1921. The sharp decline in construction activity, as pictured on

Chart II, also gave clear evidence of the results of business depression.

For the major crops, output last year increased considerably, following the very poor yields, due to the drought, in 1930. In spite of this increase in volume, however, the sharp decline in commodity prices—more severe in prices of farm products at the farm than in

CHART I
INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

(Federal Reserve Board index adjusted for seasonal variation; 1923-25 average = 100. From the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, September, November, December, 1931, and mimeographed report of January 25, 1932.)



wholesale markets—reduced considerably the farm income from crop production; and live-stock products, also, while showing little change in volume of production, brought considerably smaller income.

MANUFACTURING

In 1931 the volume of manufacturing output was reduced sharply to the lowest levels since the business depression of 1920-21. During the early months of last year, as in 1930, activity on the whole made a fairly substantial rise; but in the second quarter decline was renewed, and this decrease continued with little interruption through the remaining months. For the year as a whole, the decline was most

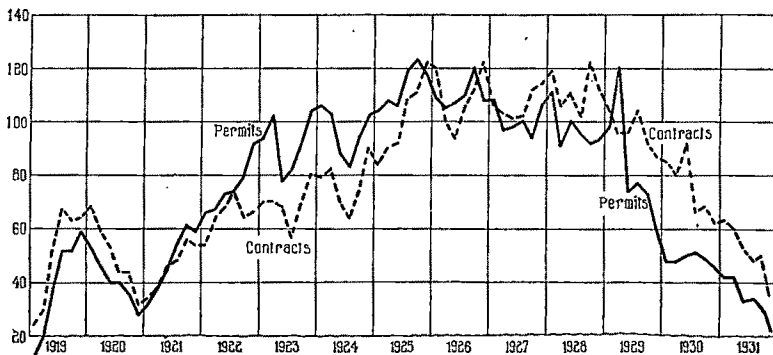
severe for those industries supplying commodities primarily industrial, like iron, steel, and cement, and for those manufacturing certain consumers' goods, among them automobiles. For certain other consumers' goods, such as cotton and wool textiles, boots and shoes, and gasoline, output was either greater than in 1930 or comparatively well sustained.

The steel industry operated at an average rate of less than 38 per cent, reflecting sharp declines of activity in the major steel-con-

CHART II

INDEXES OF THE VALUE OF CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS AND OF BUILDING PERMITS
(Bimonthly averages corrected for seasonal variation; 1924-29 average=100.)

NOTE.—Basic data for contracts used through courtesy of the F. W. Dodge Corporation. Contracts figures for 1919-24 based on twenty-seven northeastern states; for 1925-31, on thirty-seven eastern states. Permits index based on Bradstreet's compilations. Chart from Harvard Economic Society, Inc., by permission.



suming industries. Steel-ingot production amounted to 24,900,000 tons, a decline of about 37 per cent from 1930 levels and the smallest tonnage in ten years. Pig-iron output decreased even more sharply, from 31,399,000 tons in 1930 to 18,275,000 tons last year—a drop of almost 42 per cent. United States production of automobiles, which fell to 2,389,730 motor cars and trucks, was 29 per cent under that of 1930, and 55 per cent below the record high year, 1929.

Conspicuous among those industries that last year showed improvement over 1930 was wool textiles, in which activity rose substantially until late in the summer. While sharp declines occurred in the closing months, output for the year as a whole averaged well

above that of a year earlier. In the cotton branch of the textile industry, output differed little from that of 1930; both sales and shipments, however, were greatly in excess of production. Output of boots and shoes was 4 per cent larger in 1931 than in 1930. This improvement in shoe manufacture was reflected to some extent in the output of cattle upper leather, which increased nearly 9 per cent. Sole-leather production, on the other hand, was reduced sharply.

Among other important manufacturing industries, cigarette production, which had been increasing steadily for many years, declined 5 per cent; cigar output dropped 10 per cent; and manufactured tobacco and snuff declined 9 per cent. Wheat-flour production is estimated to have decreased 5 per cent, and sugar meltings were 13 per cent less than in 1930. Cement output, reflecting the sharp drop in construction activity, was the smallest since 1922.

MINING

The sharp decline in mineral output that occurred in 1930 was continued last year; in fact, the downward movement from the high levels reached in 1929 has been fairly continuous during the past two years. In 1931, production was the lowest since 1922, when labor difficulties in the coal fields caused sharp declines in mineral output as a whole.

The decrease in coal mining last year reduced output of bituminous coal 19 per cent below 1930 levels; and that of anthracite, 14 per cent. Bituminous coal production, estimated to have been slightly more than 378,000,000 tons, was the smallest annual output since 1908; and the amount of anthracite produced (somewhat less than 60,000,000 tons) was the lowest since 1922.

Petroleum production for 1931 is estimated at 850,275,000 barrels, compared with 898,011,000 in 1930, and 1,007,323,000 in 1929. In the second quarter of last year, production rose quite sharply, reflecting to a large extent the opening of oil fields in East Texas. By July, total output had risen to 77,961,000 barrels, the largest monthly total in more than a year. In August and early September efforts were made to curtail the overproduction of petroleum, and the oil fields first in Oklahoma and later in East Texas were shut down under martial law. Although by the middle of September the fields

were reopened, output in that month and the remaining months of the year was held down by strict proration enforcement.

Among the principal metals, slab-zinc output last year was 40 per cent below production in 1930; silver output was reduced 37 per cent; and refined lead showed a decline of 30 per cent. For copper, monthly statistics of output were not published after September, as certain producers failed to release their figures; but during the nine months for which figures were available, a reduction of 26 per cent from the corresponding nine months in 1930 occurred. Estimates place domestic mine production for the year as a whole at about 500,000 tons, compared with 690,471 tons in 1930. Total shipments of iron ore from the Lake Superior district during the 1931 season were nearly 50 per cent less than in the preceding year, and the smallest since 1921.

CONSTRUCTION

The decline in construction activity during recent years is clearly illustrated on Chart II, which presents indexes, adjusted for seasonal variation, of the value of construction contracts and building permits. Last year, the downward movement of both curves was practically uninterrupted, and by December the two indexes had fallen to the lowest levels since 1919 or 1920. For the entire year 1931, the value of contracts awarded for all classes of construction in the thirty-seven states for which figures are reported by the F. W. Dodge Corporation was \$3,092,849,500, compared with \$4,523,114,600 in 1930—a decline of about 32 per cent; and the permits values (Bradstreet's figures for 215 cities) indicate a decline of about 31 per cent—from \$1,672,182,351 to \$1,158,963,273. The decrease in the figures for construction contracts last year was much more severe than in 1930, when a drop of 21 per cent occurred; for permits, last year's decline of 31 per cent compared with a decrease of 43 per cent in 1930.

Among the various classes of construction, the contracts figures indicate that non-residential building declined 37 per cent from 1930, residential building dropped 26 per cent, and public works and utilities showed a decrease of 23 per cent. Among the constituents of the non-residential group, commercial and industrial construction declined sharply; but certain classes of public building, notably

post-offices, increased considerably. Similarly, in the field of utilities, private building showed a sharp decrease, but governmental construction of this type held up well as a result of efforts to furnish employment.

The mileage of federal-aid highways completed during the year was more than 45 per cent above that in 1930 and the greatest of any year since 1925. New orders for concrete pavements, however, in 1931 averaged less than a year earlier and were the smallest since 1927 (according to reports of the Portland Cement Association).

AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY¹

Total crop production in 1931 increased, despite the fact that the acreage harvested was about 2.6 per cent lower than in 1930. Exclusive of fruits, the acreage harvested in 1931 was 350,672,000 acres, a decrease of 9,255,000 acres from the year preceding. This reduction reflected to a great extent decreases due to drought and crop failure in California and five states in the northern Great Plains. For the country as a whole, however, favorable growing conditions brought crop production close to the average of the preceding ten years. Crop yields per acre harvested last year averaged 11.7 per cent higher than the very low yields of 1930, and 4.1 per cent above the yields of 1929.

Among the important crops that were substantially larger than a year earlier were cotton, winter wheat, corn, buckwheat, and apples. Tobacco, rice, potatoes, and hay showed comparatively small changes; while sharp reductions occurred for oats, rye, barley, and flaxseed. For cotton, the acreage harvested is estimated at 40,495,000 acres, a reduction of 4,596,000 acres from 1930; but the yield per acre increased 36 per cent and the cotton crop, estimated at 16,918,000 bales, was the second largest ever produced in the United States. The record crop to date was that of 1926, when 17,977,000 bales were produced. For corn, the yield per acre rose 20 per cent; for buckwheat, 45 per cent; while for tobacco, rice, and potatoes, increases of less than 3 per cent occurred.

¹ *Crops and Markets* for December, 1931, and *The Agricultural Situation* for January 1, 1932 (publications of the United States Department of Agriculture), are the principal sources on which this section has been based.

The acreage for winter wheat was 1,500,000 acres greater than in 1930, and the yield per acre increased more than 25 per cent. The total acreage harvested for all wheat, however, was reduced 6,189,000 acres, the decline due entirely to decreases in the spring-wheat acreage. The yield per acre of spring wheat dropped sharply below that of 1930. The decline in the yield per acre for oats amounted to 13 per cent; rye fell off 19 per cent; barley, 28 per cent; and flaxseed showed a reduction of 16 per cent.

Among the major classes of live stock, federally inspected slaughter of all but cattle was larger in 1931 than in the year preceding. The greatest increase was shown by slaughterings of sheep and lambs, which rose more than 8 per cent; hogs showed an increase of slightly more than 1 per cent; and calves, between 2 and 3 per cent. Slaughterings of cattle were about 1 per cent smaller than in 1930. Aggregate production of meats from federally inspected slaughter differed little from that of a year earlier. Creamery butter output showed a small increase (1.9 per cent), while cheese production declined slightly (1.6 per cent). Total milk equivalent of butter, cheese, and canned milk was practically the same in the two years.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

Foreign policy is determined and controlled by the interplay of political forces within the state and by the traditionalized behavior patterns which have developed out of past contacts between the state and other states. The Monroe Doctrine, the policy of isolation from Europe, and the principle of the open door in China represent such traditionalized behavior patterns in American foreign policy. While the exigencies of a changing world, plunged in economic depression and acute international rivalries which can be ameliorated only through international collaboration, demand a new orientation of foreign policy for the more adequate protection of American interests abroad, popular allegiance to inherited policies and attitudes tends to paralyze the efforts of the administration in this direction. American endeavors to contribute toward world peace, disarmament, and financial and economic rehabilitation have been rendered ineffective by this circumstance.

The foreign policies of any state are intelligible only when viewed in terms of the determining and controlling forces which limit the discretion of its diplomats and fix the general goals and directions of their activities. These forces are inherent in the geographic, strategic, and economic relations between the state and other sovereign political communities, and also in the juxtaposition of social classes, political parties, pressure groups, and special interests of all kinds within the national society. State action in a world of competing territorial sovereignties and conflicting nationalisms is at all times directed toward the enhancement of state power, the protection and promotion of the state's interests, the more adequate realization of the state's personality. The United States as a unit in the Western state system is necessarily engaged, because of the nature of that state system, in a more or less competitive contest for power and prestige with other states. The forms and purposes of its activities in the international arena are conditioned by the fixed and traditional behavior patterns or "policies," such as the Monroe Doctrine, isolationism, the Open Door, and the like, which have developed out of past experience in dealing with other sovereignties. The specific content of these permanent policies at any given moment of time will reflect the interests and attitudes of the groups within the state

which are politically effective in imposing their views upon the prevalent conception of the state's interests.

Foreign policy is thus shaped by the interaction between these internal and external forces. Their complex interrelationships as they play upon the president, the secretary of state, and Congress determine the direction of American foreign policy in each situation as it arises. If foreign policy often appears to be lacking in logic, consistency, and common sense, the cause is to be found in the conflicting views and interests of those who strive to control decisions and in the political impossibility of rapidly adjusting inherited behavior patterns to the exigencies of an ever changing present.

International developments in the Western hemisphere during the past year led to several significant restatements of American policy toward the immediate neighbors of the United States. In December of 1930, Secretary of State Stimson, in justifying his refusal to recognize a revolutionary régime in Guatemala, reasserted the adherence of the United States to the principle, incorporated in the Central American treaty of 1923, of refusing to recognize governments set up by unconstitutional means. On February 6, 1931, however, he declared that the United States, while adhering to the policy announced with respect to Central America, would recognize all *de facto* governments in South America, regardless of their mode of origin. At the same time he defended the imposition of an arms embargo in favor of established governments threatened by rebellion, and asserted that the Monroe Doctrine was "a declaration of the United States versus Europe, not of the United States versus Latin America." In April, following the killing of a number of American citizens by Sandino insurgents in Nicaragua, Stimson announced that the American government would not protect its nationals by forcible intervention.

These statements, as well as that of May 9, in which the Secretary of State reiterated his intention not to employ force for the collection of debts, were designed to put an end to Latin American denunciations of Yankee imperialism and to recast American recognition and intervention policies in the light of the Hoover-Stimson orientation. The "new" policy is based upon the hope of winning Latin American good will as a means toward further development of market possi-

bilities. It contemplates the preservation of American hegemony in the Caribbean by methods less distasteful to the southern republics than those adopted in the past. Its success remains to be demonstrated.

American policy toward the European powers was dominated throughout the period by the dilemma in which the administration found itself as a consequence of being forced by the logic of events into courses of action which were highly inexpedient from the point of view of domestic politics. While habit, tradition, and the popular fetish of isolationism dictated an attitude of indifferent aloofness toward transatlantic problems, the steady decline of trade, the increasing insecurity of the huge American investments in Europe, and the palpable impossibility of European governments meeting their debt obligations required vigorous co-operative action to avert disaster. After representations by bankers and consultations with Congressmen of both parties, President Hoover announced a plan on June 20 for a one-year moratorium on all intergovernmental payments. After protracted, and at times painful, negotiations with France, the moratorium was accepted by all parties in time to avert financial catastrophe in Germany. The larger problem of a revision of the debts was left in abeyance, however, and the world financial crisis compelled Great Britain, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and other countries to abandon the gold standard and to resort to measures which contributed further to the progressive paralysis of world-trade. The visits to Washington of Premier Laval of France in October and of Foreign Minister Grandi of Italy in November effected no significant changes in the situation, apart from revealing more clearly the irreconcilability of the American and European policies toward debts and disarmament.

Throughout all these negotiations effective action on the part of the American government was made difficult by popular opposition to debt cancellation and to any further political commitments of the United States in Europe. President Hoover, in deference to this sentiment, reverted to time-honored formulas in his message to Congress of December 10, urging legislative approval of the moratorium: "Reparations is necessarily wholly a European problem with which we have no relation. . . . I do not approve in any remote sense of

the cancellation of the debts to us." He nevertheless urged the revival of the World War Foreign Debt Commission to re-examine the debtor's capacity to pay. Congress refused to act upon this suggestion, and the joint resolution which approved the moratorium asserted, "It is hereby expressly declared to be against the policy of Congress that any of the indebtedness of foreign countries to the United States should be in any manner cancelled or reduced, and nothing in this joint resolution should be construed as indicating a contrary policy, or as implying that favorable consideration will be given at any time to a change in the policy hereby declared." This position rendered futile, for the time being, all further negotiations over debts and reparations.

American policy in the Far East during the year continued to be directed toward the protection of American commercial interests through diplomatic efforts to preserve peace and maintain the "open door." The outstanding political development of the year in the Orient was the progressive military occupation of Manchuria by Japanese forces during the autumn. This action was viewed with dismay in Washington as constituting a threat of war and a resort to coercive action in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of existing international engagements for the pacific settlement of disputes. The situation was likewise deplored as foreshadowing an enhancement of Japanese power in the Far East, and as indicating a possible intention on the part of Japan to convert Manchuria and other areas of China into an exclusive Japanese sphere of influence in violation of the Open Door principle.

The policy adopted by the State Department to maintain peace and protect American interests was described as one of "independent co-operation" with the League of Nations. This policy has been unsuccessful up to the time of writing in accomplishing its purpose. While it brought the United States into closer collaboration with the League of Nations than ever before, it led to increasing Japanese resentment at American interference. The Japanese government persisted in the course upon which it had embarked, and later attempted to break the Chinese boycott by forcible measures, in disregard both of the resolution of the League Council and of Secretary Stimson's repeated protests. The controversy reached an acute stage with the

outbreak of hostilities at Shanghai at the end of January. The resulting international crisis, still unresolved in mid-February, appeared to be fraught with dangerous possibilities of increasing anarchy in China and of open conflict between the powers.

The nature of the central problem of American foreign policy during the past year and at the present time has already been suggested. A successful and far-sighted foreign policy is impossible for the United States so long as the persistence of isolationism and provincialism paralyzes the efforts of the president and the State Department to protect American economic and political interests throughout the world by close, regularized co-operation with the powers of Europe and Asia. The American government is placed by this circumstance in a peculiarly anomalous position, because it is the custodian of larger interests abroad, in terms of commerce, investments, and loans, than those of any other nation, and at the same time it is the spokesman of a national community in which traditionalized inhibitions to international collaboration are more deeply rooted than elsewhere.

In consequence of this situation, no progress whatever was made during the past year toward a reduction of tariff barriers which, upon American initiative, were elevated to unprecedented heights. Nothing was done to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. No progress was made toward a revision of war debts and reparations, aside from measures of palliation and postponement. The United States participated in the General Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, which opened at Geneva in February of 1932, but no significant steps had been taken toward reaching such preliminary understandings as are always indispensable to the success of conferences of this kind. While France and her allies insisted upon "security" as a prerequisite to further disarmament, the state of American opinion forbade the State Department to discuss any type of security pact or consultative arrangement. In all of these respects the United States, which is inextricably entangled in European peace and prosperity, is largely prevented from making any effective contribution toward the protection of its own interests and is constrained to adopt a purely negative and obstructionist rôle.

The whole problem, in its simplest terms, might be regarded as a

phenomenon of "cultural lag." Popular attitudes fail to keep pace with the exigencies of a changing world. The dogmas and doctrines of national self-sufficiency, state sovereignty, and exclusive pursuit of national interests by self-help persist into a century in which technology and economics have created a world-society which can only attain its own destruction by adherence to these relics of a pre-industrial age. The United States, with a larger stake in that world-society, with more to lose from a continuation of international anarchy than almost any other state, is, more than others, reluctant to play its part in the institutionalization of the procedures of political collaboration between states. It is, more than others, committed to the ancient ways which offer so little of hope for the salvaging of a sick acquisitive civilization composed of self-seeking national communities. That these inhibitions are explicable in terms of geography, political traditions, and the dead hand of the past makes the present maladjustment no less tragic in its implications for the future. Whether a transformation of attitudes and values can be effected in time to avert still greater disaster must appear dubious even to optimists.

LABOR

DAVID J. SAPOSS
Brookwood Labor College

ABSTRACT

All labor activities were influenced by the depression. Strikes increased and were mostly participated in by the poorly organized and unorganized. Most of the strikes were lost. The weakened condition of the old unions has brought rival unions into prominence. The order of the day is wage reductions. Even the relatively strong railroad unions accepted a wage reduction. The weakened unions are unsuccessful in maintaining national agreements and in securing conferences with employers. Some unions have taken drastic wage reductions as a means of ultimately strengthening their position. Will this new strategy bring the desired results? As the year progressed, organized labor developed a keener interest in positive legislation and political action. The talk of a "third" party is more persistent. A growing interest in independent political action is evident from the results of the elections. The hunger marches also indicate serious unrest. A "third" party venture seems to be in the offing.

The long depression has gripped the labor movement as effectively as it has the rest of society. Consequently all important activity is now influenced by the chaotic economic situation.

STRIKES

This second year of the depression has witnessed an increase in strike activity over the previous two years. As compared with 1930, this year shows, for the available eleven months, an increase in strikes from 653 to 760, and in the number of workers involved from 158,114 to 272,980. When the December figures are released, the number of workers involved will exceed 100 per cent over 1930. This increase is traceable to the resistance of organized and unorganized workers to wage reductions, rebellion of poorly paid workers, who because of part-time work were reduced close to a starvation level, and other causes induced by depressed economic conditions. The spectacular strikes involving the largest number of workers again consisted of the poorly organized and unorganized. Most of these strikes were an outgrowth of conditions imposed by employers without consulting the workers, or of unbearable conditions which the employers refused to improve. The strongly organized usually composed their differences with the employers through negotiations, not infrequently accepting wage reductions.

This year, coal divided the honors with textiles in so far as strikes were concerned. There were a number of "outlaw" strikes in the anthracite region called by insurgent members of the United Mine Workers because of dissatisfaction over distribution of work so as to give all miners an opportunity to earn something. Two of these strikes involved 20,000 miners in each. These "outlaw" strikes terminated in a comparatively short time through the intervention of union officials and the promise of the operators to consider the grievances. The strikes of a more serious nature occurred in the practically unorganized bituminous regions of West Virginia, Kentucky, western Pennsylvania, and eastern Ohio. Most of these strikes were caused by the inability of the miners to keep body and soul together on the meager earnings. In all these areas the striking miners found themselves confronted with the stiff opposition of the operators backed by machine guns, gun men, the police authorities, and injunctions. Killings and woundings occurred on both sides, arrests were made by wholesale, and assertive immigrants were deported. Evicting of families from company-owned houses became so common that tent colonies, deserted hovels, and other equally uninhabitable shelters were taken over by the strikers. Generally the strikes of the poorly organized and unorganized were lost and the victimization of the active workers has added to the hardships. Reports from all sources agree that the miners of these areas are in dire want.

In contrast with the textile strikes of the past two years, those of this year occurred primarily in the north. They were chiefly confined to the Central Atlantic and New England states. The important strikes consisted also of poorly organized and unorganized workers. They were largely attempts of the workers to resist wage reductions. The largest number involved was over 23,000 in the October Lawrence, Massachusetts, strike. There were the usual violence, arrests, deportations, and so on, as in the coal areas, except not on as large a scale. Most of the strikes were lost. Where the workers had organizations before the strike was called they usually succeeded in getting compromise settlements.

With the weakening of the old unions the union situation has become confused. Thus, four rival unions participated in the coal

and textile strikes. In the coal industry there are now the United Mine Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Communist-led National Miners Union, the I.W.W., and an independent West Virginia Mine Workers Union. In the textile industry the following unions participated in the strikes: the United Textile Workers, affiliated with the Federation, the Communist-led National Textile Workers Union, and three independent unions, that is, unions having no affiliation with a national trade union center.

WAGE REDUCTIONS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

In contrast to the general profession at the beginning of the crisis that there must be no wage reductions, the order of the day now is wage reductions. And even the strongest unions, although still protesting, are beginning to accept reductions. To be sure, there are still instances where unions have thus far succeeded in staving off wage reductions either through negotiations or strikes. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that most of them will find it necessary to capitulate. The procedure of the twenty-one "standard" railroad unions is indicative. Their negotiations with the managers were drawn out over two months, beginning in New York and ending in Chicago. Labor's case was most intelligently presented. The union representatives offered various compromises and asked concessions that would assure greater security for their members. Although the representatives protested that "labor cannot be called upon to pay a dole to idle capital," they finally agreed to a 10 per cent "deduction" for a year, with the basic rate remaining as at present. The roads in turn merely promised to do everything possible to stabilize employment. These negotiations were epochal, affecting over 1,500,000 workers. It is the first national wage negotiation involving virtually all railroad unions and railroads of the country.

The strength of the railroad unions is attested to by their success in securing a national conference and agreement, since the managers preferred to adjust differences either by individual systems or regions and through negotiations with the different union groups rather than with all unions at one session. Unions have always aimed for national agreements and for a time were successful. But since they

have been losing in strength, the tendency has been in the other direction. There was a time when most of the important industries operated under national union agreements. The situation has so changed that either the unions have lost out completely as in the metal trades or the jurisdiction of the agreements has been narrowed down to cover the least important part of the industry as illustrated by the steel, pottery, and flint-glass industries. Nor are unions so successful in getting employers to negotiate with them. Since the United Mine Workers lost their national agreement with the bituminous coal operators, as a result of the disastrous 1927 strike, they have strained themselves to get these coal operators to meet in national conference. The luring bait was the offer to co-operate in restoring the health of this sick monarch by stabilizing the industry. Not even the intervention of President Hoover and his secretaries of Commerce and Labor has budged the operators in their determination not to meet with the union. The operators insist on themselves doctoring the ailing patient. Perhaps if the miners were as well organized as the railroad workers the operators would regard their proffer of co-operation in a different light.

The inability of the unions to organize the unorganized has led two unions to experiment with a new strategy. They have decided to accept such large reductions that the wages of their members would be lower than those paid to most non-union workers. The ultimate strategy is to force non-union employers to reduce wages to a point where the workers will rebel and turn to the union for succor. The immediate purpose is to hold on where the union already functions, or to get a foothold where it is not yet established. Last October the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, an autonomous branch of the United Textile Workers, renewed their national agreement by accepting wage cuts for the different classes of workers running as high as 45 per cent. So far there is no evidence to indicate whether this drastic act has brought results. However, a number of the local unions defied the decision by engaging in "outlaw" strikes. With the co-operation of the employers the national union officers succeeded in bringing pressure to bear upon their recalcitrant followers to submit to the new conditions. The United Mine Workers also are trying out this new policy. In northern West Virginia

the union last May accepted a cut so as to reduce the wages of those miners who thus came under their jurisdiction to a point much lower than that of those employed by the non-union operators producing a large part of the tonnage of this area. In October the union accepted a further reduction of 25 per cent. The union leaders frankly admit that this procedure is a gamble. They also partly justify their action on the ground that with a checkweighman their members earn more than the miners in most non-union operations. The result so far has been a wage cut of 25 per cent by those non-union coal companies that pay above the union scale, which still gives their workers a higher rate than that of the union miners. On the other hand, those operators that paid below the union scale raised the rates. The net effect has been a wage reduction for most of the miners of this region, and an increase for the poorer paid, thus somewhat stabilizing labor competition but not increasing union control or membership. In the Pittsburgh area the United Mine Workers last July succeeded in "muscling in," while the Communist-led National Miners Union was conducting a strike, by signing with one of the large coal companies below the union scale with the hope that thereby the union might re-establish itself in this field. The only outcome thus far has been another wage reduction by this firm in violation of the union agreement. The union has advised its members to submit.

In the past, the unions boasted that their members were better paid than the non-union workers. Can they afford to reverse the order? And will starvation wages direct the workers toward a union that they know has contributed to their plight by having accepted wage reductions beyond those originally earned by them? In view of the fact that rival unions are coming into existence, may not such a policy serve as a boomerang in driving the underpaid workers into these new unions?

POLITICAL ACTION

Since this was an off election year, labor's interest in legislation attracted more attention than its political activities. However, because of the continuing depression, labor developed both a keener interest in positive legislation that would alleviate conditions and in political action. Sentiment for unemployment insurance is grow-

ing among the unions. This subject received more attention than any other at the Federation of Labor convention. Some of the conservative leaders representing powerful unions advocated compulsory unemployment insurance. So strong was the sentiment that something must be done that President Green promised to appear before Congress and demand that "millions, billions if necessary, be appropriated for relief without delay." The resolution indorsing unemployment insurance was finally defeated. The railroad unions have also indorsed legislation for federal accident compensation, old-age pensions, and unemployment insurance for railroad workers. The miners are demanding federal regulation of coal mines. Demands for positive legislation by organized labor are usually the forerunners to some form of independent political action.

Since Congress has convened, the talk of a "third party" has been more persistent. There seems to be a revived interest among the unions in independent political action. The leaders of some of the prominent national unions have talked about it, and union groups are again organizing local labor parties. Likewise among the agricultural elements that are accustomed to co-operate with labor in independent political action, there also is a renewed interest. Townley, who was the guiding genius of the Farmers' Non-partisan League, is again active, this time advocating independent political action. The old Populist elements are once more banding together in the newly formed Liberty party, headed by "Coin" Harvey, their former famous propagandist. An interest in independent political action is also manifesting itself in religious circles that are usually sympathetic to labor.

The results of the elections—mostly municipal—also indicate a growing interest in independent political action. The various labor parties have again registered an increase in votes and have elected more of their candidates. Although the Socialist municipal ticket was defeated by a fusion ticket in Reading, Pennsylvania, the vote polled by the Socialists was much larger than that which carried them to victory in the previous election. In the western Pennsylvania coal mining town of Nanty-Glo, they elected a city councilman, a justice of the peace, and an assessor. In Bridgeport, Connecticut, their mayoralty candidate ran a close second, and they

elected some of their minor candidates. In Wisconsin the Socialists made additional gains. They added to their representation on the school board, elected the mayor of Racine, re-elected the mayors of Manitowoc and Iola, and ran second in a Congressional by-election of southern Wisconsin, increasing their vote 800 per cent. In other sections of the country the Socialists also made gains, even increasing their vote in Virginia. The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota has added the mayor and four aldermen of Minneapolis to its list. The Communists have devoted more energy to organizing political demonstrations and hunger marches than electioneering. Nevertheless they did not ignore the elections entirely and in common with the other groups featuring independent political action they also gained in votes. In the coal and steel regions of western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio, where their Communist-led miners' union conducted a bitterly fought strike last summer, they were rewarded by an increase in votes and the election of a councilman in Yorkville, Ohio.

The municipal, state, and national hunger marches conducted by the Communists, and the one led by Father Cox, as well as the unemployment demonstrations and marches of other elements, are more indicative of the unrest than the political results. Nothing similar has occurred since the 1892 depression.

Events would seem to indicate that a third party venture is in the offing. While considerable depends on the nature of the federal relief legislation that will be enacted, whom the Democratic party selects as its standard bearer, and whether business improves in spring, nevertheless it seems that the liberal and most of the labor forces are likely to combine in forming a new party. Whether the radical elements will join them depends on whether they can agree upon a minimum program that lays the foundation for genuine social reconstruction.

THE EARNINGS OF LABOR

HOWARD B. MYERS

Division of Statistics and Research, Illinois Department of Labor

ABSTRACT

Unemployment, part-time work, and wage reductions have seriously impaired the economic position of the workingman during the depression. Average money earnings of employed manufacturing wage-earners in 1931 were 18 per cent below 1929; the decline in real earnings was 8 per cent. Money earnings of railroad employees in 1931 were 5 per cent below 1929, but real earnings have increased 7 or 8 per cent. Money earnings declined in 1931 for eight of nine non-manufacturing groups, but increased slightly for public utilities. Earnings of employed clerks and sales persons have apparently declined relatively little from 1929. Wages of farm laborers for 1931 were 30 per cent below the 1929 level.

The precipitous industrial decline which began late in 1929 has continued practically without interruption for more than two years. The decrease during 1931 compared in severity with that during 1930, and, at the close of the year, available evidence indicated that the end had not yet been reached.

The economic position of the workingman has been seriously impaired during the depression. The unprecedented increase in unemployment has cut off millions of workers completely from their regular source of income. Other millions have suffered sharp reductions in earnings through part-time work. Wage cuts, especially during 1931, have reduced the earnings of hundreds of thousands of workers.¹ Living cost reductions have only partly offset the losses.

The data available for a study of the earnings of workingmen in the United States are sharply limited in value. They are not sufficiently detailed, are not always entirely comparable, and leave out of account many important classes of workers. It must be borne in mind that the figures here presented give an incomplete picture of changes in the economic situation of the working class. They deal only with the earnings of *employed* workers in certain industries.

¹ The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics requests manufacturing firms reporting on employment to report wage-rate changes. During 1931, an average of more than 2,800,000 wage-earners were covered by the monthly reports. Wage cuts were reported for more than 600,000 of these wage-earners—over 20 per cent of the average number employed. The average wage cut was 10.5 per cent. (Computed from data presented in *Monthly Labor Review*.) Apparently relatively few railroad employees received wage cuts during 1931, but these employees accepted a 10 per cent cut early in 1932.

Their most serious weakness is their failure to take into account the influence of total unemployment.

The average weekly earnings of employed wage-earners in 54 manufacturing industries in the United States were \$22.43 in 1931, about 12 per cent below the 1930 average of \$25.43, and about 18 per cent below the average of \$27.42 for 1929 (see Table I). An index of average weekly earnings expressed in terms of a 1926 base

TABLE I
AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED WAGE-EARNERS
IN FIFTY-FOUR MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1929-31*

Year and Month	Average Weekly Earnings	Relative Weekly Earnings (1926=100)	Index of Living Costs (1926=100)	Relative Real Earnings (1926=100)
1929				
Average.....	\$27.42	103	98	105
1930				
Average.....	25.43	95	95	100
1931				
Average.....	22.43	84	87	97
January.....	22.49	84	90	93
February.....	24.01	90	89	101
March.....	24.30	91	89	102
April.....	24.12	91	88	103
May.....	23.88	90	87	103
June.....	22.00	86	86	100
July.....	22.11	83	86	97
August.....	22.05	83	86	97
September.....	20.83	78	86	91
October.....	21.07	79	85	93
November.....	20.68	78	84	93
December.....	20.74	78	83	94

* Computed from data presented in *Monthly Labor Review*, issued by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The industries covered are those used in the employment and pay-roll indexes of the Bureau.

indicates that, whereas in 1929 earnings were 3 per cent above 1926, in 1930 they were 5 per cent, and in 1931, 16 per cent below 1926.

Between December 15, 1930, and December 15, 1931, average weekly earnings in the 54 manufacturing industries declined approximately 13 per cent. The decline from December, 1929, to December, 1931, was 22 per cent. Each of the industries shared in the decline reported during 1930,² and each again shared in the decline during 1931.³ The losses between December, 1930, and December, 1931, ranged from approximately 1 per cent for automobiles to 28 per cent for iron and steel. Among the twelve groups of manufacturing industries covered, the heaviest losses were experienced by

² See *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1931, pp. 925-26.

³ See *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1932, p. 426.

iron and steel products, metal products other than iron and steel, lumber products, and stone, clay, and glass products.

Since living costs decreased during the year, real earnings for 1931 declined less than money earnings. Translating the money earnings shown in Table I by means of a cost of living index,⁴ we obtain an index of real earnings for manufacturing industries. According to this index, real earnings of employed workers for 1931 were 3 per cent below 1930, were nearly 8 per cent below 1929, and were 3 per cent below 1926.

The average monthly earnings of employees on Class I railroads in the United States, their relative money earnings compared to the 1926 average, and their relative real earnings compared to 1926 are shown in Table II. Money earnings of these employees for the year 1931 were about 3 per cent below 1930 and 5 per cent below 1929. These losses, however, were more than offset by the decline in living costs. In 1931, real earnings of employed railroad workers were 15 per cent above 1926, 7 or 8 per cent above 1929, and 6 or 7 per cent above 1930. The 10 per cent wage reduction accepted by railroad employees early in 1932 will apparently leave their present real earnings slightly above the 1926 level.

Average money earnings during 1931 for nine groups of non-manufacturing industries are presented in Table III. In five of the seven groups for which data for 1929 are available, average weekly earnings for 1930 increased over 1929. These groups were much less seriously affected by the depression during 1930 than were the manufacturing industries. During 1931 the influence of the depression on most non-manufacturing groups was much more noticeable. Average weekly earnings in eight of the nine groups decreased from the 1930 level. The four mining groups reduced earnings more sharply for 1931 than did manufacturing. In the anthracite coal mining group, earnings declined over 14 per cent, in quarrying and non-metallic mining over 15 per cent, in metalliferous mining more than 18 per cent, and in bituminous coal mining 19 per cent, compared to approximately 12 per cent for manufacturing. The canning and

⁴ In constructing the monthly cost of living index, the semi-annual index of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has been used. The relatives for intervening months were found by interpolation, using the monthly index of the National Industrial Conference Board. The resulting index has been expressed in terms of a 1926 base.

preserving group reduced earnings 12 per cent. Earnings of employees in retail trade declined approximately 2 per cent, in wholesale trade 2 per cent, and in hotels 6 per cent. Public utilities, which

TABLE II
AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS OF EMPLOYEES ON
CLASS I RAILROADS, 1929-31*

Year and Month	Average Monthly Earnings	Relative Monthly Earnings (1926=100)	Index of Living Costs (1926=100)	Relative Real Earnings (1926=100)
1929				
Average.....	\$141.97	105	98	107
1930				
Average.....	139.12	103	95	108
1931				
Average†.....	134.68	100	87	115
January.....	138.80	103	90	114
February†.....	129.27	96	89	108
March.....	139.43	103	89	116
April†.....	136.60	101	88	115
May.....	135.53	100	87	115
June†.....	134.07	100	86	110
July.....	136.32	101	86	117
August.....	134.24	99	86	115
September†.....	131.89	98	86	114
October.....	136.02	101	85	119
November†.....	128.75	95	84	113

* Computed from Interstate Commerce Commission data, as presented in *Monthly Labor Review*. Earnings of executives, officials, and staff assistants are excluded.

† Eleven month average; December data not available.

‡ The decline in earnings during these months seems to have been due, at least in part, to the fewer days in the months.

TABLE III
AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS OF EMPLOYED WAGE-EARNERS IN VARIOUS
NON-MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1929-31*

Year and Month	Anthracite Coal Mining	Bituminous Coal Mining	Metal-liferous Mining	Quarrying and Non-metallic Mining	Public Utilities	Wholesale Trade	Retail Trade	Hotels†	Canning and Preserving
1929									
Average...	\$30.85	\$25.00	\$30.12	‡	\$29.56	\$30.19	\$23.80	\$16.88	‡
1930									
Average...	31.41	21.93	28.13	\$24.76	30.22	31.24	23.87	16.98	\$17.43
1931									
Average...	26.89	17.77	22.99	20.95	30.51	30.61	23.44	15.97	15.34
January.....	28.63	20.01	24.25	20.63	30.11	30.78	23.97	16.55	16.55
February.....	31.93	19.08	25.42	21.77	30.47	31.54	24.11	16.65	17.91
March.....	25.14	18.86	25.21	22.26	31.50	32.24	24.06	16.61	16.62
April.....	25.63	17.51	24.41	21.95	30.45	30.84	23.59	16.15	17.15
May.....	27.50	17.03	24.01	22.14	30.45	30.86	23.64	16.23	17.95
June.....	25.42	17.37	23.42	22.17	30.70	30.69	23.83	16.03	14.76
July.....	23.96	17.07	22.33	21.05	30.32	30.47	24.09	15.68	13.03
August.....	24.32	17.00	22.04	21.08	30.18	30.02	23.82	15.51	13.35
September.....	23.55	17.32	22.08	20.36	30.25	30.25	23.25	15.50	13.13
October.....	30.47	17.90	21.23	20.02	30.34	29.99	22.92	15.45	13.05
November.....	27.68	17.42	20.56	19.50	30.50	30.05	22.67	15.60	14.51
December.....	28.49	16.72	20.91	18.45	30.86	29.55	21.35	15.60	16.02

* Computed from data presented in *Monthly Labor Review*.

† Cash payments only; does not include room, board, or tips.

‡ Data not available.

increased average weekly earnings for 1930 approximately 2 per cent over 1929, reported an increase of 1 per cent for 1931 over 1930.

The four non-manufacturing groups which reduced earnings less than the manufacturing industries were less seriously affected by the depression than was manufacturing.⁵ In some of these groups, notably public utilities, it appears that, compared to manufacturing, larger shares of reductions in industrial activity have been made by laying off workers, and smaller shares by means of part-time work. This would tend to maintain the earnings of workers remaining on pay-rolls.⁶ The general tendency in times of depression to lay off workers of less than average efficiency (whose earnings also tend to be below the average) operates to increase the average earnings of workers continuing in employment. A tendency in many industries to lay off a larger proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled (lower-paid) workers than of skilled (higher-paid) workers also operates to increase the average earnings of employed workers. These factors probably account for the increase noted for public utilities.

The average weekly money earnings of unskilled male laborers employed in manufacturing establishments declined for 1931 more than 16 per cent below the 1930 average and more than 24 per

⁵ The percentages of change in employment and pay-roll totals for various industrial groups for 1931 compared with 1930 follow. The telephone and telegraph, power, light and water, and electric railroad groups combined constitute the public utilities group. Data from *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1932, pp. 427 and 440.

	Employment	Pay-roll totals		Employment	Pay-roll totals
Manufacturing.....	-15.3	-25.0	Telephone and telegraph..	-11.5	- 8.9
Anthracite coal mining....	-13.8	-20.9	Power, light and water....	- 7.2	- 7.3
Bituminous coal mining....	-10.9	-29.3	Electric railroads.....	- 9.3	-10.8
Metalliferous mining.....	-29.0	-42.6	Wholesale trade.....	- 9.8	-12.8
Quarrying and non-metallic mining.....	-20.0	-32.7	Retail trade.....	- 6.8	-10.0
			Hotels.....	- 7.3	-13.3
			Canning and preserving..	-22.1	-31.7

⁶ Some of these non-manufacturing groups employ larger proportions of clerical and sales employees than do manufacturing groups. As is noted below, the earnings of such forces appear to have been affected much less than the earnings of manual employees. No uniform practice is followed among firms in either the manufacturing or non-manufacturing groups regarding the inclusion in reports to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics of clerical and sales forces, but a preliminary investigation indicates that, on the whole, a larger proportion of clerical and sales employees is included in reports from non-manufacturing than from manufacturing establishments. Thus, average earnings in some non-manufacturing groups would tend to be more stable than manufacturing earnings.

cent below the average for 1929 (see Table IV). These declines were considerably sharper than the corresponding declines for all manufacturing employees. Average hourly earnings of unskilled male laborers declined nearly 7 per cent below 1930, and were 8 per cent below 1929, indicating general reductions in wage scales for these workers.

TABLE IV
AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS AND AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS
OF UNSKILLED MALE LABORERS EMPLOYED IN
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1929-31*

Year and Month	Average Weekly Earnings	Average Hourly Earnings
1929		
Average.....	\$25.37	\$0.501
1930		
Average.....	†22.89	.494
1931		
Average.....	19.19	.461
January.....	19.77	.473
February.....	20.89	.471
March.....	20.78	.474
April.....	20.46	.470
May.....	20.75	.467
June.....	19.55	.464
July.....	18.92	.462
August.....	18.86	.465
September.....	18.19	.458
October.....	18.05	.452
November.....	17.07	.440
December.....	17.00	0.435

* Data secured from *Service Letter on Industrial Relations*, issued by the National Industrial Conference Board.

† Revised.

Little information is available concerning the earnings of clerical and sales forces in the United States. The average monthly earnings of professional and clerical workers employed by Class I railroads⁷ were \$146.75 for 1931 (11 month average), showing little change from the 1930 average of \$147.21 and the 1929 average of \$146.19. Average weekly earnings of office employees in New York State factories were \$35.49 in October, 1931, a decline of more than 5 per cent from October, 1930 (\$37.48), and a decline of approximately 4 per cent from October, 1929 (\$36.94).⁸ Employed non-manual workers in Wisconsin received average weekly earnings of \$34.96 in

⁷ This classification includes clerks, stenographers, typists, etc. Executives, officials, and staff assistants are not included. Averages computed from Interstate Commerce Commission data, published in the *Monthly Labor Review*.

⁸ These figures include clerical help in factory offices, omitting high-salaried executives and officials. Data from *Industrial Bulletin* (New York), November, 1931, p. 43.

1931, compared to \$34.49 in 1930, and the average weekly earnings of retail sales forces in Wisconsin were \$18.65 in 1931, \$19.96 in 1930, and \$19.93 in 1929.⁹ The information available thus indicates that the money earnings of employed clerks and sales persons have

TABLE V
AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES OF EMPLOYED
FARM LABORERS, 1929-1931*

Year and Month	Average Monthly Wages
1929	
Average.....	\$49.30
1930	
Average.....	44.48†
1931	
Average.....	34.45
April.....	37.42
July.....	36.04
October.....	33.25
January, 1932.....	29.52

* Computed from data presented in *Crops and Markets*, issued by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

† Revised.

declined much less than the earnings of most employed manual workers during the depression, and that they have remained, in many instances, at or near the 1929 level.

Employed farm laborers suffered serious decreases in wages during 1931. The data presented in Table V¹⁰ indicate that the average monthly wages of farm laborers paid entirely in cash were, for 1931, nearly 23 per cent below 1930 and 30 per cent below 1929. Although reliable cost of living data for rural areas are not available, it appears that the real wages of farm laborers have also declined.

⁹ Data computed from *Wisconsin Labor Market*. The earnings of non-manual workers given above are the average earnings of such employees in the following industries: manufacturing, mining and quarrying, construction, communication, wholesale trade, and miscellaneous professional services. The non-manual workers appear to be almost exclusively clerical workers.

¹⁰ Data secured from *Crops and Markets*. The U.S. Department of Agriculture issues quarterly reports for four classes of labor: (1) monthly workers without board, (2) monthly workers with board, (3) day workers without board, and (4) day workers with board. As it is difficult to estimate the monetary value of the board received, only classes (1) and (3) have been considered here. The earnings of day workers were reduced to a monthly basis by multiplying by 20, the average number of days per month worked on farms as estimated by the Department of Agriculture. The wages of day workers and monthly workers were combined, giving them weights of 4 and 6, respectively, according to estimates of the Department of Agriculture of the number of each type of workers employed on farms. A weighted yearly average was computed from the quarterly averages.

EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND RELATED CONDITIONS OF LABOR

WILLIAM A. BERRIDGE

Economist of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City

ABSTRACT

The total cost of living of workingmen's families declined about 10 per cent between the end of 1930 and the end of 1931. Hence commodity purchasing power diminished less than did money income. The monthly course of factory employment in 1931 was almost continuously downward, but in general at a slightly slower rate than in 1930. The new building employment index reflects a seasonal ebb and flow in 1931, but throughout the year it was lower than in any of the three previous years.

The quantitative evidence available indicates pretty clearly that 1931 was not only a worse year than 1930 as regards general business and industrial activity, but also worse relatively than any other year in at least three decades. The impact of this unusual depression upon various indices of labor conditions during 1931 are briefly reviewed in the following sections.

AGGREGATE MONEY INCOME OF LABOR

Unemployment, part-timing, and wage-rate cuts all contributed to bring about a very considerable reduction of aggregate money income in 1931, continuing the changes described a year ago as having taken place in 1930.¹ Considering all classes of labor for which the data seem even tolerably acceptable, we estimate that their combined money income in 1931 was approximately seven-tenths of 1929. However, the real economic well-being of the labor groups was not affected quite so severely as that, because declining cost of living exerted a partial "shock-absorbing" influence.

COST OF LIVING, AND THE REAL INCOME OF LABOR

Between the end of 1930 and the end of 1931, total cost of living for workingmen's families declined between 9 and 10 per cent; from the peak month in the summer of 1929 to the end of 1931, the total declined about 15 per cent. The decline was almost continuous, ac-

¹ "Employment, Unemployment, and Income of Labor in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1931, pp. 933-48.

according to our interpolation of the semiannual figures collected by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics—which are the best available, despite certain important technical faults.² However, for the purposes of this special annual review, it is more pertinent to show how the yearly averages compare. The total cost of living averaged in 1931 approximately 152 per cent of its 1913 base, as compared with 171 per cent for the average of 1929—a decline of nearly 20 points, or 11 or 12 per cent.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that foods, a most important class of items in the workingman's family budget, are also the class which has shown the most striking decrease between the two years—from about 155 to 125 per cent of pre-war, a decline of 30 points or approximately 20 per cent; while clothing costs in 1931 averaged 145, as compared with a 1929 average of 160—a decline of 15 points or 10 per cent. Rents are off 8 per cent, fuel and light 5 per cent, and house furnishings about 10 per cent. The large group of miscellaneous items shows a negligible decline.

For factory workers—the numerically strongest labor group in the country, Chart I shows how, after discounting the changes in living costs, the monthly volume of purchasing power compared with the volume of monetary income;³ both indexes are expressed in relation to the yearly average for 1923–25.

Purchasing power naturally fluctuates within a narrower range between the “peak” and the “trough” of the business cycle than does the volume of money wages. That is because the declines in productive activity, wholesale prices, etc., which mark the transition from a boom to a depression, always bring in their wake declines in living cost, even though the latter often fail to appear so promptly, and never in proportion to the extent of declines in wholesale prices,

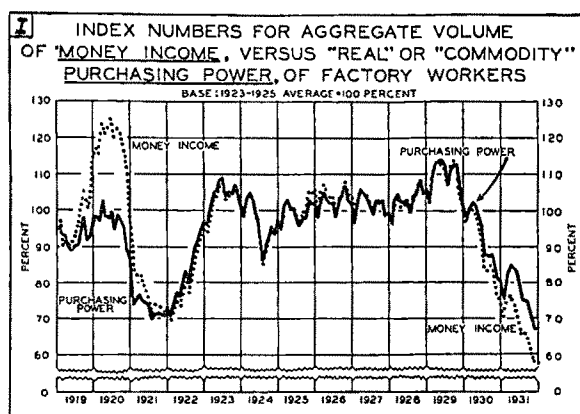
² For some observations appraising this cost-of-living index, and the family-budget data used as weights in constructing it, see articles by Louis I. Dublin (*New York Sunday Times*, May 10, 1931) and William A. Berridge (*The Annalist*, July 17, 1931, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 965, p. 89). These articles have appeared as a joint reprint of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

³ Money income is the Federal Reserve Board's index of factory pay-roll disbursements to 1927, adjusted to the biennial Censuses of Manufacturers from 1919 to 1927 by that organization; the figures since that date are our own (preliminary) adjustments of the Board's index to the Census of 1929.

etc. Because living cost does, nevertheless, decline during business depressions, real purchasing power shrank far less drastically than did money income, between the boom year 1920 and the depression year 1921, for example.

Similar, though much less striking, discrepancies have appeared during the present depression. The dot curve representing money income declined from a 1929 monthly peak of nearly 115 to a low of 57 at the close of 1931. But the solid line representing purchasing power, while it starts from about the same point in 1929, declined only to 67 at the close of 1931.

CHART I



EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURE, BUILDING CONSTRUCTION, AND OTHER LINES OF ACTIVITY

How the number of factory workers on pay-roll has varied, month by month during 1931 and the three previous years, is readily ascertained by a glance at Chart II. This is the Federal Reserve Board's index, which we have adjusted to the data of the 1929 Census of Manufactures.

This index of factory employment averaged in 1931 approximately 78 per cent as compared with approximately 92 per cent in 1930—a decline of 14 points or about 15 per cent of the 1930 level. The monthly course of factory employment is seen to have been downward almost throughout the entire year, slipping from above 80 to a little over 70 in the twelve months, but 1931 witnessed a slightly

slower rate of decline than was registered by the corresponding monthly figures during 1930.

CHART II

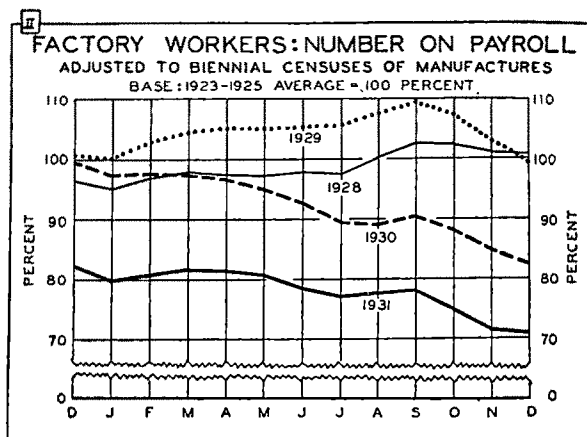
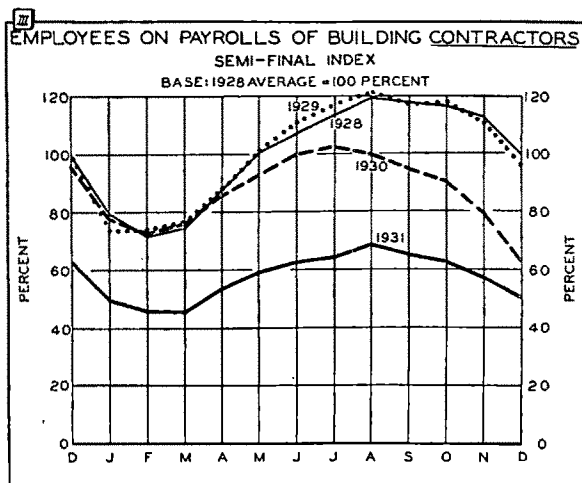


CHART III



There is more than a little resemblance between this factory-employment index and the building-employment index shown in Chart III—partly because both types of activity are, in common, subject to fundamental cyclical forces of much the same type, and partly because building itself contributes in no small degree to the

state of activity or inactivity prevailing at any given time in the manufacturing industries. The 1930 Census of Occupations, released late in 1931, shows 2,561,541 gainful workers attached to the "Building Industry" in a rather strict sense. If we add to this large figure approximately 1,000,000 persons who find employment in industries manufacturing building materials and supplies, and a further estimate to cover those engaged in the quarrying or mining of such materials, it seems probable that roughly 4,000,000 persons customarily look to construction or its auxiliary industries for employment. In other words, out of the 49,000,000 persons recorded as having gainful occupations, eight out of every hundred are attached to the construction industry directly or indirectly. The new index of employment in building construction, shown in Chart III, was set up some time ago from rather fragmentary data collected by local organizations in six states.⁴ It has now been found to agree, more closely than had been expected, with partial results received recently from the United States Census of Building Contracting; but until the results of that census are available in their complete form, the tests cannot be regarded as wholly conclusive, and the index should therefore still be regarded as only semifinal.

The new building employment index naturally reflects a seasonal ebb and flow of substantial proportions; in 1931, it ranged from a low of about 45 before the spring revival to about 70 at the August peak, falling rather rapidly from that point to a figure of about 50 in December. In the much busier years, 1928 and 1929, the February low was about 70 and the August high about 120, followed by a much more moderate easing-off to just under 100 in December. The fact that most months of 1929 tended pretty generally to equal or slightly exceed the corresponding months of 1928 is not necessarily inconsistent with the fact that building contracts (whether on a value or on a floor-space basis) were greater in 1928 than in 1929; 1929 might well be expected to show up better on an employment basis than on a building-contracts basis, because of the natural "lagging"

⁴ The more widely distributed sample of building employment, established about the end of 1930 by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, was still in the growing stage during 1931; changes in the size of this sample were so great as to render it inadequate for studying fluctuations of employment during that year.

tendency of the peak in actual building operations after the 1928 peak in contracts.

Incidentally, this new index of building employment agrees rather well, as to general contour, with the (inverted) American Federation of Labor index of unemployment in building-trade unions (not here charted). Both show 1929 to have been slightly busier than 1928, and of course 1931 much worse than either 1929 or 1928, while 1930

TABLE I
EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES DURING 1931, AND 1930,
AS COMPARED WITH 1929

Annual levels are measured by the monthly average for each year, the 1929 monthly average being taken as equal to 100.

	1929	1930	1931
All labor*	100	90.0	80.0
Factories.....	100	87.8	74.8
Railroads, steam.....	100	89.6	75.8
Railroads, electric†.....	100	93.4	84.7
Building construction.....	100	86.0	56.9
Bituminous coal mines.....	100	93.4	83.2
Anthracite mines.....	100	93.4	80.6
Metal mines.....	100	83.2	59.1
Quarries and non-metal mines.....	100	84.3	67.4
Oil wells, etc.....	100	87.4	65.7
Power, light and water.....	100	103.0	95.6
Telephone and telegraph.....	100	97.9	86.6
Retail trade.....	100	95.9	89.4
Wholesale trade.....	100	96.0	86.6
Hotels.....	100	99.2	92.0

* I.e., all classes of labor for which reasonably valid estimates can be made.

† Exclusive of car shops.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics; Federal Reserve Board; Interstate Commerce Commission; computations of Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

occupies an intermediate position. The only important discrepancy between the two indexes is that 1930 shows a stronger bulge in the summer, and a steeper decline in the autumn and winter, in employment than in the inverted unemployment index; a minor discrepancy is that, in every year, the seasonal peak of activity is shown a little later in the employment than in the unemployment index.

How lines of employment other than building and manufacture fared in 1931 may be seen in the accompanying table. The year's average for each individual line of activity showed a decrease during 1931 as compared with the average for 1929 and 1930. The full year

1929 has been taken as equal to 100 in each case, in order to indicate how much the depression year 1931 (as a whole) falls short of the last busy year in the current business cycle.

Thus we have metal mines, quarries and non-metal mines, oil wells, etc.—as well as building employment, which has just been discussed—making the poorest showing for 1931 among the various lines listed in Table I; each of the activities mentioned averaging lower than 75 per cent of its 1929 average, but higher than 50 per cent. Employment on steam railroads and also in factories averaged approximately 75 per cent during 1931 as compared with 100 in 1929; for the other lines of employment shown in Table I, the 1931 figures ranged from 80 to about 95 per cent.

Our tentative estimate of numbers employed in the combination of all classes of labor for which reasonably valid estimates can be made shows that the 1931 average is about 80 per cent of 1929, while 1930 averaged roughly 90 per cent.

SOCIAL AND LABOR LEGISLATION

CHARLES W. PIPKIN

Columbia University

ABSTRACT

All states but Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia held regular sessions of their legislature in 1931. There were special sessions of the state legislature in several of the larger states to deal with public relief of unemployment. Major interest in social legislation was centered in unemployment insurance measures and in relief. Old-age pensions made progress and child-labor legislation was added to in many states.

FEDERAL ACTION INDICATES NOTEWORTHY TENDENCIES

When Secretary of Commerce Robert P. Lamont, on March 20, 1931, in a special census report announced that on January 1, 1931, there were 6,050,000 citizens out of jobs, the optimism of officialdom was over. The preliminary period of "muddling through" the depression was ended. The announcement startled, because the census of April, 1930, had estimated 2,800,000 lacked work. At any rate official figures were a basis of measuring the spread of unemployment. The heroic period of strategy in attacking the depression had to be inaugurated. Past mistakes in estimating the crisis were forgotten. President Hoover on August 18, 1931, appointed Walter S. Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, to head a national committee "to co-operate with public authorities and re-enforce national, state and local agencies which will have responsibilities for the relief activities." The expenditures by Congress for unemployment relief are important to mark. No federal funds have been used for *direct* unemployment relief, but it is declared officially that the expediting of the federal public-works program and the granting of drought relief loans "may perhaps be considered as *indirect* contributions for relief of the unemployed in the present emergency."¹ According to the latest available statement, federal construction, maintenance, and drought relief expenditures for the calendar years 1930, 1931, and for the first half of 1932 (estimated) have been as follows: 1930, \$452,301,000; 1931, \$787,587,000;

¹ Communication to writer from the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, February 6, 1932.

1932, \$373,593,000. Of the above figures for 1931, \$47,000,000 constitutes the amount loaned to farmers in the drought areas.

Students of social legislation see at once the significance of a federal expenditure from the beginning of the depression in 1929 to the first half of 1932 of over \$1,500,000,000. This does not include the large sums raised by over 300 community chests, and the direct appropriations of city and state governments. New York state was first, appropriating \$20,000,000, and this in addition to the \$15,000,000 appropriated by the city of New York.

It is necessary to point out that the concerted drives for funds all over the United States assumed the character of a *compulsory* giving. Pressure was everywhere exerted upon officials and employees to give a percentage of their earnings. This has undoubtedly created a powerful sentiment for responsible action through legislation by the state and federal governments. A direct reaction was the changing official attitude of the American Federation of Labor. The 1931 Convention plainly marked a decided change in sentiment. The federation declared against any form of compulsory unemployment insurance as contrary to American ideals and needs and a menace to the labor movement. But the report to this same Vancouver convention showed that the large sum of \$3,311,279.50 had been expended for the year ending August 1, 1931, in direct relief. Tobin of the teamsters and Mahon of the street-car workers, old opponents of unemployment insurance, came out in its favor.² Although still opposing unemployment insurance, the American Federation of Labor strongly appealed for federal funds for relief purposes, asking for nearly \$400,000,000.³ The continued debates and public hearings on unemployment and national social planning, centered in the hearings of the La Follette Committee on a national economic council, the Herbert Senate Committee on unemployment, and the La Follette-Costigan Bill for direct federal aid for relief purposes, have had a far-reaching effect on public opinion. This has been seen in the discussion of the plan of Mr. Gerard Swope, of the General Electric Company, and the attitude of the large national trade unions. Some of

² *New York Times*, October 15, 1931.

³ *New York World-Telegram*, December 30, 1931; and *New York Times*, February 9, 1932, for statement by President William Green.

the larger national unions have found it necessary to advocate measures of social legislation. One may find, also, a spirit of co-operation among the unions that has been lacking in the past. The twenty-one railway unions, for instance, have united on a bill to be introduced in Congress, providing for a federal system of retirement pensions for railway workers. With 500,000 railway workers out of work they have had seriously to consider unemployment. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, with over 100,000 members, favored unemployment insurance at its 1931 convention. When unionism revives, especially among the coal miners, a much more aggressive policy with regard to social legislation may confidently be expected. The rank and file of labor best express themselves through central bodies, state federations of labor, and the local unions in their craft. An increasing number of these have declared for a wider legislative program, with particular emphasis, of course, on unemployment insurance.⁴ The membership in the American Federation of Labor was reported in 1930 to be 3,461,096, and in 1931 it was 2,889,550.

The wide appeal of the Swope plan to industrialists and to students of unemployment was revealed in articles and discussion. It is worth recording in a survey of noteworthy tendencies in social legislation because of its proposed administrative organization. The chief feature of the Swope plan is the requirement that legislation be enacted to require all industrial and commercial companies with fifty or more employees to form trade associations within three years and to work toward establishing a balance between production and consumption through control of production within the associations. The principle of federal control is introduced. It would be required that each company be obliged to adopt a uniform accounting system and submit quarterly and annually financial statements to a *federal supervisory body*. Each trade association would form a general board of administration, to consist of nine members, three to be elected by the employees, and three representing the public to be chosen by the federal supervisory body. This modified syndicalist program is in its tripartite administrative organization much like

⁴ The files of *Labor's News* for the past eighteen months provide the record.

the administrative principle in post-war social and labor legislation in France and England.⁵

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE LEGISLATION IN STATES

The widespread interest in unemployment legislation is evidenced by the fact that thirty-three bills proposing state systems of compulsory unemployment insurance were introduced in seventeen state legislatures during the 1931 sessions. They were California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin. Bills in the majority of these states were based on the American Plan for Unemployment Reserve Funds which was the tentative draft of an act submitted as a basis for state legislation by the American Association for Labor Legislation. Senator Robert F. Wagner similarly introduced in Congress a bill providing for federal assistance to states setting up systems of unemployment insurance. Legislative committees to study unemployment insurance were provided for in California, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin. A committee for this purpose was appointed in the United States Senate under the chairmanship of Senator Herbert of Rhode Island. None of the states passed the proposed legislation, but there has never been in this country a question of social legislation on which more alert public interest has been aroused.⁶

OLD-AGE PENSIONS AND RELIEF

Next in importance to the national crisis in unemployment as it affected social legislation, the subject of old-age pensions received major attention. Five states—Delaware (H.B. No. 28), Idaho (H.B. No. 22), New Hampshire (Chapter 165), New Jersey (Chapter 219, P.L. 1931), and West Virginia (S.B. No. 4)—enacted old-age pension laws in 1931, making a total of seventeen states and one territory

⁵ See author's *Social Politics and Modern Democracies* (New York, 1931), Vol. I, pp. 355-58; Vol. II, pp. 74-96.

⁶ The December, 1931, issue of the *American Labor Legislation Review*, pp. 409-68, provides a complete summary of legislation and administration acts of labor legislation of 1931, with analysis by subjects and states.

which had old-age security laws on their statute books by the end of that year. The states of California, Colorado, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New York, Utah, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and the territory of Alaska had previously passed such laws. The laws of Colorado (Chapter 131, Session Laws 1931), and Wisconsin (No. 50 A), were strengthened in 1931. Legislative committees to study the subject were appointed in Connecticut, Illinois, Maine, and Oregon. The legislatures of Missouri and Pennsylvania passed on constitutional amendments permitting the enactment of pension laws which are to be submitted to the voters of these states. The subject of old-age pensions was discussed in thirty-eight state legislatures in 1931. A number of bills providing for federal aid to states enacting old-age pension laws were presented in Congress.

The New York Old Age Security Act (Chapter 387, 1930) went into effect January 1, 1931. Relief under this law is granted to persons seventy years of age and over who are unable to support themselves and who have no children or other near relatives able to support them. They must be citizens of the United States, residents of New York for ten years, and residents of the county for one year. No maximum rate of pension is fixed, the amount granted in every case being determined by the local city or county welfare officials.

Applications in New York in the first eleven months totaled 79,702. Of the 71,767 applications acted upon, pensions were granted to 49,400 persons. By December 1, 46,164 persons were receiving pensions, the rest having been dropped on account of death and other causes. The total paid out in November was \$1,215,289, and the average monthly grant was \$26.33. New York City accounted for 22,271 of the total pensioners; the average given in the city was \$32.07.

The Massachusetts law (Chapter 402, 1930) went into effect July, 1931. By December 14, 8,778 aged persons were receiving assistance. The average grant was \$5.83 per week. Pensions are given to needy persons over seventy years of age, provided they are citizens of the United States and have lived in Massachusetts twenty years. As under the New York law, no maximum rate is set by the law.

California, which began its payment of pensions in January, 1930, was aiding 9,297 persons by December 1, 1931, and the average monthly amount was \$23.04. The age limit in this state is seventy years; citizenship for fifteen years is required, and the pensioner must have resided in the state fifteen years and in the county one year. A maximum of \$1.00 per day is set.

At the end of 1931 approximately 70,000 aged persons were receiving pensions in the entire United States. In addition to the above enumerated states, pensions were also being paid in Delaware, Maryland, Minnesota, Montana, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. The New Jersey act will become operative in July, 1932.

Eight states (Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Maryland, Nevada, Utah, West Virginia, and Wyoming) set the pensionable age at sixty-five years. Alaska sets sixty-five years for males and sixty for females. The other nine states fix the minimum age at seventy years.

The maximum pension is set at \$1.00 a day in eight states. New Hampshire fixes the maximum at \$7.50 per week; Wyoming sets it at \$30.00 per month. Delaware, Idaho, Montana, and Utah set it at \$25.00 per month. Alaska provides a maximum of \$25.00 per month for men, and \$45.00 for women. Kentucky has a yearly maximum of \$250.00. No maximum is set in New York and Massachusetts.

In Delaware the entire cost of pensions is paid by the state. In Alaska the funds come from territorial appropriations. In New Jersey the state is to pay three-fourths of the cost and the counties one-fourth. In New York and California the state and counties each pay half. In Wisconsin and Massachusetts the state pays one-third and the counties two-thirds. In the eleven remaining states the entire cost is borne by the counties.

There have been no court decisions regarding old-age pension legislation in 1931.

CHILD-LABOR LEGISLATION

Legislation enacted provided in the most part for protection of children from premature work or from dangerous or unsatisfactory conditions of work. The chief were: *Alabama*: Work Permits (No. 356), Workmen's Compensation (No. 357); *Connecticut*: Work Permits (No. 249); *Delaware*: Canneries (Minimum wage from 12 to 14)

(S.74), Dangerous Occupations (H. 1369), Educational Requirement (H.19), Hours of Work (H.933); *Massachusetts*: Apprenticeship (C.304); *Michigan*: Workmen's Compensation (Public act 58); *Nebraska*: Night Work (H.172); *New Jersey*: Educational Requirement (S.102), Migratory Child Survey Commission (Chapter JR 4); *New Mexico*: State Labor Commission (C.9); *New York*: Hours of Work (C.509); *North Carolina*: Dangerous Occupations (H.287), Hours of Work (S.194), Labor Department (S.447), Night Work (H.306), Street Trades (S.182); *Oregon*: Apprenticeship (C.101); *Pennsylvania*: Migratory Children (C.309 and C.130), Workmen's Compensation (C.29); *Rhode Island*: Hours of Work (H.841), Theatrical Employment (H.779); *South Dakota*: Child Welfare Commission (S.46), Enforcement (H.46); *Texas*: Workmen's Compensation (S.357); *Vermont*: Penalties (S.12), Vocational Training (S.16), Work Permits (H.123); *Wisconsin*: Workmen's Compensation (C. 42). The most notable achievements were the marked improvements in the laws of Alabama and North Carolina. The Federal Child Labor Amendment was ratified by the Colorado legislature in 1931, making the sixth state which has ratified the amendment. Also the American Federation of Labor approved the Amendment by resolution at the 1931 convention. The excellent results of the President's Conference on Child Welfare continued to be seen, especially in the holding of White House Conferences in several of the states. The President's Conference on Housing held in December inaugurated a new nation-wide approach to this problem.

MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

HARRY H. MOORE

Washington, D.C.

ABSTRACT

The effects of unemployment on the nation's vitality were not evident in various mortality rates, and there were few significant indications of upward trends in morbidity rates. Doubtless, however, the resistance of certain groups of people has been lowered, and an increase of ill health may follow in 1932 or later. Special measures were undertaken by federal, state, and local health organizations to improve the public health; private health agencies appear to have been increasingly effective in their work; the number of physicians, dentists, and nurses increased, probably at a greater rate than the population. Experiments in organized medical service and the provision of medical care on a monthly basis were increasingly evident.

Probably the most important question in the minds of many people regarding developments in medicine and public health during 1931 pertains to the effect on the nation's vitality of unemployment and the economic depression. It has seemed best, therefore, to consider this problem carefully, and to give in this report relatively less attention to other aspects of the general subject.

THE EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Appalling pictures have been drawn of the effects of unemployment on the health of the people, particularly children. "One learns that the suicide rate has nearly doubled in the past year," stated a contributor in one magazine early in 1932, "that insanity cases are multiplying, that there is a heavy increase in child mortality from ailments induced by malnutrition, that thousands of girls are being driven into prostitution. . . ." What are the facts? It is difficult to secure all the important data and to harmonize apparently conflicting information, but an attempt should be made to do so.

The mortality rate for 82 large cities of the United States for 1931 was 11.7 per 1,000, which was 0.2 less than for the year 1930. Among approximately 19,000,000 industrial policyholders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the 1930 and 1931 rates were virtually the same. The infant mortality rate among 70 large cities was definitely lower than in any preceding year on record. The Metropolitan report indicates a presumably significant increase

in suicides during both 1930 and 1931, the rates being 10.2 and 10.0, respectively, per 100,000. During the previous five years it varied from 7.0 to 8.7. The death-rates from six important causes—tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, pneumonia, diarrheal complaints, and puerperal conditions—were lower in 1931 than ever before. Although one might expect an increase in the tuberculosis death-rate under existing economic conditions, the drop among these policyholders was greater in 1931 than the average year-to-year decline of the past decade. The new high death-rates for cancer, diseases of the heart, and diabetes, are in line with trends of several recent years.

Morbidity reports do not indicate an alarming increase in disease. There were two important epidemics. In January sickness and mortality due to influenza and pneumonia increased noticeably, particularly along the Atlantic seaboard. In the summer occurred the most extensive epidemic of poliomyelitis since 1916, but, fortunately, it was not accompanied by nearly as high a case-fatality rate as in 1916. There is no evidence that the depression was an important cause of either epidemic. A summary of weekly telegraphic reports from state departments of health to the Public Health Service reveals an increase in the number of cases of measles and scarlet fever and a decrease in malaria and smallpox, compared with the previous year. Replies to a special telegram from the surgeon general to the state departments of health at the beginning of 1932 indicated definitely unfavorable conditions in Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, and Delaware, and certain unfavorable conditions in Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, West Virginia, Kansas, and Wyoming. An increase of prostitution would have an obvious bearing upon the public health. Although few significant statistics are available, prostitution has probably increased and an increase in the venereal diseases will follow in 1932 unless energetic measures are taken.

On possible changes in mental health there are as yet insufficient data. A number of mental hospitals report an increasing number of patients. One superintendent writes that elderly people with mild mental disturbances, who live in small apartments, now lack proper care because of crowded quarters, that young men and women out of work and worried over finances are tending to develop mental disturbances more readily, and that psychopaths, who under favorable

conditions float from job to job, have been taking more readily to crime than ever before. The Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene reports that three times as many people applied to the organization for aid on mental problems in 1931 as in 1930. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, however, states that inquiries do not reveal a general rise in hospital admissions "that can be readily interpreted in terms of the depression." Results are expected to appear later, however. There is "a feeling that the effects of the depression will not be apparent for some time to come—not until certain factors that usually enter into the precipitation of mental disorders have had time to operate."

Medical relief through public clinics and hospitals has evidently increased greatly in many sections. In Cincinnati, Ohio, according to the Executive Director of the Community Chest, the relief work of the City Health Department increased over 300 per cent. In Chicago all dispensaries were overcrowded, the Cook County Hospital was full to overflowing, and private hospitals reduced the number of free beds because of insufficient funds to operate them. One branch of the Chicago Medical Society established a free clinic, and others were contemplating such action because of the greatly increased demands upon members of the Society, by people unable to pay. This trend may indicate a deflection of calls from private practitioners to public relief agencies, rather than an increase of sickness.

Welfare agencies and other organizations dealing with underprivileged people present more alarming reports. "Two years of financial depression and unemployment have taken their toll in undernourishment of children and young mothers," states a report of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, based upon replies to a nation-wide questionnaire among nursing agencies. The report cited a health center in New York City where the percentage of undernourished children had been carefully determined for three years and where malnutrition had increased from 18 to 60 per cent since 1928. One state board of health stated that physicians conducting prenatal consultations reported that about half the women coming to the clinic report unemployment and show evidence of insufficient essential foods, such as milk, meats, eggs, and vegetables; many families are subsisting almost entirely on potatoes. The American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia discovered in connection

with its relief work that 99 out of 100 children in one school were underweight. A study by this organization shows a steady decline in health conditions in the coal mining regions of West Virginia and Kentucky. Some health officers already report tuberculosis as on the increase, states the Family Welfare Association of America, and in one county where pellagra has not heretofore been a menace it is now appearing. Generally speaking, food-relief orders in these mining counties contain no milk of any description and are greatly lacking in the so-called protective foods which are indispensable for nutrition, and especially for the growth processes of children. Reports from New York City and certain communities in Illinois tend to indicate that milk consumption has decreased about 20 and 30 per cent, respectively.

How may these two strikingly different groups of reports be reconciled? There is, of course, no justification whatever for the supposition that hard times and good health go hand in hand. While among many families a reduced diet might improve health, no evidence has been presented indicating a marked reduction of food consumption among families accustomed to over-eating. Two important conclusions, however, may be suggested. First, private practice has evidently suffered greatly from the depression, while the demand upon public agencies providing medical care has markedly increased; thus, in a sense, the extension of "state medicine" has been forced upon many American communities. Second, and much more important, lack of proper nourishment has greatly lowered the vitality of many people in the United States during the past year. Furthermore, there has been a marked strain in thousands of homes on persons with neurotic tendencies and unstable constitutions. While the proportion of these various persons to the total population may not be sufficient greatly to affect morbidity and mortality rates, an upward trend, at least in morbidity rates, may perhaps be expected for 1932 or 1933—and perhaps for several years following. If more cases of sickness are not reported, the reason may be the inability of poor people to secure medical aid.

SPECIAL MEASURES AND MAJOR TRENDS

The Public Health Service received in February an appropriation of \$2,000,000 for emergency health work in drought-stricken areas.

By the end of June, 333 field organizations, including projects covering 395 counties, were operating in 16 states within the drought areas. At the beginning of 1931 the number of counties with permanent health departments having a full-time health officer had increased to 557. A plan was formulated by the Service for the establishment of a morbidity reporting area.

The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, held in 1930, continued its influence through a considerable number of state and local conferences in connection with which attempts have been made to apply the findings of the Conference to local problems.

The Massachusetts Department of Public Health, aided by a grant from the Commonwealth Fund, inaugurated a movement to make antipneumococcus serum available to rural areas through selected hospitals, in an effort to prevent deaths from those types of pneumonia which respond to serum treatment.

The Health Department of New York City received an appropriation of several million dollars to develop a health district and health center plan in an effort to localize health-department activity. A grant from the Milbank Memorial Fund was utilized in getting this movement under way.

The American Public Health Association developed an appraisal form for rural and county health work based upon an extensive survey of some 300 counties. This Association for some years has been assisting the United States Chamber of Commerce in conducting Inter-Chamber Health Conservation Contests. Awards for the 1930 contest, in which 246 cities participated, were presented in 1931 to the following cities: class one, Detroit, Michigan; class two, Newark, New Jersey; class three, New Haven, Connecticut; class four, Racine, Wisconsin; class five, Alhambra, California; class six, Chestertown, Maryland.

Mental hygiene problems continued to receive a great deal of attention. A program of psychiatric education was launched by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene with the aid of the Commonwealth Fund, the New York Foundation, and the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene. The Bureau of the Census was authorized to "annually collect and publish statistics relating to crime and to the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes." Child

guidance activities continued to flourish, and attention to mental hygiene in teacher-training institutions increased strikingly throughout the United States.

In the field of cancer control, surveys were conducted in Wisconsin, Colorado, and Oregon, in St. Louis, and in St. Louis County—the first comprehensive efforts ever made to evaluate this problem as a whole and to make specific recommendations concerning diagnostic and treatment facilities.

In social hygiene, emphasis was given by the American Social Hygiene Association to community organization. The New Orleans Social Hygiene Association began effective work. The San Francisco Social Hygiene Committee was reorganized, and efforts inaugurated in other cities in California. Special attention was also given to the prevention of congenital syphilis and to social hygiene work in industries.

The number of physicians in the United States, according to the American Medical Association Directory, increased from 152,503 in 1929 to 156,440 in 1931. Graduates of medical schools increased from 4,565 in 1930 to 4,735 in 1931.

The number of dentists probably increased. Dental organizations have shown an increased tendency to conduct research work, both in the technical and social phases of dental practice. The American Association of Dental Schools was given a grant by the Carnegie Corporation for a study of dental education. A committee on dental economics of the American Dental Association completed three important studies.

The number of trained nurses in 18 states and the District of Columbia increased 78 per cent since 1920, compared with a 7 per cent increase for the total population. A nation-wide survey of the administration and practice of public-health nurses was inaugurated by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, with the aid of a grant from the Commonwealth Fund.

In the hospital field, a special effort has been made to encourage the early diagnosis of cancer. Out-patient departments were enlarged. A Congressional act approved in May authorized an appropriation of over \$20,000,000 for additional hospital beds and other accommodations for World War veterans, making a total of ap-

proximately \$37,000,000 appropriated by the 71st Congress for this purpose.

Experiments in organizing medical services were increasingly evident during 1931. While the group clinic movement began some years ago, in recent years there has been some tendency to expand the service to include home care as well as ambulatory and hospital care. In California, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas experiments have been carried on in providing medical services on a monthly basis. A few hospitals have offered "hospital insurance," providing hospital care, with certain qualifications, to those paying a regular monthly fee.

The legislatures of 44 states met in 1931 and considered over 3,000 bills having medical interest. A review of the more important of these measures required a publication of some 36 pages, which cannot be abstracted here for lack of space.

The foundations during 1930 (according to a report of the Twentieth Century Fund made available in October, 1931) provided grants for activities in medicine and public health totaling over \$18,627,000, constituting about 35 per cent of the total paid out by over 100 foundations canvassed. The Rockefeller Foundation again gave considerably more money to the general field of medicine and public health than any other foundation. The Milbank Memorial Fund inaugurated a new policy of experimentation in administrative methods and research, and continued its support of the diphtheria prevention campaign of the New York City Department of Health. A school for public health nursing for negroes at Hampton Institute was established with money provided by the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The work of other foundations has already been referred to.

The volume of biological and chemical research probably increased during the year, although there were fewer striking results than in former years.

We are witnessing a race between poverty and ignorance on the one hand, and militant medical science on the other. Medical science may need reinforcements of money and personnel if improvement of the people's health is to continue at the rate of the last few years.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

LEROY E. BOWMAN

Secretary, National Community Center Association

ABSTRACT

During 1931 the "community" in America was very weak. Due to the continued economic crisis, relief resources in many cases have been exhausted and standards of living and relief standards lowered. Community relief has come largely from public or governmental sources. An "unemployment" psychology prevails, evident in lack of unity of purpose, spontaneous leadership, or effective community organization. Interest has centered around the concept regionalism. Consolidation in rural fields and the "situation" approach in urban activities have been emphasized.

THE COMMUNITY IN AMERICA IS IN FORMATIVE STATE

Indexes of changes in communal forms would be found in the lists of inventions of recent date or the rearrangements of population. Tables I and II, prepared by R. D. McKenzie for the Washington Round Table on Regionalism, give a statistical picture of one aspect of the well-known fact that communal relations are unstable as people shift about.

Two striking bits of evidence indicate that the community in America in 1931 was very weak. One was the accounts of racketeering. Fred D. Pasley, in *Muscling In*, estimates the toll of the racketeer in New York City at \$600,000,000; in Chicago, \$200,000,000 (R. I. Randolph, retiring president of the Chicago Association of Commerce, puts it at \$165,000,000); in Philadelphia, \$100,000,000; Detroit, \$75,000,000; Los Angeles, \$50,000,000; Cleveland, \$25,000,000; Pittsburgh, \$25,000,000; and in the nation at \$1,119,000,000. The second is the lethargy and lack of moral indignation aroused by the revelations by a state legislative committee of official "corruption" in New York City. The pastor who led a campaign a generation ago calls for a crusade, and the newspapers herald every new item; but there is every indication that the mass of New York voters are still loyal to Tammany. Not only is their psychology that of fidelity to their crowd rather than to the new, large, amorphous and un-understood community (the city), but there are countless evidences that individuals and firms of all parties are quite in the habit of gaining their ends from governmental authorities by the very same

methods that the investigators are denouncing. Instead of corruption to be blamed on city government, it would be more accurate to call it lack of civic or community loyalty that permeates the metropolis. This lack in turn is more a matter of social change than of moral dereliction.

1931, A COMMUNAL SETBACK

The economic crisis in 1930 sapped the community in America: relatives, friends, neighbors, "took in" the unemployed; the corner

TABLE I*

POPULATION CONCENTRATION IN A ZONE EXTENDING APPROXIMATELY 50 MILES
INLAND FROM THE OCEAN AND THE GREAT LAKES, 1900-1930

Census Year	Population within Zone	Percentage of Total U.S. Population in Zone	Increase within Zone since Preceding Census	Percentage of Total U.S. Increase within Zone
1900.....	27,842,288	36.64	5,495,247	42.12
1910.....	35,633,796	38.74	7,791,508	48.76
1920.....	43,865,221	41.49	8,231,425	59.91
1930.....	55,413,567	45.13	11,548,346	67.67

* Table is computed on county units, list of which is available on request.

NOTE.—Area of zone, 435,863 square miles, 14.65 per cent of total land area of the United States.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN DIFFERENT TERRITORIAL
CLASSIFICATIONS, 1900-1930

Territory	1900	1910	1920	1930
Total urban territory.....	40.0	45.8	51.4	56.2
Cities of 8,000 or more.....	32.9	38.7	43.8	49.1
Metropolitan zones.....	36.9	40.5	44.0	48.2

grocery and meat market gave credit; and to meet the much smaller but pressing problem of organized relief, public and private agencies exceeded previous records. In 1931, however, the community is stunned. In vast numbers of cases resources of friends, neighbors, and relatives are exhausted. Whole communities, especially those dependent on a single industry, can be found in which there were none employed; and the towns were altogether unable to meet the need. In such a situation the slogan that "each community shall provide for its own" obviously does not apply. Hence there are in-

stances in which direct state aid has been given, and at least some progress made toward a realization that community of interests must subsume a larger geographical and social basis than heretofore.

The hearings before the subcommittee on unemployment relief of the Committee on Manufactures of the United States Senate revealed a conviction among social work leaders that the cities and states (in both public and private capacity) are unable to meet the crisis and that the federal government must assume some of the responsibility for relief. From the testimony before this committee and from the relief bulletins of the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, it is now clearly established that the public agencies are the major part of the community in its charitable function, despite the assumptions of some of the leaders in private charitable work.

The crisis has varied greatly in its severity; some communities have not been affected fundamentally, while others have been overwhelmed. Particularly distressful has been the lot of the transient families in California, Florida, Georgia, Arizona, and New Mexico. The beginning of a satisfactory code of treatment was arrived at for the migratories in all parts of the country by a Committee on Transportation of Allied National Agencies representing 834 agencies, and the usual tendency of one community merely to pass on the transient to the next has been somewhat counteracted.

Certain standards have been lowered in some communities, and in many communities among vast numbers of people standards of living have dropped. According to the research bureau of the Welfare Council in New York City, the monthly wage loss is between eighty and ninety million dollars and the largest sum given in relief for one month was four million dollars; the difference must be accounted for largely in loss in standard of living. Figures from the Jewish Charities in Chicago show the same ratio. Free clinics and free beds in the hospitals are reported full, with more applicants than can be cared for. Relief standards have been seriously lowered. Curtailment of social service functions has occurred in some cities, and more drastic measures are in immediate prospect in others. In the Cook County Renters Court it is reported there are 250 dispossession cases a day. In Brooklyn, New York, there are an average of 100

dispossess cases a day in each of eight municipal courts. Search indicates that the majority of the families involved "double up" with other families already in crowded quarters.

There is, however, little change in the habitual thinking of ordinary citizens due to the depression. The community has not pulled itself together to take care of its own distress, and there has been no consideration of the fundamentals of community organization. American life has not been ordered by the community thinking for itself, and in a crisis that heavily burdens the community it has no habits nor instrumentalities of resourceful activity. Nicholas Murray Butler and others have said there is a comparative lack of national leadership; there is almost complete lack of it in communities.

There are larger groups attending liberal lectures than in previous years, but there are no revolts. The "rent strikes" in a very few instances have turned out a couple hundred feeble protestors at the eviction of a family for non-payment of rent, while many hundred of the curious look on. There is a psychology of "unemployment" somewhat as there was a "war" psychology. It consists of effort expended in dozens of community organizations for relief.

Parents' associations by the thousands are dabbling in relief. Teachers are urged to give part of their salaries, and police raise funds for the unemployed. Social agencies devoted to more educative programs, such as settlements, urban leagues, etc., feel a strong pressure to let their chief work go and undertake relief. As a result, much amateur work is done and the agencies equipped to do relief are not given the support they should have. Pressure in many ways is brought on the individual to give to these efforts even when he is not able to give. The leaders deny universally any desire to exert pressure, but there are many unquestionable proofs that if one does not give, his hold on his job may be less secure, or the opinion of the neighbors may be marshaled against him, or the political party in which he seeks preferment looks more kindly at the generous citizen. Even in the crisis, which is a matter of community-wide interest, pressures and sanctions have been of a factional or small group nature.

The way in which the crisis has been met has been along the same general pattern as in previous years, with the exception that an

effort by social work leaders has been made to enlist the aid of larger governmental units. A study of the reports of visits of district representatives of the American Association of Community Chests and Councils to over four hundred communities shows that the community efforts were led by a few more or less socially minded successful business men and the women of their class. Often the chamber of commerce took a leading part, and the other "service clubs" were often active. Occasionally, stimulation was very effectively applied from the headquarters of the American Association, and in many instances help and advice of expert kind from that source was given. Three characteristics of American community life are very apparent, however, in these records: (1) lack of a unity of purpose or common understanding among agencies and factions in many communities, (2) in scores of instances lack of able lay leadership, (3) in many cases failure to engage adequately trained personnel or to make effort to ascertain the standards in social work universally agreed upon. The chests raised their quota of over \$80,000,000; but it must be understood that only 35 per cent of it is intended for relief, and the community chests made no pretense that their funds were to meet the total need in the crisis.

EMPHASES IN COMMUNITY CONCEPTS

In the discussions of community changes—rural, urban, and rural-urban—the greatest interest continued to center around the concept of regionalism. In the conferences and writings on rural organization, from many different quarters came a re-emphasis on the theme of consolidation of counties, of churches, schools, fire companies, hospitals, recreation facilities, libraries, electric service, into larger and more effective units. In particular, the Vermont Commission on Country Life urged larger local units of all kinds, including consolidated villages and towns.

There was special consideration given in more than one field to the whole social situation in which the work is being done. Ada Sheffield urged the "situation" as the unit of family case study in true "Gestalt" fashion. The settlements in national conference re-dedicated themselves to the attack on social problems, not by application to specific evils as such, but through the strengthening of the

whole complex of neighborhood relations. In progressive educational circles, thinking swung away somewhat from techniques of teaching to integration of all agencies in the neighborhood dealing with the child. The studies of Shaw and McKay in Chicago furnished further evidence that juvenile delinquency is a reflection of disorganized community influences.

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CITY LIFE¹

NILES CARPENTER
University of Buffalo

ABSTRACT

There has been an increased rate of growth for very large cities and for suburban areas of these cities, with decreased rate for cities in general and even positive decreases for down-town areas of many cities. Political problems have centered about: the rural-urban tension over the question of reapportionment and the minority dominance of urban by rural communities; financial and administrative difficulties of certain very large cities; control of the increasing criminality in city life. Zoning and housing legislation proceeded apace; additional housing projects were sponsored by philanthropic and semi-philanthropic agencies.

Inasmuch as this discussion of social change in city life marks the first appearance of a section dealing with such a topic in the series of publications on social change, it has seemed best to take into account the biennium, 1930-31. Limitations of space preclude more than incidental reference to the sociology of city life outside of the United States.

I. POPULATION CHANGES

The decennium ending April 1, 1930, marked a continuation of the steady trend toward urbanization that has been evident in the United States since the taking of the first census.² The 1930 census showed that there were approximately 69,000,000 out of a total of 122,700,000, or 56.2 per cent, of the population in the United States resident in territories classified as urban. In 1920 the percentage was 51.4. The rapidity of the urbanization movement may be inferred from the fact that as recently as 1880 only 28.6 per cent of the population was assigned by the census to urban areas.

The rate of increase of the urban portions of continental United States during the 1920-30 interval was 26.9 per cent, comparing with 28.8 per cent for the preceding decade, and 38.8 per cent for the decade ending 1910.

¹ The material entering into this article has been gathered with the assistance of Miss Ida M. Cheplowitz, of the Reference Staff of Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, New York.

² Unless otherwise noted, statistics entering into this portion of the discussion are taken from the *Fifteenth Census of the United States* (1930), Vol. I, *Population*, "Number and Distribution of Inhabitants," pp. 7-46, inclusive.

Because of the insistence on the part of the census authorities to classify, as urban, areas with as few as 2,500 inhabitants, the gross population figures for urban communities are not so significant as those for larger agglomerations of 100,000 or more. In the year 1930, there were in the United States 93 such communities, having a total population of 36,325,736. In 1920 there were 68 cities of 100,000 or more, numbering 27,429,326; while as recently as 1890 there were only 28, with a total population of 9,697,960. The percentage of increase for this group was 32.4, as compared with 24.9 in 1910-20. This increased rate of growth for very large cities, as contrasted with the decreased rate of growth for cities in general, is of considerable interest, suggesting, as it does, that the urbanward trend is directed toward cities of metropolitan proportions rather than those of moderate size.

The decade just closed has witnessed a significant development in connection with population change within the largest cities of the country and their adjacent metropolitan areas.³ In the 93 metropolitan areas having cities of 100,000 or more analyzed by the Census Bureau, 30.6 per cent were found to be residing outside the city limits.⁴ This extra-urban growth has been marked by a rapid increase of certain suburban areas, together with a very small rate of increase, or even a positive decrease, in the "down-town areas" of many cities. Thus, the borough of Manhattan in New York City decreased from 2,284,103 to 1,867,312, or 18 per cent, between 1920 and 1930; whereas the semi-suburban borough of Queens, Long Island, increased from 469,042 to 1,079,129, or 130 per cent.⁵ The village of Bronxville in the outskirts of the New York area expanded from 579 in 1900 to 3,055 in 1920 and 6,387 in 1930.⁶ Similarly, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, increased only 7 per cent in the decade 1920-30 (1,823,779 in 1920; 1,950,961 in 1930), whereas Camden County, New Jersey, which is directly across the Delaware

³ The Census Bureau classification of a metropolitan area is those areas surrounding the city proper, having a population density of not less than 150 per square mile.

⁴ *New York Times*, October 11, 1931, Sec. I, p. 21.

⁵ Niles Carpenter, *Sociology of City Life* (New York, 1931), p. 134, quoting *Fifteenth United States Census*.

⁶ *New York Times*, September 6, 1931, Sec. XI, p. 2.

River from Philadelphia, increased by 32.4 per cent in the same period (190,508 in 1920; 252,312 in 1930).⁷

A minor feature of the census enumeration, which is of considerable interest for the sociologist, is the fact that for the first time the urban population of this country showed an excess of females over males. The ratio of males to females for urban areas was 98.1 males to 100 females, as contrasted with the ratio of 108.3 males per 100 females in rural areas.⁸ In 1920 there was a slight excess of males over females in urban areas, although this excess was much greater in the rural than urban areas. This excess of females over males in urban areas marks the beginning of the end of the distorting effect on urban population composition of large-scale immigration from overseas,⁹ and the falling into line of American cities in this respect with urban populations in general.

2. THE EMERGENCE OF CERTAIN SOCIOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The two-year period ending December 31, 1931, was marked by a number of events which, while disparate in significance from most points of view, nevertheless possess one common feature when considered sociologically. They are all symptomatic of the emergence into popular notice of a number of tendencies which have for many years been in the background of overt political action.

A. *Urban-rural tension.*—Conflict and jealousy between urban and rural communities is a chronic occurrence in any urbanized society. The 1930-31 period served to throw this antagonism into high relief in that it forced the Congress of the United States and the legislatures of the several states to consider the question of reapportionment. Inasmuch as such reapportionment would have to take cognizance of the shift of population from country to city, and therefore automatically swing the balance of power away from rural toward urban communities, the question of reapportionment has shaped itself into a more or less straight-out fight for political control between rural and urban areas.

⁷ *Fifteenth United States Census* (1930), Vol. I, *Population*, "Number and Distribution of Inhabitants," pp. 713 and 932.

⁸ *New York Times*, October 20, 1931, p. 15.

⁹ Among the foreign-born white in cities there was still a ratio of 111.0 males to 100 females.

In February, 1931, the Congress of the United States passed an "automatic reapportionment" bill marking the end of a deadlock which had extended over more than a decade. Despite the express constitutional provision for reapportionment following the decennial census enumerations, no reapportionment had been made after the 1920 census. This failure to reapportion was the first to occur in 130 years of the republic's history.¹⁰ Although a major animating factor was the quite human unwillingness of certain Congressmen to deprive themselves of the prospect of re-election by voting for a reapportionment bill which would reduce the representation of a number of states, congressional debates and newspaper comment indicated that there was also an unwillingness on the part of rural constituencies to give over their traditional balance of power in favor of the urban communities which, since the year 1920, have enjoyed a numerical superiority in the population of the United States.

Even more clear cut has been the urban-rural conflict as epitomized in reapportionment struggles in several of the individual states, many of which have not to date (February, 1932) reapportioned federal or state representation for either the 1930 or 1920 enumerations. In certain states, such as Illinois and New York, great metropolitan areas are suffering from real minority domination on the part of the rural neighbors. The import of such minority domination to city life became obvious during the closing days of the year 1930-31, when the rurally dominated legislature of the state of Illinois adjourned without passing financial legislation designed to save the city of Chicago from the bankruptcy into which it appeared to be drifting.¹¹

B. *The narrowing margin of income over expenditure in the financing of public services.*—The foregoing reference to the financial situation in Chicago calls attention to the approach to insolvency of a number of cities including two of the three greatest cities in the

¹⁰ *Science*, Vol. LXV (1920), 581; *New York Times*, February 28, 1931, p. 6, col. 8.

¹¹ *New York Times*, December 27, 1931, Sec. III, Part 5, col. 5. The state of Illinois has had no general reapportionment since 1901. That is to say, three census periods have gone by without any change in representation. Late in 1931, however, some slight adjustment was made by assigning the two congressional representatives of the state at large to the city of Chicago (*Literary Digest*, July 11, 1925, p. 14; *New York Times*, November 10, 1931, p. 19).

United States. For a number of years the city of Chicago has been approaching financial disaster, and in the closing weeks of 1931 it seemed about to tumble over the brink. City employees were far in arrears on their salaries or were being paid in scrip; some of the city's bonds were in default; and the city administration was being forced to consider such desperate measures as the giving of compulsory vacations of one and one-half months to city employees and the peddling of tax-anticipation warrants among its citizens.¹²

At the close of the year 1931, Philadelphia found itself in similar, though by no means so desperate, straits. In November the city had to borrow to meet its pay-roll obligations. Three weeks later city employees remained unpaid following the inability of the city to raise money by a further loan, and payment by scrip had to be resorted to.¹³

While in every instance specific causes are alleged for the financial plight of these and other cities—such as political corruption, faulty tax administration, and the shrinkage of revenue due to the business depression—nevertheless, these circumstances serve at least to call attention to the enormous expense involved in securing the goods and services necessary to administer the modern city, and they serve further to raise the question of whether, even with as good administration as is humanly possible under local self-government, the great cities of this and other countries may not have reached a point beyond which further expansion is of dubious economic expediency.

C. *The percolation of criminal and semicriminal activities into all ranges of city life.*—Fully as attention-compelling as the financial distress of certain great cities has been the political corruption and the rising tide of crime and "racketeering" that have appeared in their midst.

In Chicago a wave of reform amounting to a political revolution has proved itself only partially able to cope with the congeries of corruption and violence that have been responsible for scores of kidnappings, assaults, and murders. In fact, only by calling in the federal government to prosecute its "public enemies" for offenses only indirectly related to their criminal activities (bootlegging, in-

¹² *New York Times*, December 4, 1931, p. 15, col. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1931, p. 1, col. 5; *ibid.*, December 17, 1931, p. 13, col. 1.

come-tax violation, and illegal presence of immigrant aliens) has the city been able to cope with them.¹⁴

In New York City developments have been less sensational. Beginning with a magistrate's court inquiry early in 1931, the investigation has broadened into a legislative inquisition into every phase of the administration of New York City.¹⁵ Particularly noteworthy have been the revelations to the effect that exorbitant lawyers' "fees" have been paid as a matter of course by a transatlantic steamship corporation as a means of facilitating the lease of a city-owned pier and by a large-scale real estate operator as an aid in securing the approval of deviations from municipal building and zoning codes.

Here again, the surface explanations for such governmental breakdown in these and other cities is "politics" and corruption. Of deeper significance, however, is the evidence which such events furnish of the extreme difficulty that the modern urban community is experiencing in securing even tolerably effective self-government, of the extremes of arbitrary authority which such complicated administration and political mechanisms as modern cities must, of necessity, intrust to their officials; and also of the reaching-out of criminal and semicriminal activity into fields that have traditionally been within the domain of legitimate business enterprise.

3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PHYSICAL SETTING OF CITY LIFE, THROUGH PLANNING, ZONING, HOUSING PROGRAMS, AND SLUM CLEARANCE

During the biennium 1930-31, zoning and housing legislation has proceeded apace. In June, 1931, the federal Secretary of Commerce reported that there are forty-seven states besides the District of Columbia which had authority to pass zoning legislation.¹⁶ Zoning ordinances were reported to have been in operation in 1,000 municipalities in the country, including 9 counties and 47 townships, and 82 of the 93 cities of the country having a population in excess of 100,000.

The 1930-31 biennium witnessed an addition to the number of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, October 18, 1931, p. 1, col. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1931.

¹⁶ *Nineteenth Annual Report of Secretary of Commerce* (for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931), pp. xxvi-xxvii.

housing projects sponsored by philanthropic and semi-philanthropic agencies. In 1931 the Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh commenced construction of a housing unit designed particularly for "white-collar" workers of moderate means. The first unit will contain 128 houses. The completed project will provide for 300 dwellings. The Buhl Foundation hopes to secure a net return of about 5 per cent on its investment.¹⁷

The year 1931 also witnessed the appearance of the concluding volume of the most exhaustive study of urban growth and city and regional planning that has yet appeared in this country, namely, *The Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs*, financed by the Russell-Sage Foundation.

In the closing days of the year 1931 there was held in Washington a Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership under the chairmanship of the president of the United States. Its thirty committees, including outstanding authorities in the fields of housing and city-planning, conducted researches, and drafted reports in advance of this conference; and more than 4,000 individuals attended it.¹⁸

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC TECHNIQUES FOR ANALYZING AND GUIDING SOCIAL TRENDS IN CITY LIFE

Late in 1931 the call was issued for another conference of significance to the student of urban sociology, namely, the Fifth Congress of the Union Internationale des Villes to be held in London in May, 1932.¹⁹

During the two years 1930-31 university departments of sociology and the American Sociological Society have evinced a growing interest in the city. Examination of the catalogues of 41 colleges and universities for the years 1930-31 show that one or more courses in urban sociology was offered in 19 of these institutions.

¹⁷ C. F. Lewis, "A Moderate Rental Housing Project in Pittsburgh," *Architectural Record*, Vol. LXX, No. 4 (October, 1931).

¹⁸ Copies of the preliminary reports may be obtained by writing to the secretary of the president's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, New Commerce Building, Washington, D.C. Revised reports and their accompanying appendixes are now in process of publication.

¹⁹ The head of the American delegation will be Dr. S. Gulick, 261 Broadway, New York City.

RURAL LIFE

BRUCE L. MELVIN

Research Secretary, Committee on Farm and Village Housing, President's
Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership

ABSTRACT

The trends in rural population shifting for the decade 1920-30 became known through the publications of the Census Bureau during the year, and two significant facts were that rural non-farm population increased greatly within the decade, and migration from the cities to the country became larger than the reverse movement within the year previous to the taking of the census. During the year 1931, prices for farm products declined to exceedingly low levels. In turn, lacking money to spend, the farm people resorted to their own initiative in community activities and family life. Such self-reliance in community and family affairs indicates a psychological change on the part of rural people in that they have turned to rural life for their satisfactions rather than continued dependence on the cities. Two events that indicate trends respecting rural life were discussions on rural government at the meeting of the American Country Life Association and the work of the Committee on Farm and Village Housing of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership.¹

A treatise on social change in rural life for one year, though necessarily limited in measurable data, can indicate noticeable trends and designate information that has come to light within the year, and can record events that have transpired. This paper attempts to follow these lines. Emphasis is placed upon social rather than sociological changes, and only a few sociological interpretations are made.

Population.—Figures on population for 1930 were published by the Federal Census Bureau during the year from which the significant population changes for the previous decade could be deducted. The total population of the United States increased 16.1 per cent from 1920 to 1930. Of the total 122,775,046 population, 56.2 per cent was urban and 43.8 per cent rural, in contrast to 51.4 per cent and 48.6 per cent, respectively, in 1920. The urban population increased for the decade ending in 1930, 27 per cent; for 1920 the increase for the previous decade had been 28.8. In contrast to these trends, the rural population increased 4.7 per cent from 1920 to 1930 and only 3.2 per cent from 1910 to 1920.

The rural population is composed of two groups—farm and non-

¹ In writing this article, the author acknowledges obligation for significant facts given, both written and verbally, by many members of the United States Department of Agriculture.

farm. According to the last census, 56 per cent of the total rural population was farm population and 44 per cent non-farm population. The farm population declined by over 1,200,000 during the decade, while the non-farm rural population increased over 3,600,000.

All evidence indicates that the movement from urban centers to the farm continued during the year 1931 as in 1930. Abandoned farmhouses in many sections were reoccupied during the year. In some sections of the South, families have moved into such homes without the knowledge or consent of the owners. In addition to that fact, in many cases, they are now (January, 1932) trying to secure a mule and a plow to cultivate a small plot of land for food.

Economics.—Prices for farm land and farm products steadily declined during the year of 1931. Using the average price for farm products for the years from August, 1909, to July, 1914, as an index, during 1931 butter and poultry products alone remained above the index. Using the average for the period mentioned as 100, the relative prices received by farmers for a number of farm products for December, 1931, were: cotton, 44; corn, 54; oats, 58; wheat, 50; potatoes, 66; hogs, 52; cattle, 84; lambs, 51; sheep, 55; eggs, 119; butter, 114; wool, 72; horses, 39; and chickens, 122. On the other hand, the relative prices of goods the farmers bought remained relatively high. Taking 100 as the index for the average prices, 1910-14, paid by farmers, and comparing their purchase prices, the relative cost for December was as follows: food, 116; clothing, 146; furniture and furnishings, 173; building materials for house, 154; feed, 91; machinery, 153; fertilizer, 121; building materials other than for the house, 143; equipment and supplies, 109; and seed, 176. The indices may the better be interpreted if a few specific prices for farm products for the United States as of December 15 are quoted. These are as follows: wheat, 44.1 cents per bushel; corn, 34.5 cents per bushel; cotton, 5.5 cents per pound; hogs, \$3.76 per hundred-weight; and beef and cattle, \$4.38 per hundredweight.² There were certain dates upon which these prices may have been somewhat lower, but to anyone familiar with the price levels of 1930 the great change that has occurred can easily be realized.

² U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates: *Farm Prices. Average Prices on Farm Products Received by Producers, December 15, 1931, with Comparisons.*

Groups.—Data cannot be fully secured to show the many changes in schools, school attendance, churches and church attendance, and other groups. It seems that the consolidation of rural schools has largely ceased excepting in special cases. With the rural churches, the coming of good roads, automobiles, and the population movements of the past decades have tended toward rural church disintegration, particularly respecting the strongly sectarian church, leaving many localities without organized religious influence. If the writer may make a guess, it seems altogether likely that a condition of this kind presages a revival of some strong religious movement in rural America within the next few years.

Rural localities turned to their own resources for social and recreational life during 1931. The lack of money made it impossible for the farm population to continue to patronize urban commercialized activities as previously, with the result that they have resorted to their own efforts for amusement and social life. The home-talent play and the neighborhood visiting have increasingly come into vogue. The increased dramatic interest has been accompanied by greater interest in music. In the Middle West many choruses and orchestras were formed and plays presented with the definite objective of offsetting the depression complex.

One manifestation of a movement toward specific community organization (though financed from within the community) is the planning of the Hartland Area Project in Livingston County, Michigan. This project seems to have taken definite form during the year, though it was under way for some time previous, and is continuing. However, "thirty-one tentative activities have been outlined, four major ones, besides the original broad school curriculum, are functioning at the present time—the ministry of music, better health, helping teacher service, and character and leadership councils."³

The community cannery has come into prominence in some sections. A room was set apart in a number of Tennessee rural high schools and used by the women for canning. Assistance was given by the home demonstration agents in co-operation with the school. The expenses of room upkeep are paid for by the toll system of one quart out of a certain number canned. By using the foods thus ac-

³ Ila A. Leonard, "Hartland Plans Ideal Rural Community," *Michigan Farmer*, October 31, 1931.

quired by the school, fruit and vegetables have been furnished for school lunches.

Activities.—Rural people have apparently taken a stoical attitude toward the economic depression and, instead of manifesting strong displeasure with conditions as they are, have decided to meet them by resorting to their own resources. For example, the Texas farmers increased their garden products 45 per cent for 1931 over 1930, trebled their canning, and, whereas few farmers formerly grew their own meat, approximately 75 per cent came to do so during the year. In other states similar efforts have been expended. What has been accomplished is well shown by a few facts gleaned from the reports of home demonstration agents. The rural women of Arkansas canned 40,000,000 quarts of fruits and vegetables, and marketed \$1,114,802.00 worth of garden, poultry, and dairy products, which constituted the surplus above their own family needs. In the same state 37,323 families utilized sugar, flour, and feed sacks to make 299,733 articles of clothing. In the states of Montana and Utah homemade soap, hand lotions, and furniture polish are coming into use. Women are carding the wool and making comforters, comforter bats, rugs, blankets, and sweaters.

The situation that has evolved during 1931 is shown by the home demonstration slogan adopted in California for 1932, which is, "Keeping up appearances." "This applies to the yard, the outside of the house, the interior, better food preservation, better table service, more care of clothing, and personal appearance." Quoting further from the same source:

At a state conference in Ohio, October 21 to 23, the discussion of general economics took about one-third of the time. One particular thing, however, commented on by a great many of the county agents, was the optimism on the part of the older people—the belief that everything will come back to normal in due time. In the meantime they are economizing just as they did back in 1893 to 1900. These older people did a great deal to create a spirit of optimism among the younger farmers.⁴

The men on the farm seemed to have come to a realization, as never before, that dollars are not an adequate measurement of successful rural life; and they, as well as the women, have increasingly become interested in music, recreation, landscape-planning and

⁴ *Current Extension Information.* Reported by members of the Staff of the Office of Co-operative Extension Work, U.S. Department of Agriculture, November, 1931.

planting, and in making the home more comfortable and satisfying. During the year minor repairs about the houses and yards, the addition of inexpensive shrubs and plants, and the making of flower boxes were especially noticeable in some sections.

One is led, in considering social change, to raise a question. Will rural life be reorganized, and an amplified and enriched rural culture emerge from the hardships of the economic depression?

Special events.—The annual meeting of the American Country Life Association, held at Cornell University in August, holds a valuable suggestion concerning social change. The subject around which the discussion revolved was rural government. Such a program denotes an interest in a vital problem prevalent in rural life. It connotes a realization that county government is antiquated, being part of our social heritage from the pioneer days. Various signs have arisen pointing to improvements in rural government—the agitation for such is becoming increasingly widespread.⁵

A second event of special importance to rural life was the holding of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, of which one of the largest committees was the Committee on Farm and Village Housing. A primary idea motivating the Conference was to bring the techniques of science that have been in operation in many fields to bear upon housing. The work of the Committee on Farm and Village Housing was to analyze the problems of rural housing and to direct and stimulate effort toward the solution of the problems. It may be that this special work has come at a most appropriate time to aid rural people to put new values on the house as a place for living.

Conclusion.—To designate exact changes that occurred in rural life during 1931 is quite difficult, and the author feels that statements on the subject are inevitably unconvincing. Also, the foregoing discussion has implied that the changes are psychic as well as social. Psychological changes on the part of many individuals can find expression in group organizations only with the passage of time. It is, then, into the next few years that we must look to see the results of the more significant changes, the psychological, that occurred in 1931.

⁵ Howard P. Jones, "Rural Municipalities of Tomorrow," *Survey Graphic*, October, 1931.

THE FAMILY¹

ERNEST R. GROVES
University of North Carolina

ABSTRACT

The most important influence in American life during 1931 has been the depression. It has revealed the strength of the family, multiplied its problems, and led to readjustment. The educational activities related to marriage and family interests have continued to increase. The most important development has been in the field of home economics in public schools and colleges. In religious circles divorce, birth control, and education for marriage and parenthood have received most interest and discussion.

DEPRESSION

The most significant event in the history of the family during the last year has been, of course, the prevailing depression. Attention was called to the growing unemployment and the increasing need of family relief in the report two years ago. It is interesting to note that the present economic disturbance was foreshadowed by the experience of family welfare societies before its coming was generally detected. It was a major family problem in 1930, but during the last year its significance has been so great as to push everything else pertaining to the family far into the background. The recorded expenditures for direct family relief in sixty-six large cities of the United States for the first nine months of 1931 show an increase of 127 per cent in the money given. This direct relief to families does not include all the expenditures to assist the unemployed, but it does suggest the economic burden under which the American family during the last year has been staggering.

From all quarters comes the common verdict that the family has shown a vitality in meeting its crisis certainly not exceeded by government, federal and state, by industry, commerce, or church.

The following are the chief effects of the depression on family life. Families in trouble have been assisted by their relatives and have been taken into the more fortunate families. This grouping of families has not only led to overcrowding and the lowering of standards but also, in the case of those recently married, has caused the break-

¹ The author wishes to thank his correspondents in various sections and countries who have made this composite picture of family experience possible.

ing-down of marriages which under normal circumstances prophesied success. Many people have lost homes bought on some form of instalment payment. Pressure has come to some couples without children to break up their homes, each to return to the house of his or her parents because, on account of the economic need of families with children, there has been reluctance to help childless couples. There has been during the year a temporary emphasis of the economic functions and productive activities of the family which for some years past have had a decreasing importance, not only in the rural sections where the "live-at-home" program has had influence, but also in the village and city family where a new interest in careful purchasing, inexpensive dieting, canning, dressmaking, and the like, reveal the housewife's effort to do her part in meeting the present emergency. There appears to be a lessening of tension between parents and youth on account of the greater stability and seriousness of the latter as well as the stronger feeling of responsibility of the former. There is a growing demand from housekeepers for more accurate information, through labels or guides, in household purchasing, that they may know what to expect in quality; and a greater appreciation of counsel that comes from such agencies as the Consumers' Research and home economics departments of state colleges and universities. The suggestive type of advertising has had less power to affect sales.

In addition to other adverse influences, family worry and family crowding have increased the difficulties of psychopathic personalities. Because of household congestion and economic stress, mentally ill individuals that formerly would have been cared for at home or sent to private institutions have been turned over to public hospitals already overcrowded.

The depression has stimulated the demand for efficient, legally authorized birth-control information. Unquestionably, by discouraging motherhood on the part of some, it is tending to lower the birth-rate not only temporarily but for some time to come. There is a belief, among those close to the problem, that the unemployment of young women has added to the menace of prostitution by giving it an added economic motive. As to the extent to which young women have responded to this, we are at present statistically uncer-

tain. In this connection it must also be remembered that the curtailment of income of some men has meant a lesser expenditure in vice. An example of this is the decreased vogue of the night club of the large cities.

EDUCATION

The family record of the past year, from the point of view of educational standing, is an impressive one in spite of the economic depression. Interest in the conservation of marriage, the training of children, and education for family life have continued and along some lines increased. Some of the events of interest to students and friends of the family are the following: The influence of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection has spread during the year. This has been shown by the continuing conferences held in various states and the circulation of the reports of the committees whose findings have been published. One of the most influential of these has been the report on the *Child and the Home*. An Institute for Family Guidance, emphasizing educational preparation, has been started under the direction of Dr. Meyer Nimkoff at Louisburg, Pennsylvania. The Institute of Family Relations, under the direction of Dr. Paul Popenoe, Los Angeles, has enlarged its service by greater emphasis on its educational activities. The nature of the problems presented by its first two thousand clients is revealed by Table I. A ten days' course in education for parenthood and marriage was carried on at Pullman, Washington, under the auspices of the Washington Congress of Parents and Teachers. A series of lectures on marriage, open to men and women between the ages of eighteen and thirty, was organized for the young people of Cincinnati by one of the churches of that city and was largely attended. A series of conferences held at cities on the Pacific Coast, by representatives of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, emphasized family and marriage problems.

There has been no lessening of the emphasis upon social hygiene. The variety and spread of such work appears in the recent report of Dr. Exner on *Sex Education in the Colleges*. In spite of necessary reorganization of the Family Relations Section of the American Social Hygiene Association, on account of the death of Mrs. Spencer, its program has continued and increased. Family matters from the world point of view were emphasized at the International Home

and School Conference at Denver. Everywhere there is evidence of a disposition to consider the problems of the family as products of our modern social situation.

There is evidence also of the trend toward better organization of the educational forces relating to the family. At Boston a Parents' Council has been formed to co-ordinate the activities already in process.

Possibly the most important educational development is appearing in public-school education, especially in departments of home economics. Under the direction of federal and other national leaders, teachers of home economics have been stressing the interests of the family, and especially the housekeeping contributions of the home

TABLE I

Education.....	796
Family maladjustment.....	394
Child welfare.....	269
Miscellaneous.....	194
Pre-marital.....	145
Sex.....	141
Heredity.....	66
Legal.....	15
Total.....	2,000

in the present economic emergency. Valuable work along this line has been stimulated by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. One of its undertakings has been an analysis of courses relating to the family and its improvement among schools for Negroes, Spanish-Americans, and other foreign-born groups. Another extremely important contribution under the leadership of this board has been the introduction of courses on the family in teacher-training institutions. The Board has also encouraged the adding of an individual responsible for parent education on state vocational staffs.

It is interesting that courses for boys in home economics in the high schools and for young men in the colleges are increasing and are meeting with favorable response. The idea of family counseling is most certainly growing. It bids fair to become a recognized professional service. At present it forms a considerable part of the work of certain psychiatrists, but it is not exclusively confined to their profession. Already there is evidence that the charlatan and pseudo-

scientist have discovered the virgin field of this idea of giving advice to those vexed by family and marriage problems, and there is the greatest need of popularizing the dangers of irresponsible counselors in the field of marriage and the family.

Of no small value is the growing recognition, on the part of those who consider marriage problems seriously, that youth's present accidental methods of forming social contacts before marriage, especially in the cities, is ineffectual as a mating policy. We are still maintaining the program for the getting acquainted of young men and women which grew up in the rural and village communities and which only in a similar social environment is at present satisfactory. One of the methods of lessening the hazards of unwise mating and the danger among some of not marrying is the organizing of more conscious and selective opportunities for the meeting of like-minded unmarried men and women.

MEETINGS

In addition to the meetings and conferences already referred to, the following need to be recorded in the history of the family for 1931: The Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, brought about by the leadership of President Hoover. Its reports are stimulating interest in one of the lines of family welfare sadly neglected in this country. At the conference of the American Home Economics Association at Detroit special emphasis was given to education for family life, and a new division was formed to be concerned with the family and its relations. This same interest in the family and its problems appeared in other educational organizations which met at the same time in Detroit and at other times and places throughout the year. In 1931 the First National Conference on College Hygiene was held in which sex education for marriage received attention. Another important meeting during the year was a special conference of the National Council of Parent Education, which was held at Detroit preceding the meeting of the American Home Economics Association.

INTEREST OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

There has been a marked interest in the problems of marriage and the family on the part of church organizations, and relatively even more so among individual pastors and priests. It appears that

at least twelve theological seminaries are at present giving definite courses on the family. One of the major events during the year, 1931 was the amending of Canon 43 of the solemnization of holy matrimony by the general conference of the Protestant Episcopal church at Denver. Section 6 provides for the declaring of a marriage already annulled or dissolved by civil court null and void by the church under certain conditions. In the report of the special commission on marriage, divorce, and remarriage, adopted by the general assembly of the Presbyterian church, special emphasis is given to a program for the education for marriage and for parenthood. A statement on the moral aspects of birth control issued during the year by the Committee on Marriage and the Home, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, received attention throughout the world. This report, given last year, attempting to define the moral status of birth control, included a majority and minority statement.

There has been marked increase of interest in education for family life among American Roman Catholics. Dr. Edgar Schmiedeler has, during the year, become director of the Family Life Section of the Social Acts Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. He has also provided text material for Roman Catholic instructors of college classes and large groups. Family problems and education for family life appeared on the program of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Catholic Rural Life Conference, and the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems. The National Council of Catholic Women during the year has taken a notable interest in parenthood education.

LEGISLATION

There has been a great deal of legislation passed during the last year which has indirect relation to the family. These laws have to do with the juvenile court, delinquent and dependent children, child-placing and child-caring agencies, recreation, unemployment, and the like. Doubtless these will receive attention in the section of this volume to which they are definitely related. The interests of the family are so wide that if all the legislation that concerned it indirectly were reported, it would include a great part of both federal and state laws. Arkansas liberalized her divorce law, shortening the period of required residence to five months. Nevada made divorce

easier, and the residence requirement six weeks. A five-day period between notice of marriage and the issuance of license, subject to a judge's discretion under certain conditions, was legislated in Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wyoming. California authorized the court in divorce proceedings to decide the custody of the child according to his best interest. Maryland enacted a provision that agreements respecting property rights between husband and wife should not be a bar to divorce. Maryland, Texas, Wyoming, Minnesota, North Carolina, California, Idaho and Massachusetts passed or modified non-support and desertion legislation, generally strengthening the law.

MISCELLANEOUS

There is a growing interest in the family-wage idea. It is the belief of some experienced observers that there has been a marked increase in sale of pornographic material during the year, also that there is in cities a tendency to divert week-end taxicab parties to small neighboring communities in the interest of local prostitution and speak-easies. There is belief also, which the author shares, that homosexual practices are increasing among men and growing toward a major vice.

The most arresting report from Europe comes from Germany. The divorce statistics for 1930 have only now been made public. They show a steady increase of divorces, with a total of 40,622 in the whole Reich, or 700 more than in 1929 and 2,800 more than in 1928—the latter figure an increase of 10 per cent. Marriages that had lasted ten years or more made up the lion's share of the 1930 figures, and those of fifteen years' duration and more increased over 10 per cent above the 1929 figures. The year 1931 was marked by a determined effort of the Socialist and Communist members of the penal committee of the Reichstag to report favorably a provision placing concubinage on the same footing as marriage. The proposal was defeated only by 14 to 12 votes, the supporters of marriage being the members of the National Socialist (Hitler), German National, Landvolk (agrarian), and German People's parties.

The author regrets the necessity of recording the death of Anna E. Richardson, of Washington, leader in the field of home economics, who made a country-wide contribution to parenthood education.

THE CHILD

GRACE ABBOTT

Chief, United States Children's Bureau, Washington

ABSTRACT

Census figures for 1930 made public in 1931 indicated a stationary birth-rate, and a decreased infant mortality rate, but reports from various sources gathered in 1931 seemed to indicate that the depression was beginning to show on the physical condition of children and that a considerable increase in malnutrition in school children was becoming evident. The largest number of child-welfare measures in recent years was introduced in the 44 state legislatures which met in 1931, but the economic and financial policy resulted in tabling many measures entailing increased expenditures. "Back to School" and "Stay in School" campaigns were organized during the year to keep children from leaving school for work and train them for increased usefulness.

VITAL STATISTICS

The latest figures of the United States Bureau of the Census are for 1930. The birth-rate for 1930 was 18.9. Table I shows the trend for 1921-30. The infant mortality rate, for 1930 was 64, lowest since establishment of the birth-registration area.

TABLE I

BIRTH-RATE FOR EXPANDING REGISTRATION AREA OF THE
UNITED STATES, 1921-30

Year	Births per 1,000 Population	Year	Births per 1,000 Population
1921.....	24.2	1926.....	20.7
1922.....	22.3	1927.....	20.6
1923.....	22.2	1928.....	19.8
1924.....	22.4	1929.....	18.9
1925.....	21.5	1930.....	18.9

Figures for 1930 are not available in regard to causes of infant deaths. Table II shows the trend of infant mortality for different causes from 1921 to 1929 in states in the registration area during that period. The greatest decline is in deaths from gastro-intestinal diseases, presumably due to promotion of better methods and knowledge of infant feeding.

Maternal mortality has not declined at the same rate as infant mortality. The maternal death-rate for 1930 is not yet known. The rate for 1929 was 70 per 10,000 live births. In states in the area

from 1921 to 1929 rates declined from 67.3 to 63.7. Table III shows the trend in maternal mortality from different causes.

OFFICIAL STUDIES OF MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH

Studies of maternal and child health made by the Federal Children's Bureau neared completion in 1931. Some preliminary findings were made available. The study of maternal mortality in 15

TABLE II*

INFANT MORTALITY RATES (DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS),
BY SPECIFIED GROUPS OF CAUSES, IN THE UNITED STATES BIRTH-REGISTRATION
AREA OF 1921,† EXCLUSIVE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1921-29

Cause of Death	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
All causes.....	75.0	75.7	76.2	70.3	71.8	73.6	64.0	67.0	65.7
Natal and prenatal causes‡.....	36.0	35.9	35.6	35.0	34.9	34.9	33.5	33.9	33.5
Gastro-intestinal diseases§.....	14.8	12.6	12.3	10.0	11.9	10.2	8.0	7.9	7.4
Respiratory diseases**.....	10.3	13.7	13.8	11.9	12.2	14.3	10.3	12.9	12.8
Epidemic and communicable diseases††.....	4.6	4.0	5.4	4.4	3.7	5.0	3.5	3.6	3.5
External causes.....	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.9
All other causes‡‡.....	8.3	5.9	5.8	5.7	5.9	5.7	5.3	5.4	5.3
Unknown or ill-defined diseases.....	....	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4

* Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

† Including California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia. These are the states that were in the birth-registration area every year from 1921 to 1929.

‡ Includes premature birth, congenital debility, injuries at birth, other diseases of early infancy, congenital malformations, syphilis, tetanus.

§ Includes diseases of stomach, diarrhea and enteritis, dysentery.

** Includes bronchitis, bronchopneumonia, pneumonia, influenza.

†† Includes measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, diphtheria, erysipelas, meningococcus meningitis, tuberculosis of the respiratory system, tuberculosis of meninges, other forms of tuberculosis.

‡‡ Includes convulsions and other causes of death.

states, covering 7,537 deaths, furnished corroborative evidence of the known fact that deaths from puerperal albuminuria and convulsions may be reduced by good prenatal care.

A study of neonatal mortality and morbidity undertaken by the Children's Bureau in co-operation with the pediatrics department of the Yale University School of Medicine and the New Haven Hospital continued during the past year, with analysis of records of 1,001 births and follow-up examinations of as many infants as could be found. The figures of this study bear out the generally recognized fact that prematurity is the largest single cause of neonatal deaths.

MATERNITY AND INFANCY LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS

Efforts to secure renewal of legislation providing for federal and state co-operation in the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy were continued. The original Sheppard-Towner Act expired in June, 1929, and several bills were introduced in the Seventy-first Congress to renew federal and state co-operation. The Senate bill (S. 255), after being amended, passed the Senate January 10, 1931, by a vote of 56 to 10. The House substituted for the Senate bill H.R. 12995 which, with amendments, passed the

TABLE III*

MATERNAL MORTALITY RATES (DEATHS FROM PUERPERAL CAUSES PER 10,000 LIVE BIRTHS), BY CAUSE OF DEATH, IN THE UNITED STATES BIRTH-REGISTRATION AREA AS OF 1921,† EXCLUSIVE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1921-29

Cause of Death	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
All causes.....	67.3	65.4	65.8	64.0	64.3	64.6	62.3	64.2	63.7
Accidents of pregnancy.....	5.7	6.5	6.8	6.0	5.9	7.0	5.9	6.9	6.6
Puerperal hemorrhage.....	7.2	6.5	6.6	6.6	6.6	7.0	6.9	7.0	7.2
Other accidents of labor.....	6.7	7.6	7.6	6.7	7.1	7.5	7.0	7.8	6.7
Puerperal septicemia.....	27.1	23.6	25.0	24.0	24.2	23.6	24.1	23.5	24.4
Puerperal albuminuria and convulsions.....	17.4	17.8	16.1	17.0	17.1	16.2	15.1	15.8	15.0
All other causes.....	3.2	3.4	3.6	3.8	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.2

* Source: United States Bureau of the Census.

† Including California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia. These are all the states that were in the birth-registration area every year from 1921 to 1929.

House on February 27, reaching the Senate in the closing days of the session. The conference report on this bill was before the Senate as privileged business when Congress adjourned. There was, thus, in both houses a substantial majority in favor of these bills. Early after the convening of the Seventy-second Congress, similar bills were favorably reported in both House and Senate (H.R. 7525 and S. 572).

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Sensational statements are made regarding juvenile delinquency in this country. Until recently no official statistics were available. Since 1927, however, the Children's Bureau has secured the co-operation of an increasing number of juvenile courts for uniform

reporting of delinquency statistics. While the annual reports point out that the delinquency which comes to the attention of the courts may be only a small amount of the total in any community, and may not be a reliable index of the actual delinquency situation, they have, nevertheless, provided information fairly representative for the United States regarding the nature of the problems dealt with by the juvenile courts, the sex, ages, and social characteristics of the children, and the types of treatment.

Cases of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children constitute the largest group in courts of each age jurisdiction under eighteen years. Offenses of boys and girls differ. Stealing or attempted stealing, and acts of carelessness or mischief, predominate in boys' cases, whereas running away, ungovernable or beyond parental control, and sex offense predominate in girls' cases. Table IV shows juvenile delinquency rates, in certain localities from which comparable reports have been obtained by the Children's Bureau for a four-year period.

A serious delinquency problem is presented by juveniles violating federal laws. The Attorney General has requested the assistance of the Children's Bureau in developing plans for state and federal cooperation in dealing with these young people. The Department of Justice and the Children's Bureau have assigned personnel to work on this problem.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND CHILD WELFARE

The experience of past periods of depression indicates that children suffer permanent losses as a result of industrial depression. Evidence is at hand that 1931 will be no exception. Reports from many parts of the country where local relief has been inadequate during the winter of 1930 tell of the suffering of children. According to reports of a nation-wide survey among public health nursing agencies received by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, "two years of financial depression and unemployment have taken their toll in undernourishment of children and young mothers." At a health center in New York City where the percentage of undernourished children has been carefully determined for three years, malnutrition was found to have increased from 18 to 60 per cent since 1928. In Pennsylvania, fairly complete data of fall school inspection among children indicated a state-wide increase of mal-

TABLE IV

TOTAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO THE 1930 CENSUS AND DELINQUENCY RATE FOR BOYS AND GIRLS PER 1,000 ESTIMATED POPULATION OF JUVENILE-COURT AGE* OF THE SAME SEX AND COLOR FOR 1930 AND THE PERIOD 1927-29 FOR SPECIFIED COURTS REPORTING TO THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU EACH YEAR OF THE PERIOD 1927-30.†

COURT AND COLOR OF CHILD	TOTAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO 1930 CENSUS	DELINQUENCY RATE			
		Boys		Girls	
		1930	1927-29	1930	1927-29
Connecticut: Bridgeport.....	146,716	28	27	5	5
District of Columbia.....	486,869	41	43	6	8
White.....		23	26	2	3
Colored.....		86	87	16	17
Indiana:					
Lake County.....	261,310	10	11	7	5
Marion County.....	422,666	15	17	8	8
White.....		11	14	7	7
Colored.....		42	48	16	21
Minnesota:					
Hennepin County.....	517,785	16	17	4	4
Ramsey County.....	286,721	14	10	3	3
New Jersey:					
Hudson County.....	690,730	23	21	4	4
White.....		23	21	4	3
Colored.....		62	65	10	10
Mercer County.....	187,143	21	16	1	1
New York:					
Buffalo (city).....	573,076	18	16	2	1
Erie County (exclusive of Buffalo)...	189,332	10	10	1	1
New York City.....	6,930,446	12	11	2	2
White.....		11	10	2	2
Colored.....		38	29	9	7
Westchester County.....	520,947	10	17	2	3
White.....		9	16	2	3
Colored.....		27	44	9	15
Ohio:					
Hamilton County.....	589,356	25	22	11	†
White.....		20	18	7	†
Colored.....		68	66	38	†
Mahoning County.....	236,142	49	47	11	11
White.....		46	44	10	9
Colored.....		101	101	32	30
Pennsylvania:					
Montgomery County.....	265,804	4	2	§	†
White.....		3	2	§	†
Colored.....		19	7	3	2
Philadelphia (city).....	1,950,961	34	30	5	4
White.....		29	||	4	||
Colored.....		78	||	16	||
Virginia: Norfolk (city).....	129,710	47	47	10	11
White.....		33	34	7	7
Colored.....		75	72	14	17
Washington: Pierce County.....	163,842	8	6	2	2

* The ages of jurisdiction over delinquent children in the states in which the eighteen courts are located are as follows: under sixteen years in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania; under seventeen years in the District of Columbia; under eighteen years in Minnesota, Ohio, Virginia, and Washington; and under sixteen for boys and under eighteen for girls in Indiana.

† Includes courts serving cities or counties having 100,000 or more population in 1930 reporting each year of the period 1927-30. Color is shown for courts serving cities or counties of this size having at least 10,000, or 10 per cent, colored population.

‡ Girls not reported in 1927 and 1928.

§ Less than 1 per 1,000.

|| Color not reported in 1927 and 1928.

nutrition varying from 10 to 15 per cent over 1930. In some of the coal-mining districts studied by the Children's Bureau in 1931 it was the opinion of physicians and nurses working in the schools that the percentage of undernourishment among children in 1931 had increased.

Family relief expenditures reported to the Children's Bureau by 65 large cities in 1931 increased 327 per cent during the past three years. The amount spent was \$46,200,000 in 1931 as compared with \$22,900,000 in 1930 and \$10,800,00 in 1929. Most of this money came from public funds and did not include pensions to the aged, veterans' relief, or allowances for mothers' aid.

A survey undertaken in 1931 by the Children's Bureau on the extent of public aid to dependent children in the United States under mothers' aid, or mothers' pensions, indicated that in some counties inability to collect taxes caused a decrease in the number of families aided or in the amount of aid and even discontinuance of such relief during the year.

Past studies of unemployment and child welfare have shown the tragic paradox of children leaving school for work. The same thing is happening in this depression. In September and October of 1931, 5,549 boys and girls of fourteen and fifteen years took out first working papers in New York City alone. In Philadelphia the corresponding number for September was 1,182. "Back to School" and "Stay in School" campaigns have been undertaken to combat this situation. Census statistics of school attendance show that over 1,300,000 boys and girls of school age, seven to fifteen, inclusive, were not enrolled in any school during the year 1929-30 and that nearly 2,000,000 boys and girls of sixteen and seventeen had already severed school connections. The President's Organization on Unemployment Relief is urging that every advantage be taken of this period of industrial depression to encourage preparation for future usefulness by keeping children in school and providing adequate facilities for them.

The amount of child labor decreased in the decade 1920-30 but is still far too large. Recently published Census Bureau figures indicate that, in 1930, 1 out of every 12 children between the ages of ten and fifteen were employed in the 33 states and the District of

Columbia for which figures are available. Of boys and girls fourteen and fifteen years of age, 1 out of 7, and of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds, 1 out of 3, was employed in that year.

CHILD WELFARE LEGISLATION IN 1931

Legislative sessions were held in 44 states in 1931. Owing probably to the stimulus of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, the number of child-welfare measures proposed was much greater than in recent years; but in some states this impetus was checked by an economic and financial policy that resulted in tabling all matters entailing increased expenditures or appropriations for new items.

The proposed child-labor amendment to the federal Constitution was considered by the legislatures of eight states and ratified by Colorado. Several states passed emergency legislation to meet increasing need for public relief. Laws relating to public aid to children in their own homes were enacted in 12 states. New Mexico and Alabama, two of the four states without such laws, passed acts authorizing aid from county funds for dependent children in their own homes. Maryland and Utah revised their state juvenile court acts, and Maine enacted a law making special provision for dealing with juvenile delinquents. State child-welfare commissions were active in 1931 in 8 states, and new commissions were created by legislative act in Alaska, Connecticut, and Oregon.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP

The activities resulting from the Third White House Conference on Child Care and Protection, held in 1930, continued throughout the year. Indiana was the first of several states to have a White House follow-up conference, and in some instances plans have been made for county follow-up conferences.

WOMEN

CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE

Institute of Women's Professional Relations, Greensboro, North Carolina

ABSTRACT

During the past year attention has centered on the economic situation. In April, 1930, 4.7 per cent of the women in gainful occupations were unemployed. These women have heavy financial and family responsibilities. In the professional and semi-professional occupations, 2.5 per cent of the women were unemployed. Those in manufacturing, commerce, and transportation were most affected.

Opposition to the employment of married women has been evident.

Legislation has been on relatively minor points, and there have been few women elected or appointed to important offices.

During the past year attention has centered upon the economic situation. As far as unemployment figures are available, they indicate that the present depression has affected women more rigorously than has any previous crisis. With the increasing number in industry and with somewhat more diversified fields of employment, this was to be expected.

In April, 1930, the census of unemployment showed nearly one-twentieth (about 4.7 per cent) of the women in gainful occupations in the United States without work. Their financial responsibilities are indicated by the fact that nearly one-tenth of them were heads of families; and another one-fifth were classed as lodgers and thus, no doubt, forced to rely chiefly on their own resources.

About 10 per cent of the entire number in certain of the food and textile industries were out of work, as were over 7 per cent in clothing manufacturing, and between 4 and 5 per cent in certain iron and steel industries and in printing, publishing, and engraving.

Surveys in various cities indicate the same trends. In Baltimore a house-to-house canvass in February or March in 1928, 1929, and 1930 showed that the proportion of women unemployed had increased at each date and in 1930 had reached 15.3 per cent.

The federal figures for 1930 show nearly 43,000 women in the professional and semi-professional occupations unemployed, 2.5 per cent of all the women in that class. Women in the fields of recreation and amusement were especially hard hit, almost 8,000 of them, or more than 6 per cent, being unemployed.

The American Woman's Association in February, 1931, made a detailed survey¹ of unemployment among its members. This group represents the highly trained woman well placed in business and the professions in and around New York City. In February, 1931, 6.2 per cent were unemployed. In manufacturing, commerce, and transportation the proportion of unemployed was between 11.5 and 14.3 per cent, while in non-commercial occupations it ranged from 0.0 to 4.2 per cent. Those vocations serving primary needs, such as food and shelter, and those considered indispensable to the community's welfare and for which public funds are appropriated or endowments provided, offer security to the trained woman in hard times.

Of every ten unemployed women, four were unable to find any tide-over job, three found employment lasting three months or less, and three secured employment of longer duration.

There was relatively more unemployment in this group among women under thirty-five years of age than among the more mature, until forty-five was reached, when the proportion unemployed increased.

Unemployment was higher among the women with smaller earnings, and decreased as salary increased up to \$7,000. Women who had earned more than that amount suffered most from unemployment. It should be noted that for the entire group of 1,937 women the median earnings were \$3,030, while 10 per cent of the group reported earnings of over \$5,000. This indicates the unusual level of success attained by these women.

It is to be regretted that no organization of highly trained men comparable to the American Woman's Association has surveyed the situation among its memberships.

Space does not permit a detailed comparison of unemployment among men and women. The 1930 census figures showed that, of just over 38 million men and not quite 11 million women ordinarily employed, two and a half million men and 370,000 women were unemployed and wanting work. The difference in occupational distribution would largely explain the relatively smaller amount of unemployment among the women.

¹ *The Trained Woman and the Economic Crisis* (New York: American Woman's Association, 1931).

Perhaps the women who have been most singled out for discussion in relation to the economic crisis are the married women who are working outside of their homes. Their numbers have increased from census to census; but, as yet, there is little understanding of their need or right to work.

It is not necessary to repeat here the list of bulletins of the Woman's Bureau in which evidence has been piled on evidence to show that these women are working because of economic necessity. The same story is told by the Children's Bureau.²

In the industrial sections of Philadelphia included in this survey, 21 per cent of the white mothers with husbands and one or more children under sixteen years of age living at home were gainfully employed in 1928, as compared with 14 per cent of the same type of married woman gainfully employed in 1918-19. The findings show, without qualification, that the women were working to obtain sheer necessities for their families.

The attack on the married woman gainfully employed has been made in the name of protecting the family or of giving work to those who need it, the assumption being that the married woman is adequately cared for and that her earnings go for luxuries while her home is neglected. Facts as noted above for the woman in industry and available elsewhere for women in business and the professions have not been considered, nor has the uniqueness of solving unemployment by discharging one group to make room for another caused much comment. Nor has it been explained how the elimination of the purchasing power of one group, forcing them to dispense with the services of domestic helpers, laundries, etc., can balance production and purchasing power.

Evidences of the attitude toward the employed married woman are too numerous to list. One of the most spectacular was the decree of the mayor of Syracuse dismissing all married women in the city's employ who had husbands earning, and recommending the abolishment of civil service positions from which the married women encumbrants refused to resign.

In Seattle, Washington, a proposed amendment to the city's

² *Children of Working Mothers in Philadelphia*, Part I, "The Working Mothers," Bureau Publication No. 204 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931).

charter would prohibit married women on the city pay-roll. During the past sessions several state legislatures, including North Carolina, Connecticut, California, and Wisconsin, heard proposals to dismiss all married women whose husbands were earning a given amount—\$100 a month was the North Carolina suggestion. In Nebraska a bill was introduced to bar married women from teaching in the public schools of the state if the combined income of husband and wife were in excess of \$2,000 a year. In the House of Representatives during the reading of the Agriculture Appropriations Bill for 1933 an amendment was offered that "no part of the money appropriated . . . pay the salary of the dependent wife of any Federal employee who receives an annual salary in excess of \$2,500." None of these amendments and proposals has become law, but their recurrence over the country is worth noting.

The North Dakota State Board of Administration which controls the state educational institutions has ruled that after September 1, 1931, no married woman shall be employed on faculties of state educational institutions, including the University, State Agricultural College, and state normal schools.

Numerous local school boards have adopted this same policy, and only in those states where there is a state tenure-of-office act may a teacher in most communities marry and have any security in her position.

Two interesting findings concerning the employed married woman must be noted. The Bureau of Efficiency of the County of Los Angeles, California, referring to a proposal that married women whose husbands are earning in excess of \$150 a month be requested to resign or take an indefinite leave of absence, recommended that, in view of the state constitution, in making new appointments "if the candidate is a man and his wife is working, either in the county service or elsewhere, this fact should be considered, as well as the case of a woman whose husband is similarly employed."

Again in December, 1931, the Maryland State Department of Education ruled that a woman teacher in the public schools of the state could not be dismissed from her position on account of marriage. This ruling also declared that a clause in a teacher's contract reading: "If a female teacher marries in any school year she will be

expected to resign at the close of the school year" was in conflict with the state school law which provides no ground for discrimination on account of sex. Nor does it differentiate between married and single teachers.

The women teachers in public schools have some legal protection in certain states if they marry in service; but in the matter of new appointments, they are often barred from their profession. Private schools and colleges are more liberal. Barnard College, for example, has just announced a system of maternity leave with pay.

Illustrations of dismissal of their married women employees by railroads and large corporations cannot be cited here, but many might be given. The point which involves many queries is the questioning of these women on their family income and the decision by the employer, based on the size of the family income, as to whether or not a certain member of a family group may earn. While, of course, it is not equitable for one group to be in comfort while another group starves, it seems difficult to make an argument in equity for the dismissal of married women, usually on small pay, when inherited wealth and unearned increment is untouched.

The married woman, as the newest recruit to wage-earning, is in an unfavorable situation. Not only in industry is her position uncertain and is she forced to take the lowest paid work, but among business and professional women her earnings are lower than are those of the single women.³ Whether this is due to lack of opportunity, pressure of public opinion, or inherent weakness in her situation can only be decided after much more evidence is accumulated.

In 1930, 76.2 per cent of the male population ten years old and over and 22.1 per cent of the female population were gainfully employed. In 1920 the corresponding figures were 78.2 per cent of the male population and 21.1 per cent of the female population.

Among the women gainfully employed, 29.2 per cent were in domestic and personal service, 22.4 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 16.4 per cent in professional service, mainly in teaching, 15.9 per cent in trade, and 8.5 per cent in agriculture. Since there has been some change in the classification used, close

³ See for example, *After College—What?* (Greensboro, North Carolina: Institute of Women's Professional Relations, 1931), a study of the work of 6,665 college women.

comparisons with 1920 may not be made until further figures are available.

In 1931, legislatures met in all but four states, and many bills directly affecting working women were considered.

North Carolina replaced its old hour law with one applying only to women, continuing the eleven-hour daily provision but reducing weekly hours to a maximum of fifty-five. Louisiana reduced women's hours to nine a day and fifty-four a week.

In New York an amendment to the overtime provision of the law relating to women's hours of work in mercantile establishments assures better means of enforcement, reduces amount of overtime allowed, and provides flexibility for the merchants.

Two orders having the force of law and affecting women in the motion-picture industry were issued by the California Industrial Welfare Commission. One provides a basic eight-hour day for "extras" (those who receive a wage of \$15 or less a day, \$65 or less a week) with regulation of pay for overtime allowed in case of emergency up to sixteen hours; and the other, a basic eight-hour day, six-day, forty-eight-hour week for all other women employed in the motion-picture industry who are receiving \$40 a week or less.

In Congress two bills which have been introduced interest the women's organizations—the Connery Bill, which would make it illegal to transport goods manufactured by women from one state into another state which has more restrictive laws for women in industry; and H. R. 5869, which has been referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, to exempt from the quota husbands of American citizens.

The Supreme Court of Illinois held unconstitutional a referendum vote of last year which established jury service for women. On January 11, 1932, the United States Supreme Court refused to review the decree in the case of *Massachusetts vs. Welosky*. Genevieve Welosky appealed from a conviction for possessing liquor illegally on the grounds that women were excluded from the jury list from which her jury was drawn, women being denied jury service in Massachusetts. The case was pressed by certain organizations on the ground that, had the Welosky appeal been won, jury service for women would have been secured in every state.

Being an off-year for elections, little is reported for women in office. Mrs. Hattie W. Caraway, widow of the Senator from Arkansas, was given an interim appointment by the governor and then elected to fill her husband's unexpired term.

Mrs. Norton, New Jersey, is the first woman to become chairman of a committee of the House of Representatives. This being the District committee, she likewise becomes the first woman "mayor of Washington, D.C."

The appointment of President Mary E. Woolley as an American delegate to the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva was widely applauded.

Of the books on women, perhaps three might stand out above the others in interest. In *On Understanding Women*,⁴ Mary Beard has written a history of civilization from the point of view of the oft-forgotten fact that women have been present throughout the ages.

Schmalhausen and Calverton⁵ have edited a brilliant series of essays tied together by a general philosophy to the effect that social environment and tradition must be changed before it is possible to judge what women can do.

Recently psychiatry has been influenced by the work of women, such as Dr. Olga Knopf, author of *The Art of Being a Woman*.⁶ She has some extremely practical points to make against the prevalent conception that sexual maladjustment is the one great original cause of disharmony between men and women. Her discussion of the development of inferiority in little girls if absorbed by child-study groups might work a revolution in the attitude of women of the next generation toward their rôle in life and form the basis for a new philosophy of feminism.

⁴ New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931.

⁵ *Woman's Coming of Age: A symposium* (New York: Horace Liveright, Inc., 1931).

⁶ Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1931.

CRIME

CLARK TIBBITTS
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

This article calls attention to the efforts under way for the improvement of criminal statistics. It reviews the major aspects of the development in housing and treatment of prisoners, especially in New York State and in the federal prisons. Attention is called to the appearance of training schools for prison officials and police workers, to major researches in progress or just completed, publications of the year, and miscellaneous items of interest.

STATISTICS OF CRIME

The statistics compiled by various federal bureaus enforcing criminal justice are so deficient and incomparable as to render impossible the answering of a single important question about crime. So said the investigators of "Criminal Statistics"¹ for the National Committee on Law Observance and Enforcement, and added that most reports of state and municipal agencies are so lacking in comparability as to be unworthy of collection for unified presentation, and, further, that large elements of local crime statistics are not reported on a basis that insures accuracy. These statements, however, merely summarize the opinions of many investigators who feel that statistics of crimes reported, of arrests, court dispositions, probation, commitments, volume of different types of crime, and cost of crime are of little value because of the lack of uniformity in definitions of crime, because of the close relation between police work and politics, because of the lack of comparability among categories employed in reporting, because of varying police policies, and because of the absence of centralized reporting.

Centralized reporting.—Recent years, however, have witnessed several attempts to inaugurate policies of collecting data that will provide complete, comparable, and useful materials. Among the first of these was the widely hailed *Uniform Crime Report* of known offenses in cities and other population units. The growth of the registration area has been rapid. Between March, 1930, and December, 1931, the number of reporting cities of more than 10,000 population

¹ Report No. 3, prepared by Sam B. Warner and Morris Ploscowe.

increased from 394 to 770. The increase in the ratio of the population represented to the total population of the cities in the group (58,340,000) increase from 46 to 80 per cent. Additional smaller cities bring the population of the registration area to 51,000,000.

Considerable criticism has been directed against these summaries on the basis that they do not always represent complete reporting and that their publication by a government agency implies a degree of accuracy that does not exist. Notwithstanding this criticism, the reports have indicated the value of uniform classification; and during the year a committee representing official and private groups interested in criminal statistics was organized to plan a uniform classification for use in penal, judicial, and police statistics.

Congress' recent authorization of the annual collection of statistics of the inmates of prisons and reformatories has enabled the Bureau of the Census to place this activity on a permanent basis. Shortly after the authorization the director of the Census called a conference of twenty-five specialists to discuss the scope of the program. An advisory committee to the Census was appointed, and Thorsten Sellin became consultant for criminal statistics.

The reports on the statistics of federal prisoners, issued by the new Bureau of Prisons, have been broadened to include an analysis of federal prisoners in jails. The first of these reports appeared in 1931 for the year 1929-30, classifying the prisoners by offense, age, sex, and nativity.

Recommendations for improvement.—Looking toward the improvement of criminal statistics, Warner and Plascowe recommended to the Wickersham Commission: (1) that the Bureau of the Census assist the states in setting up machinery for annual crime-reporting; (2) that the Bureau of the Census publish the reports of the states attaining an established standard of completeness; (3) that national crime statistics should be reported by one Bureau, preferably the Census; (4) that the federal government should not attempt to obtain statistics of offenses known to the police; (5) that most statistics of persons arrested should come from the courts and not the police; (6) that the federal government should not attempt to collect statistics of adult probations until they have been standardized; (7) that annual reporting of prisoners should be extended to those in jails.

HOUSING AND TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

With rapid increases in prison population and added experience in the treatment of criminals, experiments in housing, classification, occupational programs, and the substitution of trained, for politically appointed, guards continue to go forward. Notable among the programs of 1931 were the cases of New York State and Federal Bureau of Prisons.

New York State's program.—On the basis of the estimated increase in the prison population, and after a classification of the present inmates, the New York Commission To Investigate Prison Administration and Construction recommended: (1) the building of no more fortress-type prisons; (2) the designation of two institutions as reception prisons for examination, periodic case review, and work assignment; (3) the building of one medium security prison in 1931; (4) the extension of prison road camps; (5) the expenditure of \$125,000 for experiment in prison housing to determine the possibility of developing pre-parole groups.

With the opening of the new prison at Attica late in 1931, that institution and Sing Sing were designated as receiving prisons for the state. The population has been divided into five groups: (a) colony groups (25 per cent), (b) temporarily restricted (35 per cent), (c) prolonged restricted (22 per cent), (d) psychiatric (16 per cent), and (e) hospital (2 per cent). Work has already been started on a medium security prison in Ulster County, and recommendations have been made for additional institutions including a unit for defective delinquents and another for psychiatric cases.

The program of the Federal Bureau of Prisons.—The United States government has under construction several projects representing new types of housing and extending segregation. Work was begun on the Northeastern Penitentiary in Pennsylvania to accommodate 1,200 inmates. Diversity of housing will provide for all types of men—from those who can live under almost normal outside conditions to those who require maximum restraint. Authorization of funds made it possible in 1931 to commence work on the Southwestern Reformatory in Oklahoma. The original unit will care for 600 men but can be readily expanded to provide for double that number.

Midway in the year plans were well under way for the construction

of a hospital for defective delinquents. The hospital, to be located at Springfield, Missouri, will provide 850 beds, distributed 500 for insane and psychopathic, 150 for tubercular, and 200 for chronic medical cases.

Two narcotic farms, one at Lexington, Kentucky, and the other near Fort Worth, Texas, will soon be completed, and will relieve the federal prisons of from 1,500 to 2,000 drug addicts.

In addition to these institutions the federal government has planned or has under construction seven new jails in widely scattered parts of the country. This program will be extended to insure the detention of federal prisoners in jails that meet the standards established.

The Bureau of Prisons is developing its educational and employment programs and is securing individualization of treatment through the appointment of fourteen additional wardens' assistants to assemble social histories of the inmates.

The new and enlarged Parole Board completed its first year of work in 1931 with the review of 9,450 cases. The Board is planning to sit in smaller units in order to give each parole applicant a more extended hearing. Provision was made that federal probation officers add to their work the supervision of parolees. The improvement over the old system of leaving supervision to individuals and social agencies has led to recommendations for the extension of the federal unit.

Training prison employees.—New types of prison architecture and treatment programs have called for the use of trained personnel. This new demand has led to the establishment of several training schools. In 1927 the Keepers' Training School of New York City was opened for training officers for local prisons.

The United States Training School for Prison Officers was opened late in 1929 as a part of the reorganization of the Bureau of Prisons. Conducted in a federal institution, the school provides opportunities for first-hand experience in addition to courses on the history of punishment, causal factors in crime, nature of the criminal, the work of the psychologist and psychiatrist, etc. The results after two years are: (1) elimination of one-sixth of the recruits as undesirable; (2) greater usefulness of graduates; (3) smaller turnover; (4) promotion

of interest in the work with greater likelihood of its regard as a life-time interest.

The State of New Jersey Officers' Training School opened in March, 1931.

The Institute of Criminal Law of Harvard University announced a two-year course for those expecting to go into penal and correctional institutions, and into public and private agencies dealing with delinquents and criminals.

RESEARCH IN CRIME

Another inauguration of the year 1931 was the *Criminological Research Bulletin*, issued by the Bureau of Social Hygiene. Although stated to be incomplete, the *Bulletin* lists 107 separate projects in progress in April, 1931. A second report is scheduled for publication early in 1932. Some of the larger projects listed here and elsewhere are indicated below.

Professor J. J. Robinson, Indiana University, is engaged in a compilation of "Recent Legislation concerning Crime" for the American Bar Association.

The report of the Chicago Citizens' Police Committee, the only existing study of a large police force, contains a working outline for the organization and management of an urban police unit. Some of the suggestions are now being adopted there under the direction of Bruce Smith, one of the authors of the report.

Surveys of criminal justice have recently been conducted in several states. The University of California has launched a six-year project; the preliminary report on the Oregon study appeared early in 1931, as did the report of the Montana Crime Commission. *Criminal Justice in Virginia*, by Hugh N. Fuller and others (Century Company), and *Criminal Procedure in North Carolina*, by G. R. Sherrill (University of North Carolina Press), were published during the year.

Attempt is under way to develop "A Uniform Classification of Types of Disposition of Cases in Criminal Courts for the Purpose of Facilitating Uniform Judicial Statistics." The work is under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins Institute of Law and the Western Reserve University Law School.

The National Society of Penal Information is completing its triennial survey of prisons and reformatories.

Louis N. Robinson completed a survey of "Prison Labor in the United States."

Under the auspices of the Behavior Research Fund and the Social Science Research Committee, E. H. Sutherland and associates are completing a statistical and case study of first- and second-generation immigrants from Sweden, Ireland, Italy, and Germany who have criminal records in the United States.

The Bureau of Rehabilitation in Washington, D.C., is making a study of parole and probation with reference to the case work of social agencies.

The reports of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement deserve greater attention than space permits. Attention is called to those dealing with *Crime and the Foreign Born*, *Causes of Crime*, *Lawlessness in Law Enforcement*, *The Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice*, *Costs of Crime*, *Penal Institutions*, *Probation and Parole*, and *Prosecution*.

A recent bulletin of the University of Utah contains a study of indeterminate sentence, probation, and parole in that state, and makes certain recommendations concerning segregation, use of case histories, etc.

J. L. Gillin's book *Taming the Criminal* details penal practices in the United States and elsewhere, notably in Japan, Belgium, and Switzerland.

Bennett Mead of the United States Department of Justice is engaged in developing a method of evaluating the results of correctional treatment. Institutional records are being devised which are expected to show the educational, working skill, physical, and mental status of offenders at various stages of, and following the period of, treatment.

A study based on a considerable volume of hitherto unused material is that of the coal and iron police, railroad police, private-detective and watch agencies in the state of Pennsylvania.

Ernest A. Hooton, Harvard University, is collecting anthropometric, sociological, medical, and psychiatric data on 17,000 inmates in the institutions of ten states and on a civilian sample of 3,000.

Hastings H. Hart and Fred V. Lettow completed the first comprehensive study of detention prisons in the United States in "A

Statistical Analysis of the Commitments to Police Lockups during the Six Months of 1930."

Under the auspices of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, Bruce Smith is making an examination of the older and newer rural police and judicial agencies under the title "Study of Rural Crime Control."

Thorsten Sellin and E. H. Sutherland edited *Prisons of Tomorrow*, a volume comprised of articles by specialists in all practical fields of prison and post-prison work. The book criticizes present efforts and looks toward improvement.

NEW ORGANIZATIONS IN CRIMINOLOGY

Three organizations concerned with various aspects of crime and penology have recently come into existence. The American Association of Public Welfare Officials, organized in 1930, held its first annual meeting in Minneapolis in June, 1931.

The Chicago Academy of Criminology was founded to bring together into a single scientific body all those interested in the science and practice of criminology in all its phases.

The National Institute on Mercenary Crime composed of business and scientifically trained men was organized for the purpose of examining the social and economic causes of crime for profit.

With the increasing appreciation of the need of trained men for the handling of criminals, police training schools are appearing in all parts of the country. Recently the Junior College at San José, California, announced a two-year course to provide training in the basic elements of the profession for students planning to make police service their life-work. The Northwestern University Crime Detection Laboratory has added courses of instruction in scientific methods to its program. Police training schools have been established at Willamette University, in Jacksonville, Detroit, New York (Police Academy), and California (Academy of Police Science).

RELIGION

BENSON Y. LANDIS
Federal Council of Churches

ABSTRACT

This article attempts an interpretation of the social significance of certain developments within religious bodies of the United States. Increased relief activities were everywhere in evidence. The depression forced severe financial readjustments, particularly upon local organizations which overbuilt and overexpanded in 1927-29. A National Interfaith Conference on Permanent Preventives of Unemployment was an outstanding event. Controversies over birth control continued. Peace education went on, with an especial interest in the disarmament conference. A steady interest in research and inquiry was evident. It is still difficult, however, to interpret the major trends and counter-trends within organized religion, and particularly the social influence of religious institutions. This must wait for more intensive and extensive research.

The year has been one of crisis and readjustment for many individuals and social groups. The economic adjustments through which the world is going could not but affect organized religion. Well-informed social workers have stated that in 1931 the unemployment relief burden in many communities was roughly double that of 1930. The response of the churches has been to increase relief activities, both directly and indirectly. Many emergency relief committees have been created by parishes and synagogues. Two local churches on Long Island gave assistance to nine hundred men. The Riverside Church of New York employed two trained workers who are co-operating with the Charity Organization Society. In Rochester, New York, the clergy contributed portions of their salaries and took an active leadership in the organization of relief. Sixty-eight branches of the Young Women's Christian Association reported organizing free classes for unemployed girls and women. At one theological seminary having one hundred and fifty students \$5,033 was raised as a relief fund. These are illustrations from many reports. Perhaps co-operation with community agencies has been as extensive as direct relief. Special efforts of the churches were made in behalf of flood and famine relief in China. The Friends Service Committee established food and clothing stations in the most needy bituminous coal areas. Here unemployment is stated to have been the most serious. Appeals to the American Red Cross on behalf of the miners were refused on the ground that the Red Cross specializes

on the relief of disasters caused by "acts of God." This statement occasioned considerable public discussion, including the inquiry if war was also an act of God. (Early in 1932 the decision of the Red Cross seems to have been reversed, without any explanation as to whether "acts of God" have been redefined.)

JOINT EFFORTS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

The unemployment situation has been the occasion for numerous interfaith activities. For example, a joint statement on what should be done about unemployment was issued late in the year by the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The statement declared that federal appropriations would be needed in order to meet needs; that present efforts at relief were but "a temporary dole—a palliative, not a solution"; that present relief is "grossly inadequate to prevent tragic demoralization of individuals and family life." The statement goes on to say that "we are entering the third winter of severe unemployment without . . . any statesmanship or constructive program to provide work for any but a small minority of the idle"; a shorter work week is favored; unemployment insurance is declared to be "an indispensable part of sound social policy and the most self-respecting form of relief"; protest is made "against the misleading use of the word 'dole' to describe systems of unemployment insurance."

The same organizations sponsored in January, 1931, a national conference of permanent preventives of unemployment attended by over four hundred persons from twenty-three states. The speakers included employers, economists, government officials, labor representatives, and church leaders. There were discussions of methods of stabilization, unemployment insurance, public works and construction programs, moral and ethical implications of the prevention of unemployment.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

In St. Louis, an Interfaith Commission on Social Justice, composed of twenty-four persons, mainly clergy, investigated the disturbed relationships between organized dairymen and a large city

milk-distributing company. In a report published in full on December 17 in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, the Commission found that a contract offered by the milk company to individual farmers was "morally indefensible"; it further declared in favor of the right of farmers to bargain collectively in the marketing of milk, and that farmers who had lost their markets were entitled to justice.

In Portland, Oregon, there was a milk strike in the summer of 1931. A citizens' committee appointed by the mayor arbitrated and Rabbi Henry J. Berkowitz was appointed as the permanent arbitrator.

BIRTH CONTROL

There was probably more public discussion of birth control than during any recent year. On January 8, Pope Pius XI issued his encyclical on Christian marriage, a long document, widely published, which declared birth control to be "intrinsically vicious." The position on birth control, except by abstinence, was uncompromising, opposing it under any and all circumstances.

On March 21, the Committee on Marriage and the Home of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of Churches, issued a report on birth control. It represented the result of several years' work by a group of twenty-eight persons, including church leaders and specialists in social hygiene and social work. It contained both a majority report, holding that "the careful and restrained use of contraceptives by married people is valid and moral," and a minority report upholding "the standard of abstinence as the ideal."

Considerable public discussion followed within and without organized religion. Several constituent bodies of the Federal Council specifically declared their dissent from the birth-control statement at their official assemblies held during the summer, although the Federal Council statement was never labeled or intended to be an official pronouncement. One denomination withdrew from the Council over the issue, while another specifically commended the action.

DISARMAMENT—PEACE EFFORTS

Various religious bodies were active in the effort to create public opinion in favor of disarmament. The circulation of petitions went

on extensively. The literature on peace education issued by the churches is now extensive. There is said to be considerable opposition on the part of the church leaders and bodies to compulsory military training in colleges and to any military training in high and preparatory schools.

The Supreme Court's decision in the *Macintosh* and *Bland* cases, involving conscientious objection to military service by aliens applying for citizenship, has become the occasion for frequent discussions and for resolutions by a few of the major religious bodies. Several have declared in favor of revising the naturalization laws.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference established a Latin-American Bureau for the purpose of developing contacts and understanding between the Catholics of Latin America and those of the United States.

RESEARCH

The International Missionary Council (Protestant) established at Geneva, Switzerland, a Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel. A comprehensive and independent inquiry was being made by a group of laymen, assisted by specialists, of the foreign missionary movement in China, Japan, and India (including Burma).

The Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches, New York, published in pamphlet form a report entitled *The Public Relations of the Motion Picture Industry*, dealing specifically with the activities of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, popularly known as the "Hays organization." The report stated that, although the organization had achieved some results in establishing standards for films, some of its publicity and public-relations methods were such as not to create public confidence in the organization.

The Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York, published in June a study of areas with a low proportion of church members, entitled *Hinterlands of the Church*, written by Elizabeth R. Hooker. It began in 1931 two uncompleted projects: one a study of "The Church in Southern Mountain Areas," the other, extensive fact-finding for the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. Progress was made in 1931 upon other projects previously authorized, as

follows: "Trends in Organized Religion in the U.S.A."; "The Effect of Changed Conditions on the Rural Church"; "A Study of Theological Education"; "Problems and Programs of Religious Education"; "Church Unity in Canada"; "Church Unity Movements"; "Strategy in City Church Planning"; "Representative Negro Churches"; "Protestant Home Missions to Foreign Populations"; "The Physical Effectiveness of Missionaries as a Factor in Withdrawals"; "The Field and Personnel of Foreign Missions."

A thorough and independent study of the foreign work of the Christian Associations of the United States and Canada, directed by F. Ernest Johnson, was published by the International Survey Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York. It contains an appraisal of the membership, leadership, program, and finance of the foreign services of the Young Men's and Young Women's Associations of North America, and conclusions and recommendations of the survey staff.

The National Conference of Catholic Charities (Washington) sponsored a study made by E. R. Moore, entitled *The Case against Birth Control* (New York: The Century Company). The National Conference published the results of a study entitled *Catholic Charities in the United States—History and Problems*, by John O'Grady.

The *Christian Herald* (New York) published in May an annual statement on the total membership of all religious bodies, as compiled by G. L. Kieffer. The total for 1930—the latest year available—was 50,037,245, an increase of 88,350 over the previous year, stated to be a small increase.

The reports of the fifty-two denominational groups for which totals are reported are not comparable, however. For example, ten did not report for 1930, and 1929 figures were used. In the case of three small groups, 1926 religious census figures were used. The methods used by the various bodies for compiling statistics of membership vary greatly.

SOME IMPORTANT EVENTS

Three Catholic scholars stated to the writer that they regarded the issuance by Pope Pius XI in May of the encyclical "Reconstructing the Social Order," forty years after the famous encyclical by

Pope Leo XIII "On the Condition of Labor," as the outstanding event within the Catholic church. It reiterated many of the historic Catholic social and economic teachings in terms of the present situation. The letter of the pope on October 4 on disarmament, calling upon the nations to disarm, and stating that money being used for armaments might well be used to purchase food and clothing for the unemployed, also received considerable public attention. Late in the year the pope called upon Protestant Christians to reunite with the church of Rome, an encyclical which was discussed by Protestants without any apparent willingness to return to Rome. In November, the Catholic bishops of the United States met in Washington and declared in favor of the appropriation of federal funds for unemployment relief.

Within Protestantism, the holding of the Church Conference of Social Work; the effort to raise \$10,000,000 to refinance local churches that cannot meet their indebtedness; an apparently increasing use of the radio; continued evidences of mergers and integrating movements along with the historic divisiveness; the holding of the convention of student volunteers (students interested in missionary service) attended by over 2,000 persons—are all mentioned by persons consulted as outstanding events and trends.

Regarding Judaism, the author received reports of the following: continued interest of synagogues in relief for Jews in Eastern Europe; readjustments of budgets due to the depression; an especial concern over religious teaching in public schools because of the danger of the injecting of sectarian teachings; insistent opinion that religious institutions must share in the reconstruction of the social order; defections from the synagogue in favor of new cults emphasizing spiritual healing, etc. A pertinent work is entitled *A Rabbi Takes Stock* (New York: Harper and Brothers), by Solomon Goldman, of Chicago. It is a frank and critical appraisal of Judaism, some conclusions being that the vital movements in Jewry are now without the synagogue, that the synagogue is forced to reconsider its ideology and methods if it is again to have the leadership which it once had.

RACE RELATIONS

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
Northwestern University

ABSTRACT

Race relations during the year have evidenced little change. Negroes have been the first and most severe sufferers during the economic depression. Steady reduction in immigration has gone hand in hand with intensification of restriction and increasing deportation of "undesirable" aliens. During the first nine months of 1931 emigration exceeded immigration by 22,769. The Exposition of Indian Arts has been the outstanding event in Indian affairs.

For a period such as the last year, one marked by violent stress in so many phases of life, we find little change in race relations from conditions of the recent past. Such trends as have been visible have continued their development in a manner to be expected on the basis of earlier happenings. As far as the composition of the general population of the United States is concerned, there has been only a slight disturbance in its racial proportions. Such conflicts as have their roots in the traditional frictions of the so-called "racial" groups in this country have continued much as before. In spite of the fact that the tension attendant upon strained economic conditions might lead one to expect that ordinary points of friction might become more pronounced, this has not been the case. Instead, such trends in racial relations as one fancies have been discernible over a short-term period have continued their equable development.

As usual, it is possible to consider the problem of race relations in the United States from the point of view of the immigrant European, and from that of each of the two non-Caucasoid stocks found in this country, the Negro and the Indian. There are certain landmarks which identify the places where each comes into conflict with the others, or where any one of them may come within the hostile regard of the remainder of the population; and to these we may turn our discussion.

There have been important repercussions of the present economic crisis among Negroes. As is the case with any underprivileged group, we find what easily might have been predicted, that in a period of economic strain the less established the group financially the more

it suffers. Thus, Negroes have found themselves, as casual workers, the first out of their jobs, and as members of the lowest-paid classes of laborers among the first to have their already scanty wages reduced. As a result, there has been more than the usual amount of poverty among Negroes living in cities, to which distress has been added the acute poverty of those Negroes who, in the South, live in regions that have suffered from the considerable floods which marked the end of the year. It is not only the Negroes in the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder who have suffered, however, for even those Negroes who are in such comparatively well-remunerated occupations as are open to men of this group have suffered. Thus, in the case of the Pullman porters, not only have the wages of these men, as paid by the Pullman Company, been reduced, but the porters have suffered severe losses in income because of the fact that with railway travel lighter than usual, the amount received from tips, on which they ordinarily count to make up the major portion of their income, has shrunk materially, both because of the smaller amounts given by individual travelers and because of the shrinkage in the total number of travelers a given porter serves on a given run. Because of their vulnerable economic condition, even in the best of times, Negro groups have made enormous numbers of calls on relief organizations, which, as in the case with calls from the general population, it has not been possible adequately to meet. In many cities the evictions of Negroes from their homes have greatly increased in number. And in some cases, notably in Chicago, this eviction policy has so stirred Negroes that there have been "rent riots" as a result. There is, however, nothing essentially racial in these manifestations. Indeed, it is said that, in the main, such revolt against conditions as Negroes have shown—Communist demonstrations, for example—has been largely under the leadership of white organizers.

Let us turn to those aspects of Negro life which are, strictly speaking, in the realm of Negro-white relations. Here there is not much which shows direct reverberation of the economic debacle. Lynchings continue much as always, somewhat greater in number, perhaps, and presumably with about the same degree of ingenuity on the part of the lynchers as to how the executions are actually consummated. The causes of lynching are also about the same as they have been:

charges of rape (which have been shown, incidentally, in the report of the Interracial Commission, to be unfounded in the main); charges of incivility toward whites; of murder of whites by Negroes; the resentment of economic advantages which it is thought ought not to accrue to the Negro. The most dramatic incident of the year has been the Scotsboro case, which has attracted great attention and which has to do with a sentence to death of several young Negroes after a trial which it has been stated was not a fair one, a sentence which, at the present writing, is under appeal. The case has had reverberations the world over and has caused numerous demonstrations by workers' groups in foreign countries. In this connection, the manner in which affiliation may be more important to those concerned with interracial matters than the case in hand is illustrated by the organization of the defense in the appeal to be made for the accused Negroes in this case. Both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Communist group hastened to aid the accused, with the result that two noted attorneys engaged by the former organization withdrew from the case when it became apparent they would have to be associated with lawyers engaged by the Communists.

In the matter of trends, what has been said of the Negro may also be said for the immigrant. Mass immigration, as was reported in this place a few years ago, is something that is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The stream of immigration, at one time such a mighty torrent, has become a mere trickle, the size of which has been more than counterbalanced during the past year by the other stream composed of those returning to their native homes after having lived here. This stream, which used to go almost unnoticed, has become correspondingly more prominent from year to year as, maintaining its volume, it has come gradually to equal the incoming stream in size. Now, for the first time, it has become the greater of the two. According to a bulletin of the National Industrial Conference Board, during the first nine months of 1931 emigration was 22,769 greater than immigration, although for the year ending June 30, 1931, there was a net gain to our population of 35,257.

The policy of agitating for an ever greater intensification of restriction has become more pronounced. In practice, such restriction

as is not provided for by statute has been carried out by administrative decrees. Thus, before a visa is now authorized to the prospective immigrant, he must pass a strict examination before the American counsel to whom he applies for his permit. From the decision of this counsel there is no appeal; and hence, although in many cases there were more than the quota number of applicants, many national quotas were not filled. One may quote the report of the National Industrial Board referred to:

The results of more vigorous administration were evident first in the case of net Mexican immigration, which as early as August, 1929, fell below 1,000 per month, and by June, 1930, had become a negligible quantity. Provisions of the law with regard to physical and mental defects, literacy, and the probability of the would-be immigrant becoming a public charge were rigidly enforced.

Certain items in the reports and recommendations of officials during the year show the official attitude. President Hoover in his message to Congress on December 8 stated,

I recommend that immigration restrictions now in force under administrative action be placed upon a more definite basis by law. The deportation laws should be strengthened. Aliens lawfully in the country should be protected by a certificate of residence.

In the annual report of Secretary of Labor Doak to Congress, he states the purpose of the immigration law:

(1) To protect the social and political structure of American civilization from persons who seek to come here with strange new doctrines of government which threaten the institutions and practices that we in this country regard as essential to the onward progress of our people, whether native born or naturalized; and, (2) To give economic protection, particularly as to available employment to those who for both legal and moral reasons should receive first consideration in the blessings of the workaday life.

The increasing agitation for the registration of aliens, carried on by those who have to do with the administration of naturalization, is also reflected in official documents. The Commissioner-General of Immigration, Mr. Harry E. Hull, says, "We absolutely require the general and periodical registration of aliens for the proper enforcement of our immigration and naturalization laws," and he adds, with an eye to those who have criticized this proposal, "and the alien who is lawfully here will have nothing to fear therefrom, and will find it a measure of protection." We also learn that "by administrative

regulation" a start in this direction has been made, since for the past three years an identification card has been issued to every alien admitted for permanent residence. Commissioner Hull's twenty-sixth recommendation in his report is that Congress provide for such registration. We also find the following in the annual report of Secretary Doak:

I think also that the statute should more completely protect the newly-made citizen by proper safeguards. Outstanding among these is the use of fingerprints upon naturalization papers, also the right to cancel certificates should be reserved to the government of the United States.

And, in this connection, Secretary Doak recommends that eligibility requirements of applicants for United States naturalization be raised so that they be required to possess the equivalent of knowledge imparted to children up to the age of fourteen in American schools.

One development that has come into public attention as an extension of routine practice is the deportation of "undesirable" aliens. During the year ending June 30, 1931, 18,142 aliens were deported. There has been a large amount of protest to this policy on the part of those who, through the processes of cultural lag, have held to the more traditional views on the right of persons admitted to this country to remain here. This protest has been sufficiently strong that it received notice by Secretary Doak who, in his annual report, denounces the actions of "un-American organizations of American citizens," who "by persistent propaganda are hampering the deportation of alien enemies of the country."

Though for the first time in many years immigration totaled less than one hundred thousand (the figure is 96,139), such immigration as we are receiving is being assimilated by the various sections of the United States in much the same fashion as in former years. Of the number who came here, 68 per cent were absorbed by New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, 35,867, or 37 per cent, being absorbed by Pennsylvania alone. Of those who came, 13,813 were Germans, 12,703 English and Canadians, 12,239 South Italians, and 10,814 Irish.

The administration of matters concerning the Indians continues in accordance with the plans announced by the reorganized Bureau of Indian Affairs when the new commissioner took over his duties

some three years ago. One instance of the manner in which his intention to make American citizens out of the Indian wards of the nation has been taken seriously by Indians is seen in the recent action of the Council of the Seneca Indian Nation, who asked the New York State Educational Department to give preference to qualified Indians when employing teachers for Indian schools. Sentiment for the preservation of racial integrity is marked among this group, and it is their contention that Indians themselves should be trained and employed, as far as practicable, to teach Indians. This, according to their statement, reflects progress in the general elevation of the population.

As far as events of significance of racial relations between Indians and whites is concerned, perhaps the most important single happening of the year has been the Exposition of Indian Arts which, showing at the Grand Central Galleries in New York during the month of December, is being sent as a traveling exhibit through the country. The exhibit of pottery, basketry, ornamented costumes, carved wood and stone, toys, ceremonial objects, jewelry of turquoise and silver, and water colors, made by members of thirty tribes, has attracted large attention. An example of the manner in which this showing was greeted as a source of inspiration for American artists is illustrated by one comment which says,

Modern Mexican and Central American artists may justly claim as their own the marvelous Mayan heritage; African Negroes possess a rich background in the tribal cultures of the past; the American Indian today finds himself similarly blessed. We know how extensively the modern art of Europe has drawn upon Negro sculpture. Are we about to witness an enthusiastic borrowing on the parts of artists in this country, so alive just now to our American background?

An editorial writer in the *New York Times* states,

In the picturesque richness of Indian craft now brought to our doors . . . the visitor may discern a yet comparatively untapped source of decorative inspiration. While we have had our eyes turned to Europe with its momentary vogues, this authentic native American art has been overlooked. . . . The Exposition . . . should be inspiring to our designers as well as suggestive of the great aesthetic charm and practical usefulness of the variety of objects shown.

That American Indian cultures are more and more affecting the work of American artists is apparent to those who have followed the subjects which American painters have depicted during the last few

years. It is found that scenes from Indian life have increasingly found place in exhibits, while recently paintings of Indian art objects have appeared. It is quite conceivable that this interest on the part of the artist and those interested in art may indicate a tendency on the part of the American people to recognize one phase of excellence in the hitherto neglected Indian civilizations. And if this recognition is made, it is possible that it will possess sufficient momentum to carry over into a further recognition of the excellence of other aspects of Indian life. It may thus mark the beginning of a movement that will bring the people of the United States to a realization of the necessity for more sympathetic treatment and more careful consideration of Indian susceptibilities than has hitherto marked the relations between the dominant European population of this country and such of its aboriginal stocks as still exist.

EDUCATION

CHARLES H. JUDD
University of Chicago

ABSTRACT

The financial depression has caused a general reduction of educational budgets and has led to the curtailment of various activities in educational institutions. The National Advisory Committee on Education rendered its final report to President Hoover. This report recommended a novel type of federal department, which is being subjected to frequent editorial criticism. The "new plan" of the University of Chicago has been in successful operation since October 1, 1931. An international conference on the form and social influence of examinations assembled in May, 1931, at Eastbourne, England. The American Association of University Professors has undertaken a study of college teaching. Several important educational surveys were launched in 1931. The apparent oversupply of teachers was made a subject of inquiry by the Research Division of the National Education Association.

CURTAILMENT OF EDUCATIONAL BUDGETS

The problem which, more than any other, engrossed the attention of educational administrators during 1931 was the problem of conducting the institutions for which they were responsible on drastically reduced budgets. Shrinkage in revenues available for the conduct of public schools amounted in some cases to as much as 20 per cent. A canvass of public-school systems made in the middle of the year showed that there were practically no cases in which increases in resources could be reported and that in 40 per cent of the school systems school revenues were reduced below the level of the year preceding. Many of the systems which escaped reduction in their budgets during 1931 are quite certain to experience curtailment during 1932.

There is no uniformity in the methods adopted to effect retrenchment. In most centers there is a disposition to maintain, as far as possible, the schedules of teachers' salaries. In a few cases salaries for the year have been reduced either through the closing of schools for a period or through consent on the part of teachers to serve for a time without pay. Economies of minor types have been very common. The supervisory force has been reduced. Summer schools have been abandoned. Classes for adults have been closed. More fundamental changes have been introduced in the form of reorganization

of classes. Classes have sometimes been increased in size, and periods of instruction in laboratories and shops have been shortened. It is doubtless true that some of the changes will be found to be so harmless that they will outlive the depression.

In the college world the depression has resulted in a number of mergers of institutions which were competitors. There will undoubtedly be more mergers in the future and complete suspensions of institutions which are financially weak. The small liberal-arts colleges have opened a campaign which aims to convince the public that it will be a major social disaster if the small college is eliminated from the American educational system.

Nicholas Murray Butler president of Columbia University, suggests that colleges which find it difficult to offer advanced courses unite with neighboring universities and, while preserving their individuality, provide their students with opportunities that only the stronger institutions can supply.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

On November 16, 1931, President Hoover released, without comment, the report of the National Advisory Committee on Education. After two years of labor this committee succeeded in preparing a report which was adopted with very little opposition by its members. Such opposition as the report encountered in the Committee came from three sources. The members of the Committee who were closely related to the Federal Board for Vocational Education voted negatively on all sections of the report. The members of the Committee who belonged to the Catholic clergy filed a minority report, opposing a recommendation which they believed would lead to federal control of schools. The three Negro members of the Committee favored the principles of the report but contended that the federal government owes a special duty to the Negroes in those states which maintain dual school systems.

The report of the National Advisory Committee on Education contains (1) a vigorous statement of the traditional American policy of state and local control of education, (2) a clear account of the gradual development of bureaucratic interference with the autonomy

of the states and local school districts through specification of the types of education to be aided by federal grants and through the imposition of direct federal supervision over certain types of teaching, and (3) an argument for the creation of a strong headquarters for education presided over by a cabinet officer.

Many of the editorial comments on the report have asserted that the recommendation of a strong federal headquarters is in fundamental opposition to the earlier sections of the report which argue that the traditional policy of local control is the truly American policy and one which should be continued. The report is explicit in its declaration that the federal headquarters recommended is not to be endowed with administrative powers or duties. It will require time and careful consideration of the novel character of the recommendation to secure complete understanding of its significance. The people of this country are so accustomed to administrative departments that they cannot grasp at once the idea of a purely service branch of the federal government.

THE "NEW PLAN" OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The University of Chicago received in October, 1931, the first class of undergraduate students who are to be educated under the "new plan." These students began preparation for the comprehensive examination which most of them will take in June, 1933. A few of them who are highly competent and industrious will have the opportunity to take the examination at an earlier date. The comprehensive examination will assume (1) that the student has acquaintance with four fields, or divisions, of knowledge—the biological sciences, the physical sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities; (2) that he can write clear and correct English; (3) that he has made some progress in the direction of mastering the tool subjects, such as foreign language and mathematics, necessary for the pursuit of some specialty; and (4) that he has more than an introductory acquaintance with the field in which he intends to specialize.

As aids in preparing for the comprehensive examination, courses in each line are provided; but students are not required, as students in most colleges are, to follow any strict routine of class attendance.

Among the courses provided are four new orientation, or general-survey, courses in the fields enumerated in the preceding paragraph. The individual student is also given as much guidance through personal conferences with instructors as he cares to accept.

It is too early to venture any estimate of the success of the plan. It is quite certain that the students have not, up to the present, abused their freedom. Indeed, so anxious have they been not to fail, and so uncertain have they been regarding the character of the comprehensive examination to which they will be subjected, that they have attended classes with at least the usual degree of regularity. The chief complaint which the students make is that the new plan imposes on them heavier labor than they have been accustomed to perform. Some of the readings which they are encouraged to undertake overtax their immature minds. On the whole, the new plan has not produced any of the shocking abnormalities of human behavior that critics feared would appear. There seems to be an increase in personal responsibility as compared with the results produced in earlier years by the assignment-and-recitation plan.

The graduate classes of the University have felt to some extent the influence of the new plan. Indeed, it may be said that in very large measure the new plan is but a generalization of what has long been common in well-conducted graduate classes. There has been, however, in graduate courses further relaxation of formal requirements. There are fewer term papers and more free reading. There are opportunities outside the field of narrow specialization. A student is encouraged to think of himself as related to a division made up of a number of departments rather than hemmed in by the boundaries of a single department. The Division of Social Sciences has gone so far in extending the range of its offerings as to provide certain divisional lecture courses summarizing, for all who are interested, the essentials of some field of knowledge.

THE EASTBOURNE CONFERENCE ON EXAMINATIONS

During the closing days of May, 1931, there assembled at Eastbourne, England, in response to an invitation from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the International Institute of Teach-

ers College, Columbia University, a group of educators from Germany, France, Switzerland, England, Scotland, and the United States to discuss the form and social influence of examinations. The Conference was an extension of the work which the Carnegie Corporation and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching have been doing in this country in improving methods of examining college students and secondary-school pupils. The desirability of holding an international conference was suggested by Sir Michael Sadler and Professor Carl H. Becker, both of whom had visited this country and had observed with interest the experiments in formulating tests of various types, including comprehensive examinations.

The Eastbourne Conference led to the organization of several national committees which will carry on experiments in their own countries and will in due time publish reports of their findings. The Conference itself was devoted to discussions of the present practices and problems of each country represented. It became evident in the course of the discussions that one problem which confronts every nation is that of selecting the leaders who are competent to direct national policies. The French representatives were in favor of reliance on a single test of clarity and fluency of expression. The German representatives called attention to the advantages of the individual examination, which has always been typical of Germany. The English representatives were very desirous of overcoming the undesirable formalization of education which they believe results from the examination system enforced by the older English universities. The Scotch representatives were enthusiastic advocates of the new-type examination and the tests which, in common with American experimenters, they are perfecting. The American and Swiss representatives were somewhat less favorable to selective examinations and were more favorable to tests which furnish the basis of guidance and placement.

Perhaps one of the most profitable features of the Conference was the opportunity which it supplied for a frank interchange of national ideals of education among representatives of the leading civilizations of the Western world.

A STUDY OF COLLEGE TEACHING

Announcement was made at the annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors held in November, 1931, that the Association is to undertake an investigation of college teaching. The Association has been largely absorbed in establishing academic freedom. It has even been charged with so much devotion to the defense of professors that it has become virtually a trade-union. The new line of inquiry which is now being launched attacks so broad a problem and one which is of such general importance to all colleges and universities that the Association must be recognized as having a far more objective and general purpose than does any trade union.

The chairman of the committee which is to direct the study of college teaching is Professor William B. Munro, of the California Institute of Technology. It is expected that a field agent will be appointed who will gather information under the supervision of the committee.

The grant which makes this investigation possible was made by the Carnegie Foundation.

EDUCATIONAL SURVEYS

Several surveys were inaugurated during 1931 which promise results of national interest. One of these is being carried on in North Carolina. The legislature of that state passed a law making the three state institutions of higher education into a single administrative unit. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the North Carolina College for Women at Greensboro, and the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering at Raleigh, like all separate state institutions, have developed their programs in such ways as to produce certain duplications. The state is attempting to eliminate wasteful duplications and promote efficiency by making all its institutions part of a well-conducted system.

The Carnegie Foundation has accepted the invitation of the governor of California to conduct a comprehensive survey of the two universities, the normal schools, and the public junior colleges of the state with a view to co-ordinating the activities of these several institutions.

The United States Office of Education has begun the survey of

educational finance for which Congress made an appropriation of \$300,000. Professor Paul R. Mort, of Teachers College, Columbia University, has been appointed director, under the Commissioner of Education in charge of the survey.

The American Association of Dental Schools has for some years been discussing the desirability of organizing a general survey of dental education in the United States. Such a survey has been launched with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. The technical advisers are Floyd W. Reeves, of the University of Chicago, and W. W. Charters, of Ohio State University. The executive secretary of the survey is L. E. Blauch, of the North Carolina College for Women.

APPARENT OVERSUPPLY OF TEACHERS

In many of the larger centers of population there seems to be an oversupply of teachers. The Research Division of the National Education Association has made an elaborate study of this apparent oversupply and has reached the conclusion that a part, at least, of the surplus is due to the fact that states do not require school districts to employ trained persons as teachers. The most general statement contained in the report of the Research Division is the following.

Apparently, however, there was a surplus of persons with teaching licenses in 1929-30 in a number of the states. If the supply could be restricted to persons with two or more years of professional training, a teacher shortage would exist in many states. The soundest conclusion to this chapter is: State departments and other interested parties should get the facts before trying to deal with the "apparent" teacher surplus.

GOVERNMENT

J. P. CHAMBERLAIN
Columbia University

ABSTRACT

Unemployment measures were not as numerous as might have been expected. The federal government set up a stabilization board of Secretaries to provide for long-term planning of public works. New York and New Jersey organized temporarily to encourage employment and aid the unemployment on the basis of local units supervised and financially aided by the state. The principle of executive responsibility through single-headed departments is gaining ground in state administration; though for minor purposes, especially the regulation of trades and professions, the board holds its own. The interest in improvement of parole administration did not flag in 1931.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In the federal administration there is only one important development. The interest in long-term planning to relieve unemployment resulted in Public 616, which creates a federal employment stabilization board of the Secretaries of the Treasury, of Commerce, of Agriculture, and of Labor. The board has no money to spend and no power to take action; it is an advisory council to warn the president of the trend of employment and of the existence or approach of periods of business depression and unemployment. When, on recommendation of the board, the president finds there exists, or is likely to exist, a period of business depression or unemployment, he is requested to transmit to Congress supplementary appropriations for highways and other authorized construction projects. He is further authorized to direct construction agencies to accelerate construction already authorized during the depression. So that there may be work ready for the emergency, the construction agencies of the government are required to prepare a six-year program and estimates of cost for the various kinds of federal work. This program must be kept up to date by annual revision.

STATE GOVERNMENT

Executive organization.—The general movement toward centralization of the executive government of the state under the governor and in favor of single-headed departments of the state for administrative work, frequently with advisory boards, appears to be

in the ascendent, although the several-headed commission as the head of a department has not altogether lost the adherence of legislatures in some states. The most comprehensive administrative reorganization was in Maine, where, by chapter 216, twenty-eight agencies, mostly boards, were consolidated into four departments, each under a single head appointed by the governor and council for three-year terms. The principle of concentration of authority within the department is carried out by allowing each commissioner to appoint his principal subordinates. North Carolina develops centralized administration. A director of personnel (chap. 277) is authorized to be appointed by the governor with a term coterminous with the governor's, and subject to removal at his pleasure. It is the duty of the director to investigate the needs for personnel service in the departments and bureaus, to classify the number of employees. The director must approve new appointments and check all payrolls against budget allotments before payment. The director is also to make a survey of the personnel needs of the political subdivisions, with the exception of the schools, and make a report for the information of the local governments. Chapter 261 sets up a division of purchase and contract in the governor's office under a director appointed and removable by the governor. The position may be combined by the governor with that of the director of personnel, subject to the approval of the advisory budget commission. The director contracts for purchase of supplies for the government and state institutions, and leases any necessary buildings. He establishes and enforces standard specifications. To aid the director and to adopt standard specifications for supplies, an ex-officio standardization committee of seven is to be appointed, with the director as chairman and as members a state highway engineer, a representative of the schools and of the state department, and two members of the advisory budget commission, all designated by the governor. With these two offices a high degree of centralization of the control of state spending will be created, and the governor will have in his hands machinery to make real his financial responsibility. Of another type is the commissioner of banks, to be appointed by the governor and senate (chap. 243). The commissioner is not part of the personal staff of the governor, as are the two directors. He is

appointed for a four-year term and has the administration of the banking laws. An advisory commission aids him, consisting of the state treasurer, attorney-general, and three members appointed by the governor—two practical bankers and one business man—for two-year terms. The commissioners serve without compensation.

Another agency for making real the financial responsibility of the governor—the budget bureau—appears in Georgia (Part I, Title III, No. 5, Ex. Sess.) and Delaware (chap. 81). In Georgia the governor himself is made director and the state auditor assistant director. The budget is prepared in the usual way, and the governor submits it with a budget message. Georgia has been experimenting quite extensively with the budget. It started with the state examining commission of the governor and attorney-general, superintendent of education, and the chairman of the appropriation committee of each house, followed with an investigating and budget commission of the governor, controller-general, chairmen of ways and means and appropriations, and the attorney-general. The state has finally come around to the principle of executive responsibility. Delaware still sticks to the idea of a board. There are three budget directors appointed by the governor, one to be the secretary of state. They serve during his term and at his pleasure. The governor makes such changes as he deems necessary in their recommendations and submits the bill to the assembly for their consideration.

A very interesting suggestion is contained in Wisconsin (chap. 361), creating a committee on business economics to be appointed by the governor from the executive council. Realizing that a committee is not apt to do much work, the executive council is authorized to appoint an executive secretary and other necessary employees. The duty of the committee is twofold: to keep in touch with business conditions, investigate depression and means of remedying it, investigate ways and means of improving business, enlarging markets, and stimulating employment; and the more novel duty of investigating individual businesses at the request of their managers, and, in case of a business reported by the tax commission to be operating at a loss, to offer its services. Arizona (chap. 104) sets up a highway patrol within the department of state highways, under a superintendent appointed by the state engineer with the

approval of the highway commission. The superintendent appoints his patrolmen with the consent of the commission and has the important duty of establishing speed limits and other restrictions on travel. This power of making regulations is not often vested in the police authority.

The commission as head of a department appears in Minnesota (chap. 186) and in Hawaii (Act 284). The Minnesota department of conservation is under a commission of five, appointed by governor and senate, with six-year overlapping terms. The commission formulates the policies, makes regulations, and employs a commissioner as an executive officer. Under him are divisions in charge of directors whom he appoints to serve at his pleasure and who, in their turn, appoint their own deputies. This device puts between the political head of the state and the administrative officer a commission which the political head of the state cannot control because of the device of overlapping terms. New Mexico (No. 9) adopts the principle of the board. The governor and senate appoint two of the three members of the labor and industrial commission to serve two years, one of whom is a representative of employers and the other a representative of employees. These two choose the third, who must be a representative of neither class. The commission then appoints the labor commissioner, who is the administrative officer. The board gets a per diem, but the commissioner is a salaried official.

Boards and commissions.—The inveterate American habit of depending on a board or commission to carry out semi-administrative and semi-judicial functions and the widespread development of self-government in trades and professions are much in evidence in the legislation of 1931. The two themes occur in their greatest development in the regulation of the bar by chapter 48, Utah. A board of seven commissioners is elected by the members of the bar from different geographical divisions, to determine rules for admission to the bar and to exercise certain disciplinary and regulatory powers. The bar may fairly be said to be a self-contained regulatory body, since the only review of the action of the commission is through the supreme court, a group of lawyers, who approve rules of admission to the bar and have a right of review over the disciplinary action of the commission. There are a large number of boards created for a

long list of professions or trades, including architects, engineers, veterinarians, barbers, and plumbers. The striking point of these boards is the requirement that their members be practitioners. A temporary citizen board to spend state money is created by North Dakota (chap. 205), which intrusts the adoption of plans, bids, and the construction of the state capitol to a board of three, who have the power of appointing their own superintendent of construction.

The long-tried device of overlapping terms to secure continuity is general; membership, as is also common with American commissions, is unpaid; the governor appoints; and where the group to be regulated is considerable, there is provision for a paid secretary, appointed by the board to do the administrative work. New Jersey (chap. 187) sets up self-government in the shell-fish business by putting the department of shell fishing under a board to be appointed by the governor and senate, of persons all of whom are actually engaged in the shell-fishing industry. The board has direction of the industry and protection of fish and may make necessary rules and regulations and regulate the different parts of the industry. Two unusual commissions are created: Oklahoma (chap. 24, Art. 3) establishes the commission of twenty-one members to review the entire constitution and submit recommendations and changes. North Carolina (chap. 98) is noteworthy. It creates the commission for improvement of the law. The commission is to study the laws and recommend changes before each regular session of the assembly, with drafts of proposed bills and reasons for them. It is refreshing that, while most of the members are lawyers, two are from other occupations.

City planning is familiar; county and even regional planning boards exist; but Wisconsin went a step farther by providing, by chapter 124, for a state regional planning commission of ex-officio members, with a director of regional planning as the executive officer. The commission is to plan for future development of roads and parks and parkways and to co-operate with local planners.

A reason for the increase of state employees and state governmental functions appears when one considers the enormous mass of regulatory legislation which floods the statute books. Through licenses, through establishment of standards, through regulation of condi-

tions, or preparation, of goods or products, the duties of administration are steadily expanding in the field of business regulation. Space fails for even a list of instances of such regulation, and they are mentioned here only because of the importance in considering the increase of state government cost, which is very large, brought about through the demand for regulation of branches of business in one way and another by the public authorities. Each such extension of government duty means an expansion of government personnel and duties.

Quasi-judicial power.—A quasi-judicial power of no small importance to the persons concerned is that given to the professional licensing boards to pass on the qualifications of candidates and to cancel or suspend the licenses. Questions of competency and of moral qualifications are submitted to the trial of these boards, subject to the control of the courts. The judicial side of this function is elaborately provided for in California (chap. 578), which authorizes the director of the department of professional and vocational standards to appoint a registrar, a deputy, a secretary and investigators to serve at the director's pleasure. The procedure on complaints before the registrar against licensees, charging acts which are causes for revocation or suspension, is made to approximate court procedure more closely, and the registrar may issue subpoenas. Here, again, there is an appeal to the court. The Arizona contractors' regulation act (chap. 102) also provides for a registrar who must, however, be a contractor, for a term coterminous with the governor's. This act, like the California law, expressly authorizes individuals to make complaints to the registrar of faults which would authorize cancellation of the license. The Arizona administrative court is, like the others, only a first instance; and an appeal is permitted to the law courts. Another type of administrative court is created by California (chap. 313). The Golden State, to protect the reputation of its ripe olives, has authorized seizure of fruit not conforming to standard. To assure fair and uniform application of the law, there is set up an appeal board of seven citizens, appointed by the director of the department of agriculture, with the approval of the governor, to hear appeals from seizures by enforcement officers. The members of the board must be citizens experienced in judging the quality and grade

of canned olives. At least three members may conduct a hearing, one of whom must be an olive-canner. One of the powers of the advisory commission of banks in North Carolina (chap. 243) is to hear appeals from the commissioner; and under New Mexico (chap. 9) the industrial commission forms an appeal board from the decisions of the commissioner, with subsequent appeal to the district court of the county in which the controversy arose. A very interesting form of an administrative court is North Carolina (chap. 277), creating the office of director of personnel, who has a very considerable control over the budgets of the bureaus. It is easy to see that disputes may arise between him and the bureau heads; and in case they do, they are to be settled by the Advisory Budget Commission.

Penal reform.—The movement for more efficient administration of probation which was so noticeable last year did not lose headway in 1931. The most important act was that of Ohio (sec. 2211, General Code), which replaces a two-headed board of clemency by a board of parole of four full-time members, paid \$6,000 a year. The board is appointed by the director of public welfare, with the approval of the governor, and may be removed in the same way as they were appointed. The board has the complete power of parole and release of prisoners and, to carry out its duties, must hold meetings at each penal institution. It also decides on the fate of parole-breakers on their arrest. In addition to its control over parole, the board has the duty of making recommendations to the governor in respect of pardons or commutation of sentences. Oregon (chap. 397) takes the step of centralizing parole under an unpaid board. Hawaii (Act 126) centralizes the control of its prisons in an unpaid board of prison directors who are also given general control over parole in the Territory.

The state is taking a larger share in the suppression of non-social action. The tendency is marked in Oregon (chap. 139), which sets up a department of state police under a superintendent appointed for four years by the governor and removable after hearing. The superintendent appoints a deputy and members of the force. There is the usual requirement that the department shall not interfere in labor troubles, and it is worth noting that the state prohibition officer is done away with and his duties vested in the state police.

The superintendent is authorized to maintain fingerprint records and other information, a state function which is being very much extended, usually, however, going farther and setting up bureaus of identification. These bureaus seem to be making good. Several states—Kansas (chap. 178), Montana (chap. 151), and Illinois (p. 464)—created bureaus in 1931; and several other states extended the work of those already existing. The national share in crime detection is indicated by the usual direction to the bureaus to co-operate with the national bureau of criminal identification at Washington and with the bureaus of other states.

Unemployment.—The serious unemployment arising from the present emergency caused some legislative action. The theory of the two comprehensive acts is that emergency relief should be distributed through local governments under state supervision. New Jersey (chap. 394, establishes a temporary state emergency relief commission to remain in effect until January 1, 1933. The administrative authority set up is a state director, who may appoint county directors. A committee, consisting of the commissioners of institutions, of labor, and of municipal accounts, administers the relief under the director. New York (chap. 798) also sets up a temporary state agency under a commission of three, to be appointed by the governor and to serve during his pleasure. It is to make a survey of the situation and administer the special appropriation of twenty million dollars. New York, like New Jersey, depends on local administration and makes each city, and each county outside the cities, separate districts to be administered by their local authorities, which are authorized to make appropriation for relief and to issue notes for not more than a three-year period. A few states provide for free employment offices, and Tennessee (chap. 1) has a novel notion of dividing the surplus coal taken from the state mines among the mayors of the various cities to be distributed to unemployed. It is a recognition of an important relief principle that the mayors must employ recognized charitable institutions or civic clubs to secure information on which distribution to individuals is based.

NEWS AND NOTES

Personnel Exchange.—With the March issue the *Journal* inaugurated a service for members of the Society who are available for appointment to positions in research, teaching, or administration. Members of the Society are invited to make use of this arrangement and to bring it to the attention of executive and administrative offices. The list will be limited to members of the American Sociological Society who request inclusion and send a description giving facts to be printed. Statements should be about sixty words or less. There are no fees or commissions.

The present financial situation warrants this effort to serve the interest of our members and of the institutions where their services may be needed. The plan is experimental but will be continued at least throughout the calendar year of 1932.

The editors of the *Journal* will not enter into correspondence regarding the persons listed. Correspondents who are interested in any of the members listed below should address them *by number* in care of the *American Journal of Sociology*, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, and the letters will be immediately forwarded.

M1. Ph.D. Columbia; ten years university teaching in professorial rank; five years in foreign service of the state department; two years in social work; research in China, India, and Russia; author of nine books; seeks chair in university or college of first rank; prefers to teach courses in systematic sociology and cultural evolution.

M2. Ph.D. under Cooley, 1925. Has one year college teaching appointment. One year of teaching in the Near East. Over two years foreign study and travel. Fields: "Family," "Introductory Course," "History of Social Thought," "Pathology."

M3. A.B. in political science, University of Illinois in 1926, with minors in sociology, history, and economics; A.M. in sociology, Columbia University in 1927; now completing residence requirements for Ph.D. at Columbia; instructor one semester in college, three years in university.

M4. Ph.D. in sociology, Ohio State, 1931. Education in Czechoslovakia, Ireland, Union Theological Seminary, Chicago Theological Seminary, University of Chicago. One semester's teaching experience in state university. Especially fitted to teach "Introduction to Sociology," "Immi-

gration," "Social Psychology," "Social Attitudes," "Social Statistics," "Social Problems." Available now.

M5. Ph.D. Nine years' college teaching. Research U.S. and Europe. Author of 1931 book in labor field, besides articles and reviews. Prefers labor problems, immigration, population, family, general principles. Salary, 4,000-4,500. Available now.

W6. Taught seven years in university, one in college. Now engaged in research for Ph.D. and in writing. Particular interest in criminology, immigration, social pathology, family, general principles. Salary, 3,000-3,500.

W7. Ph.B. Chicago, 1922; M.A. Minnesota, 1925; Ph.D. Chicago, 1931. Eight years' experience as supervisor of recreation in the municipal playgrounds of Chicago; two years' high-school teaching; eighteen months as teaching assistant and instructor in sociology, University of Minnesota. Research interests: races and nationalities, preschool personality studies, social change. Available now teaching or research position.

M8. Age 28; A.B. University of Illinois with high honors in history, 1925, Phi Beta Kappa; A.M. (history) Harvard, 1927. Edited revision of sociology text published 1930. Fellow in sociology, University of Chicago, 1929-32. Ph.D. thesis subject: "Nationalistic Movements."

M9. A.M. University of Chicago. Three years of graduate study in sociology and political science. Twenty-two years of successful teaching and administrative experience in college work. Available September, 1932.

M10. Age 28, Canadian; A.B. McGill, 1927; A.M. in Sociology, McGill, 1928; Fellow, University of Chicago, 1931-32; Ph.D. thesis: "Probation Prediction." Preaching, eastern and western Canada, summers, 1922-27; immigration survey for Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1928-30; teaching assistant in sociology at McGill and University of Chicago. Author of *The Ukrainian Canadians*, published 1931.

M11. University of Montana, A.B. 1929, M.A. 1927; Ph.D. Chicago, 1932. Thesis published by University of Chicago Press. Teaching assistant, University of Chicago, 1931-32. Age 30, married, one six-year-old son.

M12. Ph.D. 1924, University of Chicago. Five years teaching experience in municipal college, and four years as head of department in small college. Research and published articles in urban sociology and criminology.

M13. M.A., University of Chicago. Residence requirements completed for Ph.D. Four years experience in public school administration; five years director in South Parks (Chicago). Fellow, University of Chicago (in sociology), 1931-32.

M14. Age 32. Graduate work, Columbia. Ph.D. thesis in preparation "War as a Social Institution." Assistantship, University of Chicago School of Social Service, 1924-25. Several years social work, delinquency and recreational fields, and social research. Five years teaching adult education. Interested in theory, but also competent to teach applied courses. Also available for joint position with wife, family welfare society executive, as teacher of case work.

W15. A.M., University of Chicago. Two additional years of graduate work in economics and sociology. Phi Beta Kappa. Undergraduate honors in history. Teaching experience: rural schools, normal school, and sixteen years in Chicago high schools. Subject of doctor's thesis: "The Unionization of Teachers." Has done research in vocational guidance. Salary requirements, moderate. No dependents. Available for temporary or part-time work.

M16. A.B., A.M., Northwestern, 1923, 1924; Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1932; thesis in social psychology. Eight years of teaching in large eastern university. Has taught criminology, race relations, and social pathology, but especially interested in general sociology, social institutions, and social psychology. Especially prepared to teach these; and publications are in these fields. Available after June 1.

M17. Advanced degrees from Iowa and Harvard. Graduate study at European universities and extensive travel. Valuable background in both philosophy and psychology. Seven years of college teaching on professorial rank. Last three years, chairman of the division of social sciences. Has written numerous articles and book reviews. Available September, 1932.

Membership of the American Sociological Society.—The new members received into the Society since the March issue and up to March 15 are as follows:

Bartle, Wanda M., Woodlawn and Maxwell Lane, Bloomington, Ind.

Braunstein, Zola, 2084 Honeywell Ave., Bronx, N.Y.

Cayton, Horace R., Room 204, 1126 E. 59th St., Chicago

Cunningham, S. B., % Prentice-Hall, Inc., 70 Fifth Ave., New York

Dodd, Stuart C., Dept. of Sociology, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Syria

Dolins, Robert, 783 Irving Ave., Syracuse, N.Y.

Elmendorf, Joseph Bernard, 5435 Kenwood Ave., Chicago

Exner, Max J., 110 Morningside Drive, New York

Harris, Ethel R., 115 E. Leigh St., Richmond, Va.

Houtz, Philip, 51 Warren Ave., Detroit, Mich.

Hussey, Helen, 311-B, The Olbiston, Utica, N.Y.
Lang, Richard O., 5608 Kenwood Ave., Chicago
Lindesmith, Alfred R., 5659 Drexel Ave., Chicago
McCormick, Mary J., Mt. St. Joseph College, Mt. St. Joseph, Ohio
McNeil, Helen, Blake Hall, 59th St. and Ellis Ave., Chicago
Masche, W. Carl, 4545 44th Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn.
Mell, Mildred R., Shorter College, Rome, Ga.
Orenburg, Dorothy C., 942 West 34th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Pierson, Robert Donald, 5649 Dorchester Ave., Chicago
Seney, Wilson Tilden, 6139 Ellis Ave., Chicago
Shipley, Martha P., 6104 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago
Wean, Blanche M., 52 High St., Danville, Ind.
Wheelwright, D. R. (Mrs.), 1286 25th St., Ogden, Utah
Winner, Drexel, 334 Maple Ave., Drexel Hill, Pa.
Withers, William, 600 W. 115th St., New York.

American Council of Learned Societies.—Delegates from the seventeen constituent societies convened in the Fourteenth Meeting of the Council at the Cosmos Club in Washington, January 29–30. The American Sociological Society was represented by its secretary, Louis Wirth, University of Chicago, and Stuart A. Rice, University of Pennsylvania. The Council disclosed an interest hitherto not observed in the present sociological values and implications of its various undertakings. This growing *rapprochement* between the social sciences and the humanities may indicate a more active and less formal rôle for the A.S.S. in the activities of the A.C.-L.S. in the future.

Among the votes taken, two had particular interest for the American Sociological Society. A resolution called upon the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council to consult with the Librarian of Congress respecting the establishment in the Library of a division of records and statistics and a chair of social science. A similar motion was adopted by the American Statistical Association. These resolutions have been referred to the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the two Councils, which promises to give them careful attention with a view to the preparation of concrete proposals.

The second vote followed an interesting discussion upon the functions of the American Council of Learned Societies with respect to its responsibilities for the promotion of research. It was finally voted that the Council should take steps to formulate its research policy, but only after first consulting its member societies. This action seems likely to compel all of the constituent societies of the A.C.L.S. to analyze their own research re-

sponsibilities, after the manner recently adopted by the American Sociological Society and its sister societies in the Social Science Research Council.

Conference on Research in Colleges.—The following institutions were represented at a recent conference called by the Social Science Research Council in New York for the study of research in the colleges: Amherst, Bryn Mawr, Dartmouth, Connecticut Women's College, Holyoke, Haverford, Oberlin, Smith, Swarthmore, Vassar, and Wellesley. Recommendations were drafted for the Social Science Research Council and the colleges with a view to stimulating research in all the social sciences in college faculties.

Social Science Research Council.—The Social Science Research Council has appointed a continuing Committee on Pressure, Group, and Propaganda Research. The Committee would like to be in touch with the present work and future plans of scholars in all fields relevant to this central topic. The Committee is interested in every inquiry into specific promotional activities in society. This includes analyses of the work of such organizations as the Anti-Saloon League or the Chamber of Commerce; the study of movements like the Populist movement; the analysis of the use of such media as the press, moving picture, and radio; and the technique of measuring shifts in social attitudes. There is no doubt that those who are doing research in cultural history, political science, economics, sociology, advertising, journalism, and psychology are among those who have made or can make contributions to this field. The Committee would be glad to be notified of research proposals under way or in prospect. Communications may be addressed to the chairman or to any member of the Committee. The personnel is composed of Professors Kimball Young, University of Wisconsin; Ralph D. Casey, University of Minnesota; Peter Odegard, Ohio State University; E. Pendleton Herring, Harvard University; Schuyler Wallace, Columbia University; Merle Curti, Smith College; H. F. Gosnell, University of Chicago; and Harold D. Lasswell, University of Chicago, as chairman.

Brookwood Labor College.—A series of pamphlets on the labor movement, with David J. Saposs as editor, is being launched by Brookwood Labor College (a resident school for industrial wage earners at Katonah, New York). The first five, written by Katherine H. Pollak, describe "What a Union Did for the Coal Miners," "Important Union Methods," "How a Trade Union is Run," "Our Labor Movement Today," and "Why Bother about the Government?"

University of Chicago.—Professor Ellsworth Faris will teach in the department of sociology at the University of Michigan in the summer quarter, 1932, offering courses in social psychology.

University of Cincinnati.—D. C. Heath and Company announces the publication of *The Concepts of Sociology: A Suggested Organization of Sociological Theory in Terms of Its Major Concepts*, by Earl Edward Eubank, head of the department of sociology.

Northwestern University.—William Jaffe, professor of economics, is to be in Paris during the summer of 1932, where he will conduct, under the auspices of the University of Paris, a Seminar in Social Science Research in Paris, from June 15 to July 31, 1932, for Americans interested in research in France.

Oberlin College.—The Seventh Causey Conference at Oberlin College was held February 25–26 on the topic of "Social Planning." The speakers were Mr. William Hodson, executive director of the Welfare Council of New York City, Dr. W. Z. Ripley of Harvard, Dr. Lewis L. Lorwin of the Brookings Institution, Washington, and Mr. Louis Fischer, Russian correspondent for *The Nation* and other papers. The Causey Conferences were established in 1928 and are usually held on some economic or political question. They are the annual gift to the college of Mr. James H. Causey, trustee.

Ohio State University.—For some years past the social work training courses at Ohio State University have been offered in the department of sociology. Due to the increasing number of students enrolled and the difficulties of administration with such a varied program, the trustees, at a recent meeting, authorized a division of the department into two new units, a department of sociology, and a school of social administration, under separate heads. This division is to take effect at the beginning of the next academic year.

University of Pittsburgh.—D. B. Rogers, formerly at West Liberty State Teacher's College, has been assistant professor in the department of sociology since September, 1931, giving courses in community organization, the rural community, and the history of the family.

Stanford University.—Stanford University Press announces the publication of *Social Aims in a Changing World*, by Walter Greenwood Beach, professor of sociology.

Western Reserve University.—Professor C. E. Gehlke has been absent on leave during the first semester. He was engaged in research work for the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, collaborating with Professor E. H. Sutherland of the University of Chicago on the section of the social trends report to be known as "Society's Offenders." He is returning to his teaching the second semester of the current year.

Yale University.—John Wiley and Sons announces the publication of *Problems of City Life: A Study in Urban Sociology*, by Maurice R. Davie, associate professor of the science of society.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Pacific Basin. By GORDON L. WOOD. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. Pp. xii + 340.

This is a small book dealing with a big subject and is therefore necessarily sketchy. However, it is not equally so throughout. In the first two-thirds of the book the author presents a rather carefully worked out picture of the climatic and geographical peculiarities of the southern half of the Pacific, clarified by a splendid array of graphs and photographic reproductions. But when he comes to deal with that part of the Pacific with which he is less familiar his material is little more than one can get from an elementary-school geography. Scarcely more than one hundred small pages broken by many photographs and charts are devoted to the entire continental arch, thereby limiting the discussion of the real Pacific rim to summary statements about topography and climate supplemented by brief remarks regarding products and people.

The book serves a real purpose, however, in furnishing the general reader with a panoramic view of this too-little-known half of the world. The reviewer regrets that Professor Wood did not see fit to develop his subject more uniformly. Why, for instance, should New Zealand receive more space than Japan, or Australia be considered more important than North America? A few errors of fact occur: the Philippines are placed first in the list of places to which the Japanese have emigrated; Skagway is given first rank as a settlement center in Alaska; Berkeley and Palo Alto are given as the names of universities in the San Francisco Bay region.

R. D. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Soil, Its Influence on American History. By ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xii + 227.

"Like the migrating plant the migrating pioneer followed a line of natural selection dominated by the soil-and-climate factor." But, unlike the plant, man possesses a cultural heritage which affects his selection of habitat and his accommodation to soil and climate. This book is devoted to a study of the process of settlement formation and expansion in relation

to soil and its biological indicators. The author finds a close relation between the various soils which different European peoples chose for early settlement in America and those with which they were familiar in their homelands. For example, the Scotch-Irish shunned the limestone sections because of their experience with such soil at home; Rhineland Germans, on the other hand, without this aversion, selected limestone areas largely because they were heavily wooded. In this way the various kinds of soil and vegetation served as "magnets of migration" for different classes of immigrants. Topography and soil constituted the molds in which the different types of economies and social structure developed. "The endless New England house, running from the 'parlor' to the outermost confines of the hennery and pigsty, grew up naturally with the long New England winters." Yankee character reputed for "penuriousness, canniness, nearness," was a natural outcome of the limited New England valleys where life was hard and competition severe. The Virginian, on the other hand, "a gallant spendthrift," was a product of a roomier habitat with a more lucrative type of agriculture.

The book is exceedingly suggestive. Occasionally the reviewer feels that insufficient weight is given to cultural as opposed to geographical factors in the history of settlement. But this is only a question of emphasis, as the author is ever aware of the significance of culture. There is considerable repetition and one naturally looks for more maps in a book that is so geographical in character.

R. D. McKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Land Values in New York in Relation to Transit Facilities. By EDWIN H. SPENGLER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. 179.

The purpose of this study is to ascertain the relation between the growth of transit facilities and the rise of land values. The method employed is to compare the course of land values from 1905 to 1929 in the four boroughs of New York, Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens, with specific developments in rapid-transit facilities. Assessed valuations are employed. The general impression one gets from reading this study is that the subject is far too stupendous and complex to be dealt with adequately in this simple fashion.

The "conclusions" might have been anticipated in advance—namely, that in certain sections where developments have occurred in transit

facilities, there have been rapid increases in land values, but in other sections where new transit facilities have been added, there have been no increases in values and occasionally decreases. The factors involved in city growth are too complex, especially in a city like New York, to be dealt with in a cursory survey of this type. The study does not really prove anything, although some suggestive leads are brought out for more detailed research.

R. D. MCKENZIE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Textile Unionism and the South. By GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931. Pp. 92. \$1.00.

When Southern Labor Stirs. By TOM TIPPETT. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931. Pp. xvi+348. \$2.50.

The sorry plight of trade unionism in the textile industry is made evident in both of these books. An industry unusually dependent upon the unreasoning vagaries of fashion; some six thousand separate manufacturing establishments, the majority of which are independent corporations; a long-standing conflict between right- and left-wing unionism in an industry of low-paid workers; a large labor reserve—in the North from recent immigration, in the South from the “hill whites”—such is the problem facing any would-be organizer of textile labor.

Dr. Mitchell's monograph outlines with extreme brevity the history of textile trade unionism in the North, rather more fully than that of the Southern states, and culminates with the dramatic strikes in Gastonia, Elizabethton, and Marion. Dr. Mitchell is restrained almost to a fault, but he believes that the “cotton industry in the South reproduced for its owners the position of power held by the masters of plantations” and that “at this stage the trade union offers an entering wedge of democracy, at any rate for the white factory laborers.” His book would have gained by the addition of a brief bibliography.

Tom Tippet's book intentionally appeals for the organization of the Southern textile workers. The author describes the Marion strike in detail, from personal knowledge of its course and aftermath, and his story includes the Danville strike of 1930, significant as a sample of manufacturers' hostility to unions, even when organized under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor. Efficiency engineering that increases the tension on the worker; long working hours, in some cases exceeding

twelve hours per shift; woman and child labor both day and night; swift use of the state military forces against any effective picketing; a high rate of sickness among the one-time hill folk, once they face factory life; company owned mill villages and their psychology; the general hostility of the press and the local public—all of these topics are handled with considerable detail and example, and with but occasional exhibition of bias. The manufacturers' own views on the textile industry and unionism are given expression in a long appendix.

Apart from the lively appeal of the book itself, several illustrations emphasize the conditions described. To sociologists the final chapter, on the "Future of Unionism in the South," will be of most interest. Tippetts sees a folk movement toward union organization with which the old-line policies of the A.F. of L. have proved themselves utterly unprepared to grapple. "A labor movement ought not to be ashamed of its martyrs," but the A.F. of L. in this instance has not shown itself ready to make use of the sacrifices made by the textile strikers. Tippetts believes that the Federation fails to recognize that:

If the union is a medium through which the worker can express his instinctive group emotions, the organization becomes something he needs in his social life as well as when he is in the factory. A labor union can develop a culture for its members through which they express their whole being. The pity is that the American trade unions have no program to marshal the native idealism of their members into a social movement.

WILFRID H. CROOK

CHICAGO

Distributed Leisure. By L. C. WALKER. New York: Century Co., 1931. Pp. ix+246. \$2.25.

To the student at all familiar with industrial history and business-cycle theory, the author threshes old straw throughout most of the first 150 pages of his discourse. Although the notion of a new economic era and the theory that high wages are the key to prosperity are somewhat overdone and in certain respects indefensible, this section is a sound and well-written analysis and doubtless has a place in a book designed primarily for non-technical readers. Only in small part, however, is it essential to the case for the author's plan to distribute unemployment—or, to use his own question-begging title, to distribute leisure.

When faced with the necessity of curtailing operation, it is a common practice for manufacturers either to discharge a part of the direct labor force or to reduce the hours of work per day. The author holds these prac-

tices to be uneconomical and socially undesirable, and argues instead that work forces should be maintained intact and that curtailment should be effected by a complete shutdown of the plant as many days each week as may be necessary to balance production and orders. The argument for greater economy is supported by evidence on the high cost of replacing or shifting workers trained for highly specialized tasks, the difficulties of maintaining balanced production with a skeleton work force, and increased overhead costs resulting from the necessity of maintaining the control staff when the direct work force and the output are curtailed. For plants in which the ratio of indirect to direct labor is high and where tasks are highly specialized the argument for greater economy would appear convincing.

The plan is held to be desirable, also, on the ground that the distribution of unemployment among all workers and consequent elimination of the fear of total unemployment would enable workers to plan the use of days of unemployment for the pursuits of leisure, and also would curtail the tendency to hoard purchasing power. The author appears to have overestimated the degree to which fear of unemployment would be allayed, and it certainly seems far-fetched to assume that changes of such a limited nature could convert unemployment into leisure.

Whatever may justly be said in criticism, however, the plan has distinctive merit and should be given careful study by executives in manufacturing concerns.

R. W. STONE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Occupational Diseases in Relation to Compensation and Health Insurance. By ROSAMOND W. GOLDBERG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. 280.

This book fills a need long felt, not only by employers of labor, but by industrial physicians and compensation commissions; in fact, all who have to do with the problem of occupational disease in its economic and social aspects.

Of the six chapters, two are devoted to the hazards of industry, the dusty trades, and the metal and chemical trades. Here there is evidence of wide reading in the field and of something which is far more rare—an ability to deal with an enormous amount of material briefly, clearly, and competently.

This is not a medical book and does not claim to be such. It should not

therefore be used except as a reference book on occupational diseases, but if the seeker after more detailed knowledge turns to the original sources which are abundantly cited, he will find that he has covered the subject satisfactorily. These chapters close with excellent summaries.

The chapters on the legal aspects, on prevention, on compensation, and on health insurance are much the most valuable because, so far as I know, this is the first attempt to gather into one conveniently sized book the essential information concerning the various laws in the different states designed to prevent or lessen occupational diseases and those designed to compensate the victims of such diseases. Here is the field into which the physician enters with some hesitation and unwillingness, for here the legal mind holds sway and the medical mind is bewildered by a totally different approach to facts and a different conception of what is logical reasoning. The full discussion, which Dr. Goldberg gives us, of the stages in workmen's compensation legislation and the constitutional difficulties encountered, is illustrated with a number of actual cases, the reading of which leads the physician to feel that legal reasoning alone is not enough to provide a logical and fair system of compensation. For instance,

The man who breathes lead fumes or other dust in his workshop and becomes incapacitated is to a very much greater extent the victim of the industry in which he is engaged than, for example, the worker who falls on the stairs of his work place on his way home. The latter will generally receive compensation, whereas the former frequently is denied the protection of the workmen's compensation law.

It is impossible to resist the temptation to quote further from the decisions of these legal authorities:

A stableman was required to lead a horse afflicted with glanders from his employer's stable to a place where it was to be killed. Fourteen days after performing this service he died from glanders. An award of compensation was made upon findings that the employee had contracted glanders, and that his infection was an accidental injury arising out of and in the course of his employment. On appeal the second point was questioned. The court held: "For legal purposes glanders is a disease which, when contracted without previous accidental injury occurring in the course of employment, cannot be classed under the workmen's compensation law as an accidental injury arising out of and in the course of employment." The award of compensation was reversed.

Perhaps the greatest confusion is found in those decisions that deal with the relation between occupation and diseases of a less sharply defined occupational character, such as heart disease, tuberculosis, pneumonia, neuroses, where the decisions show that similar cases are dealt with in

utterly contrary ways, but almost always the reasoning which is followed leads to a denial of compensation, and often it is fantastically ingenious. In Indiana, for instance, it seems that if an injury could have been foreseen as likely to occur, it would not come under the law, but if quite unexpected it would.

The German and the English systems of compensation are compared with the American, which is shown to be in large measure derived from the latter, but modified of course by our constitutional limitations. It was interesting to me to be told that it was Bismarck, the man of blood and iron, who was the first to advocate the principle that in a modern industrial state the risk of injury to workmen while engaged in the employer's service is a social risk, chargeable against the business itself, the losses arising from which are to be added to the productive cost and to be borne ultimately by the community at large.

Only eleven American states provide compensation for occupational diseases, and the laws in these states fall into two classes: the blanket law, which is designed to cover all possibly injurious agents; and the schedule system, which lists such agents. Dr. Goldberg shows that there are disadvantages in both. The schedules may be unfair because the list is never complete. On the other hand, the vaguer system is difficult to administer. So far, neither system has worked very satisfactorily, as Dr. Goldberg's discussion abundantly shows.

The last chapter is devoted to the discussion of health insurance, of the German system and the English, the former dating from 1883 and the latter from 1912. The German insurance now covers about two-thirds of the population of Germany. These two systems are compared and then the different proposals for health insurance that have been made in our own country are discussed briefly and in a spirit free from partisanship. The book ends with a Bibliography and a full Index.

ALICE HAMILTON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Great Plains. By WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1931. Pp. xv+525. \$4.00.

Professor Webb has introduced into human geography a new concept, institutional fault, which is comparable to a geological fault. At a line roughly following the ninety-eighth meridian the Great Plains begin. It is a comparatively level unforested country of great extent with a sub-humid climate. "At this *fault* the ways of life and living changed. Prac-

tically every institution that was carried across it was either broken or remade or else greatly altered" (p. 8). Here at the edge of the forest the American pioneer halted. His initial attempts to conquer the plains failed and he was thrown back. It is the purpose of Professor Webb's book, a purpose which is well executed, to show the economic uses and the technological means which finally made possible the settlement of this vast area.

Some form of the ranch has been present in American life almost from the beginning. In early Virginia the plantation and the ranch were undifferentiated institutions. Cowpens, South Carolina, was the center of an early ranching area from which cattle were driven to northern cities. Some form of ranching continued to keep ahead of the advancing agricultural frontier. At the ninety-eighth meridian, however, the farmers stopped, and the ranch got its name and its developed organization in what was for it an ideal set of circumstances. "In the final analysis the cattle kingdom arose at that place where men began to manage cattle on horseback. It was the use of the horse that primarily distinguished ranching in the West from stock-farming in the East" (p. 207).

With the development of railroads and other means of transportation, the farmers began to invade the plains, but still under the handicap of great obstacles. Unlike the forests, the plains furnished little that the pioneer could utilize in his efforts to make a home. Not tools and contrivances of his own fashioning but outside manufactured goods like barbed wire and windmills made permanent settlement possible, and a market for his produce made it desirable. The place of the market relationship in this settlement is obvious but very important. Parts of Western China, similar to our plains, are little utilized because of the lack of a market and territorial division of labor. America, with a population only one-fourth as large as crowded China, has about 13 per cent more of her tillable soil under cultivation because she has found ways of settling and utilizing a large part of the Great Plains.

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

CHICAGO

The Zimbabwe Culture. By G. CATON-THOMPSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Pp. xxiv + 299.

The Zimbabwe ruins have constituted for many years one of the "mysteries" of Africa. Numerous hypotheses have been proposed to account for the presence of these stone ruins in a region inhabited by people whose culture is not such as to make it likely that they had built these structures.

In 1905, when the British Association for the Advancement of Science met in South Africa, Dr. D. R. MacIver was appointed to prepare a report on these ruins, and his report indicated that they were not very old, since nothing of earlier date than Persian fragments of the fourteenth century were found by him. When, in 1929, the British Association again met in South Africa, Miss Caton-Thompson was invited to make a further study of the site, and this volume contains her findings.

Only two points need be made with regard to the report itself. In the first place, the excavations show conclusively that the ruins cannot be dated earlier than the seventh century, and if we take Miss Caton-Thompson's findings in connection with the recent research on the Bavenda by Mr. Hugh Stuyt, it would seem that Zimbabwe was the work of a people whose descendants today live in the Transvaal, whence they migrated from the place where the ruins are located. The second point is that Miss Caton-Thompson's research must be rated methodologically as one of the most perfect in execution, and, as to its presentation, one of the most satisfactory of archaeological investigations that have been undertaken in recent years.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Universities: American, English and German. By ABRAHAM FLEXNER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. x+381 \$3.50.

Dr. Flexner puts the heart of his criticism of American universities into the statement that the "practical importance of a problem or subject is not a sufficient title to academic recognition: if that [that is, practical importance] is the best that can be said, it is an excellent reason for exclusion." Universities, he tells us, are not dumping grounds, and then he proceeds to show us that this is precisely what they have become. All through the book there is the same disconcerting inability to understand the difference between a tract with a thesis and an objective study. Flexner begins with preconceived notions of what universities should be—and never have been—and then derives a great deal of pleasure from a conclusive demonstration that they vary widely from his ideal.

A study of the institutions in terms of their own objectives, and the financial and social difficulties which they encounter, might have thrown a wealth of light on many of the practices which the author derides, but it would also have deprived his indictment of much of its vigor. It is a

pity that an author who writes with the purpose of questioning the present trends of university development should have been so obtuse in stating his own objectives or standards.

Much in the book is of absorbing and humiliating interest. The material is marshaled with zest and almost diabolical delight; there are "chuckles on every page." The lunatic fringe of the schools of education, business administration, euthenics, correspondence departments, etc., is taken under a merciless magnifying glass under citation of chapter and verse. It makes amazing reading, but it would be more convincing if the data were uniformly accurate and correctly interpreted. The reviewer has had experience with at least two of the institutions which are singled out for special attention (Columbia and Chicago), and he is sorry to report that while the "facts" are in most cases reported correctly, the reasoning and conclusions based on these "facts" are in many instances widely off the mark. Inevitably the question arises whether the same may not be true of the material describing conditions in other institutions.

The chapters on English and German universities seem to be as rosy in their interpretation of problems as the chapters on the American institutions are inclined toward gloom. The serious problems which spring from the institution of the "privatdozentur" and the almost exclusive selection of future professors from a group that is economically powerful enough to bear the financial burdens of this anomalous institution seem to have escaped Dr. Flexner almost entirely. He amusingly enough describes the whole institution as an effective "guarantee of both freedom and scholarship" (*sic*). In fact, the entire atmosphere of the English and German chapters is a bit hazy and romantic. The great English institutions—"incomparably superior to anything that has as yet been created in America"—are hardly as perfect as Dr. Flexner would have us believe. Did he ever inquire into the status of psychological research at Oxford, and the reasons for it? Did it ever occur to him that the distinction between the various German secondary schools may have as much to do with social class as it has with "ability and taste"? To quote with approval a statement that "specialization that looks to a vocation simply dazes the German student" is to accept uncritically the rankest balderdash. Anyone familiar with the German student body can cite abundant testimony to the contrary.

Flexner has written a provocative book, but at least one reader left his guidance with a sentiment that the author might have benefited from the inimitable advice of Wilamowitz, which he cites in his discussion of German research: "He who is constantly digging for treasure and is delighted

if he finds earthworms will soon dig for earthworms. But thou shalt not be discouraged if digging for treasure, thou findest earthworms: only throw them away."

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social Work Administration. By ELWOOD STREET. New York: Harper & Bros. Pp. 467. \$3.00.

This book, undoubtedly the most complete discussion of the problems and details which the social work administrator must handle, is based on the author's personal experience as an administrator and the results of discussions and correspondence between the author and a selected group of executives. The book is encyclopedic in scope. In it one will find almost everything one needs to know for the successful administration of an office or organization. No detail of administration is too small or unimportant for attention. The thirty-seven chapters cover a wide range of subjects: from personnel policies to office location, equipment, and arrangement; from sabbatical leaves to the location of the buzzer and wastebaskets; from constitutions, by-laws, and board functions to staff picnics; from the organization and management of financial campaigns to petty cash.

The great amount of detail included makes it more like a handbook than a text, although it was intended to be the latter and will no doubt be eminently useful as such. A rather full Index facilitates its use as a reference work. The book suffers, however, from the lack of documentation. Although a selected bibliography is included, the book gives the impression of being mainly based on personal experience and personal wisdom. The reviewer confesses to a strong prejudice against this type of writing because in his judgment there has been too much of it both in social science and social work. He believes that both fields need a more factual and scientific approach. It should, nevertheless, be invaluable to everyone facing administrative problems.

THE TRAINING SCHOOL
FOR JEWISH SOCIAL WORK

M. J. KARPF

The Pendulum of Progress: An Essay in Political Science and Scientific Politics. By GEORGE YOUNG. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. xii+184. \$3.00.

In this pocket-sized volume Professor Young seems to be undertaking three things: to formulate a general theory of progress; to suggest and

illustrate certain diagrammatic and conceptual devices for the teaching and study of political science; and to make pertinent interpretative comments on the political history of the major powers of Europe during the past few decades. His theory is that progress is actual; it proceeds by a spiral movement as the general organization of a state shifts from one equilibrium or tension of political and economic forces to another. Such shifts are continually taking place, after the manner of a swinging pendulum, but the difference between revolutionary and evolutionary or gradual changes is of little importance in its effect upon long-run results. The author's diagrams representing different political systems and their changes are ingenious, but are so foreign to our usual habits of thought in these matters that his reasoning cannot be easily followed in a rapid reading of the text. His interpretations of recent political changes in the leading states of the Western world are certainly suggestive.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

FLOYD N. HOUSE

Liberty and Restraint. By LUCIEN LEFEVRE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931. Pp. xiii+346+xxix. \$3.50.

This is a libertarian interpretation of history. While there is no particular evidence that Mr. Mencken inspired the book, it is just such a volume as might have been written under the guidance of his leading ideas applied to history.

The author defends the libertarian thesis with zest and thoroughness. He contends that civilization is a function—or product—of freedom of thought and action. The greatest contributions to civilization have been made in those cultures which accorded most liberty to the individual. He takes a contemptuous attitude toward politics and holds that the best and wisest of men do not necessarily produce the best government. He thus repudiates Plato's desire to have philosopher kings—one contribution from the Periclean civilization which he so admires. He holds that it is disastrous for really capable men to devote themselves to the lowly and sordid game of politics. They are needed for better things.

On the basis of this position he surveys history to prove his points. As usual in *ex parte* history, he often manhandles his data. Yet it is one side of the picture and done with brilliance. It is a powerful blast against the uplifter, purist, and "wowser."

Without taking any sides in this controversy, the book may be recom-

mended as an exceptionally forceful statement of the libertarian position. Sociologists, being mainly committed to the opposite point of view, might well read the book and make it required reading in their classes.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW YORK CITY

Fifty Years of Free Thought. By GEORGE E. MACDONALD. New York: The Truth Seeker Co., 1931. Vol. II. Pp. xxiii+657.

This is a free-thinking history of free thought covering the fifty years from 1875 to 1925. The present (second) volume covers the years from 1891 to 1925. Its author is the editor of the *Truth Seeker*, oldest and most militant of free-thought periodicals. The book is written in quaint analogistic fashion, treating of the leading episodes in the clash between religion and skepticism as they took place year by year.

This volume represents the transition from the dominion of Ingersoll to the era of Theodore Schroeder, Clarence Darrow, and Joseph Lewis, but the chapter on the year 1899 contains detailed comment on the death and work of Ingersoll. It is highly discursive and anecdotal and attempts little definitive interpretation or evaluation. The tone is frankly atheistic, but singularly gentle and urbane for a professional free-thinker.

The author conceives of free thought in a broad way, not limiting it to theological controversy. Hence, one finds here much curious and relevant information about the struggle against the tyranny of patrioteers during the World War and against ecclesiastical opposition to birth control. However disorganized the book may be, there is in it a wealth of raw material for the social and intellectual history of contemporary America.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW YORK CITY

American Society. By CHARLES F. THWING. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. ix+271. \$2.25.

Charles Franklin Thwing was one of the most talented and enlightened of clerical college presidents. He was a representative of theological devout modernism who turned his mature efforts to the cause of higher education. On political and international issues he showed that liberalism which is generally characteristic of this type of clergyman.

This book is a collection of miscellaneous essays on American civilization today, but it has a unifying theme in the analysis of the World War and the impact of that war on American education and culture. Most of

the essays are devoted to one or another aspect of the war. There is one on the effect of the war on higher education, but it is highly restrained and gives little indication of the degradation of American scholarship and objectivity which this great conflict produced. It would be illuminating to read this chapter in connection with the articles on the same subject by Messrs. Angoff and Grattan which were published in the *American Mercury* back in 1927.

There are some five chapters on American society and institutions. While the author is an optimist, he recognizes that all is not well and that we shall have to improve our technique of controlling the processes of our complex urban and industrial age. He is especially concerned about the position and influence of the church and family, institutions to which Dr. Thwing has given personal attention. But the book is valuable chiefly as an intellectual exhibit of American clericalism in education, and it is not by any means a discreditable exhibit.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

NEW YORK CITY

Socialized History in the United States. By CHARLES GARRETT VANNES and HENRY LESTER SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931. \$1.72.

This school textbook differs from the traditional and chronological treatment in presenting the subject matter by means of a series of topics, most of which begin with interests familiar to the students, or with present-day situations. First of all, the users of this book learn how the United States is peopled, with cosmopolitanism emphasized; then they are told how our home life has been changed since colonial times, how the United States gained its independence, and how we were drawn into world-affairs; how expansion developed both nationalism and sectionalism; how the country became a great agricultural nation; how slavery divided it and how the Civil War "restored" the Union; how the United States became "the greatest manufacturing nation in the world"; how Americans have developed educationally and intellectually; how our government is carried on by political parties; and how we have conducted our foreign affairs. The authors have aimed to show that our history is but a segment in the cycle of world-history; "that we are not out of the world's history but in the midst of it." They have further tried to develop the sympathies of their readers "with other peoples and nations." They also tell us that they have endeavored:

To set forth the achievement, the interpretation and the application of the

works of our people and our nation in such a way that they may be turned to account in the daily concerns of the life of the students; to develop that large group social consciousness which alone can make possible real social efficiency and to develop in the students ability to exercise a world consciousness in relation to actual life situations involving world relations.

Admirable! But the authors have not succeeded, in the reviewer's opinion, in realizing their aims. While they have not by any means defended the country "right or wrong," the most favorable motives and interpretations have been, in general, ascribed to our historical behavior. The tendency of this book, if used without much help from the teacher, would be to make conventional patriots if not 100 per cent Americans.

The authors also state that their aim has been "to search for the truth and to make the students see the necessity of accepting the truth and abiding by it when found." This commendable aim might better have been accomplished had some effort been made to have students (*a*) learn something about the process and difficulties of fact-finding and fact-testing by a few simple historical problems not beyond their range, and (*b*) see the possibility of various interpretations of accepted facts. The authors seem to have missed both opportunities.

Another aim has led the authors to give too optimistic a picture of our history. They have endeavored "to stress the constructive rather than the destructive forces; the positive rather than the negative; the normal rather than the abnormal." But they have not defined their terms. Too often they seem to be rather Rotarian. Size, bigness, and success are values that are emphasized. Even school children could grasp some of the grays and blacks in the record. The hardships and frustrations of the frontier; the waste, inefficiency, and injustice of our industrial system; the historical as well as the contemporary problems of the farmer; the failures as well as the successes of our countrymen and their leaders; an explanation of why we are so disliked in Latin-America and elsewhere—these are surely a part of our history. Conservative historians have told us that we have always been a lawless people: no one would ever have such a suspicion from reading this book. It is, in short, disappointing to find such commendable purposes so inadequately achieved. It is doubtful whether young Americans will, from reading this book, become either as adaptive or as socially and internationally minded as the authors think. Still, the book is a great improvement on many of its rivals and certainly deserves well of American teachers.

MERLE CURTI

SMITH COLLEGE

Modern Interpretations of Natural Law. By BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. xvii+360.
\$3.50.

The current controversies regarding national prohibition and legislation limiting economic activity have given rise to numerous revivals of the ancient doctrine of "natural rights." Professor Wright's clear and thorough exposition of the development of this doctrine in America is of particular interest in view of these recent tendencies. He points out that the terms, "natural law" or "natural right," have been used with a wide variety of meanings. A few authors have attempted to build a speculative philosophy around these concepts. More often they have been used as controversial weapons to further good causes of the moment. It thus appears that the natural-law concept cannot be defined in a series of changeless rules. Like most philosophical and political ideas, "natural law" is a flexible instrument employed by minorities in their efforts to appeal from the law, as legally established, to principles which they assert have a higher validity than those made by human legislators.

As a study of political polemics, Professor Wright's work has been excellently conceived and carefully carried out. Some may feel that scant attention was given to legal literature. It is doubtful, however, if the conclusions would have been seriously modified had the author exhaustively examined the numerous colonial decisions, and the still more numerous state and federal decisions, in which this doctrine appears. After all, courts take part of their political philosophy from politicians and the rest from philosophers.

RODNEY L. MOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The School and Mental Health. By CLARA BASSETT. New York:
The Commonwealth Fund, 1931. Pp. 66.

The eight articles comprising this pamphlet are written in the easy and readable style characteristic of most books on mental hygiene for teachers and social workers. One finds himself in difficulty in critically analyzing the contents of a book of this sort. On the one hand we recognize the value of reminding those who deal with children of the various problems which cannot be recognized by casual observation. On the other hand it seems that we are scientifically beyond the propaganda stage when people must be reminded continuously of the complex problems of childhood. Perhaps teachers and social workers are ready to read experimental

literature, and perhaps, also, we have had sufficient reminders that mental hygiene is important.

The fifth chapter, on fear, is very well written, as is the sixth chapter, on parental handling. The book is fortunately directed to teachers, whose work sometimes becomes so formalized that they lose track of the fundamental psychiatric problems which complicate the school situation.

MANDEL SHERMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Mathematical Part of Elementary Statistics. By BURTON HOWARD CAMP. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1931. Pp. xxi+409. \$3.60.

Most sociologists who use statistical methods have, unfortunately, a defective background in mathematics. Too often the instruction they had was in such "pure" mathematics that its useful connections with reality were not apparent—at least to the student.

Professor Camp, a mathematician, has performed a service in presenting this book to a public which seems at times surfeited with statistical texts. His aim is directed at college Sophomores with a background of a brief course in analytic geometry. For the statistical sociologist it should offer a useful review of the principles expressed in the terminology of the mathematician. Most of our elementary texts rightly avoid too vigorous a use of mathematical terminology and symbols. But for those who have to proceed beyond this stage to the monographic material, or the more advanced texts, this book will serve as an introduction to the language and thought of the mathematician. Part I is quite elementary, and covers the topics of graphs and notation, moments, cumulative frequency, grouping errors, the normal law (with applications), time series, correlation, regression, and correlation of non-measurable characters. In Part II, intended for the more mathematically-minded student, these topics are discussed: probability, the point binomial, frequency curves, sampling, correlation (including multiple and partial), and an introduction to the method of finite differences. Part III consists of tables of probability functions.

It is primarily a text for the classroom use of the teacher of mathematics. It should, however, be useful as a reference for the teacher of social statistics, and for his occasional student who does not shudder when he sees an expression like $y=a+bx$.

C. E. GEHLKE

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

The Story of the Devil. By ARTURO GRAF. Translated from the Italian by EDWARD NOBLE STONE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xiv+296. \$3.00.

Whether because of his demise, or because of a peculiar renaissance of those conditions that have so repeatedly led to his birth, the devil has of late come to his own in the attention of writers and literary folk. Thus, English readers now have offered to them, coincidentally with Professor Rudwin's comprehensive and illuminating book, *The Devil in Literature and Legend*, an excellent translation of an Italian author's treatment of a similar theme.

Graf presents a fascinating and yet genuinely informing account of the facts—and, in some measure, of the underlying psychological factors—connected with the origin, growth, and diverse forms of the idea of the devil from the beginning of the Christian Era to our own day. He tells us of the number, the abodes, the hierarchies, and the extremely diverse characteristics of the devils—of their activities, their loves and offspring, their successes and their defeats. He writes of human pacts with the devil, as well as of magical practices connected with the personification of the principle of evil or of the essentially awe inspiring, before coming to his concluding chapters on "The Ridiculous Devil and the Good Devil" and "The End of the Devil."

In the treatment of his theme the author does very little in the way either of abstract analysis or of appraisal; he devotes himself primarily to narration. A very large part of his recital concerns those centuries of the devil's career when he was in his prime, namely, the Middle Ages. The aim is to be popular, and this the book is in the finer sense of this word. Nevertheless, it offers such an abundance of well-organized and vividly-portrayed facts that it may be read with profit even by mature students of human nature and social development who are concerned with an understanding of mores of ethical or religious ideas and attitudes.

Professor Stone has paid due deference to the fine literary qualities and the erudition of the work in its original; his translation is admirably executed; and, from the resources of his own learning, he has independently contributed a very significant body of notes.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

EDWARD L. SCHAUB

Recent Trends in American Housing. By EDITH ELMER WOOD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. ix+317. \$3.00.

Mrs. Wood, a keen observer and analytic thinker, here surveys the last fourteen years in American housing, supplementing her previous

The Housing of the Unskilled Worker. She gives due regard to the sociological importance of improving the living conditions of the two-thirds of the population who were not even touched by the building boom of the last ten years—to the social evils of crime and morbidity which follow from bad housing. The great merit, however, of her treatment of the problem is the clear recognition of its economic basis, and of its intimate relation with the larger problems of city planning (zoning, decentralization) which have come to the fore in this country since her earlier book.

Having seen the ever widening gap between European accomplishment and American failure to meet the issue, Mrs. Wood is not frightened by the idea of government aid. She analyzes cleverly the indirect subsidies already granted, and shows that their very indirection has made it impossible to couple with them effective public control of the product. Thus New York's ten-year tax exemption was in effect a subsidy of one-third of the capital cost, and produced largely jerry-built houses of too high a price, abominably planned for enriched community life.

The book is a comprehensive factual account, with an excellent Bibliography. Mrs. Wood ends: "Wanted: A Major Statesman to make Housing on the Grand Scale the chief plank in his platform."

LOUIS BROWNLOW

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Social Worker in Child Care and Protection. By MARGARETTA WILLIAMSON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1931. Pp. vii+485. \$2.75.

The Social Worker in Child Care and Protection is the third volume in the job-analysis series of the American Association of Social Workers. Preceding volumes have been concerned with family, medical, psychiatric social service, and with group work. This volume presents a picture of certain "type-jobs in social work which have to do with the foster care, day nursery care, and the protection of children." The requirements, duties, and responsibilities of children's case workers along with the conditions of work in children's agencies are outlined in detail. Sample record forms and outlines for reports are contained in the Appendixes.

This book, in the reviewer's opinion, is the best of the volumes in the job-analysis series. However, all of the volumes are dull reading, perhaps unavoidably dull, since the portrayal is concerned with the social-work machinery and tasks, and with statements of duties and responsibilities. Social work is, in these volumes, heavily anchored to the reality of current procedure in various agencies—so heavily and painstakingly an-

chored that it is questionable whether the presentations do not fail to be of much assistance and interest to the student desiring to learn about the field, and to the experienced social case worker already familiar with the well-known varieties of agency routine. However, if one grants the necessity of making such job analyses in the fields of social work, one must grant that the present analysis of the duties and responsibilities of the social worker in child care and protection is well done.

TULANE UNIVERSITY

FLORENCE SYTZ

Social Welfare and Professional Education. By EDITH ABBOTT.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xi+177. \$2.00.

The six papers that comprise this volume were originally prepared to be read at different public meetings and with one exception have not hitherto been published. All deal with various aspects of problems of social-work training and constitute an admirable statement not merely of university ideals and aims of professional education, but also of the intimate relations of social service and social science. A school properly equipped for the training of social workers should have a curriculum drawing upon all the social sciences, educational control of the field work of students, and facilities for constructive work in social research. According to the author, social legislation, public-welfare administration, law in relation to social work, social statistics, and history of social experimentation should not be regarded as background but as basic courses which should be required along with the usual training in the field of social treatment. The struggle of social workers to gain professional status can best be secured through greater emphasis upon the completion of a thorough course of study and the passing of a state examination as is required in the legal and medical professions. The final chapter points out glaring inadequacies in some important studies in the field of social statistics, and calls attention to the need of a closer alliance between social workers and social scientists in social investigation.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

J. F. STEINER

Leaders of the Meiji Restoration in America. By CHARLES LANMAN.

Re-edited by Y. OKAMURA. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1931. Pp. xiv+388.

This volume is a revised edition of a book published in New York in 1872 under the title, *The Japanese in America*, and containing an account

of Prince Iwakura's Embassy sent to this country that year by the Japanese government. Included in the volume are some miscellaneous essays written by Japanese students enrolled in American colleges at that time, and an excellent analysis of American resources and institutions prepared for the information of the Japanese people by Arinori Mori, Japan's first minister to America. The book is of special interest because it presents early Japanese impressions of American life and throws light on the relations between the two peoples during their first years of contact. A valuable feature of the revision is the inclusion of extensive historical and biographical notes by Professor H. Kodama of Keio University, which set forth the later careers of the members of the Embassy, many of whom became prominent leaders during the Meiji era.

J. F. STEINER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le sud du Maroc. By ROBERT MONTAGNE. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930. Pp. xvi+426. Fr. 75.

The theme of this book is the political transformation of the Sous region of southwestern Morocco. The first four chapters present the geography, the ethnography, and the history of the Sous. M. Montagne then describes the transitional types of government which one finds as one ascends from the lowlands, where aristocratic sheikhs rule their people in the name of the Sultan of Marrakesh, to the highest mountain slopes of the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, where the little autonomous republics have made their last stand. Among the various units of primitive Berber organization the canton, or group of villages, was by far the most vital and coherent. The tribe comprised a group of adjoining cantons possessing a name and traditions in common but lacking political unity. In any tribe the cantons were divided in alternate geographic order between two antagonistic confederations. Through processes illustrated by many examples the confederations broke down and the president of the democratic council of the canton evolved into an aristocratic chief of several cantons, who, in his most recent functions, has become an agent of the Sultan of Marrakesh. Feudalism, with its characteristic system of land tenure and its hierarchy of lords, never prevailed here. The final chapters of the book deal with the present organization under the Sultan and his subservient sheikhs, against which the old spirit of the self-governing canton constantly asserts itself.

WALTER CLINE

PEABODY MUSEUM

Villages et Kasbas Berberes. Tableau de la vie sociale des Berberes sedentaires dans le sud du Maroc. By ROBERT MONTAGNE. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930. Pp. ix+22.

This small volume supplements the author's *Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le sud du Maroc*. The seventy-two plates show beautiful examples of the valleys, villages, and fortresses of southern Morocco, and the social and political significance of the pictures is given in short chapters interspersed among them. One thus obtains a very graphic idea of the contrasts between the small republican cantons in the high mountains and the autocracies which developed in regions less remote. Small groups of box-like houses without defensive architecture, and communal magazines in which the wealth of the canton was stored, characterize the former type of community. The rise of chieftainship in valleys more open to attack brings elaborate fortresses and a growing distinction between the abodes of the rich and of the poor. M. Montagne likens the *caids* or chiefs of southern Morocco to the rulers of the primitive city-states of ancient Greece and Italy, and, in their later development under the Sultan of Marrakesh, to the counts of the French monarchy, rather than to the feudal lords of Medieval Europe.

WALTER CLINE

PEABODY MUSEUM

The Two Carlyles. By OSBERT BURDETT. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. Pp. 309. \$4.00.

Mr. Burdett has based a sociological study of marriage in the nineteenth century on the experience of Jane Welsh and Thomas Carlyle. As he notes, the material is ample. There are the voluminous letters of the five-year courtship; the immense volume of Mrs. Carlyle's letters written after marriage; Carlyle's own reminiscences and those of numerous observers and confidants, including Miss Geraldine Jewsbury and Froude. Surely never was a marriage subjected to such pitiless publicity. The letters during the period of negotiation are a reminder of the importance attached to marriage when it was regarded as a permanent and indissoluble union, a life-investment, affecting not only the two parties to the contract but their families as well. A marital alliance between royal houses could not have required more diplomatic *tierce* and *quarte* than that which finally resulted between the lady and the peasant. It is a subject for a novel, on the model of *Sir Charles Grandison*, or *The Tragic Comedians*, according to the point of view. Mr. Burdett's account

of the married life of the Carlyles is an anticlimax, partly owing to the moderation with which he uses his authorities. He finds Carlyle's reminiscences after Mrs. Carlyle's death exaggerated, but not entirely vitiated by remorse. He dismisses the theory of Carlyle's impotence as unproved, despite Professor Waldo Dunn's recent (and undocumented) citation of the testimony of the Ruskins, mother and son. He does not join the yapping crew of Froude's vilifiers, nor is he dazzled by hero worship or heroine worship. Neither of the Carlyles was quite great enough to justify the seriousness with which they took themselves, but they furnished a masterpiece of variation on a Victorian theme.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

American Standards and Planes of Living. Edited by THOMAS D. ELIOT. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1931. Pp. xii+931. \$5.00.

This volume consists of readings selected from a wide range of sources falling in the field of the social economics of consumption. The materials are organized under sixteen general headings and deal with such topics as variations in group standards, wages and welfare, the art of spending money, the strain after luxuries, family budgets, thrift and the high cost of children, changing standards, and standards for the future community. The editor has done a real service in bringing together such an extensive group of materials covering in a remarkably thorough manner the many aspects of the problem under consideration. In order to facilitate the use of the book by college classes the readings in each section are preceded by questions and comments by the editor. The value of the book is greatly increased by the extensive bibliographies appended to each chapter. The volume should be very useful, especially as a supplementary text in courses in home economics, labor problems, social work, and social problems.

J. F. STEINER

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

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